Greek Colonisation

An Account of Greek Colonies and Other Settlements Overseas

- VOLUME 2 -

EDITED BY

GOCHA R. TSETSKHLADZE

BRILL MNEMOSYNE · SUPPLEMENTA

GREEK COLONISATION

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VOLUME TWO

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GOCHA R. TSETSKHLADZE (ED.)

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PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

Handbook Dedicated to the Memory of A.J. Graham

A.J. Graham (1930–2005)

CONTENTS

Preface ix
Gocha R. Tsetskhladze

List of Abbreviations xi

List of Illustrations xv

Greek Colonisation of the Northern Aegean 1
Michalis Tiverios

Greek Colonisation in the Adriatic 155
Pierre Cabanes

The Greeks in Libya 187
Michel Austin

Cyprus: From Migration to Hellenisation 219
Maria Iacovou

Central Greece on the Eve of the Colonisation Movement 289
Jean-Paul Descœudres

Foundation Stories 383
Jonathan M. Hall

Colonisation in the Classical Period 427
Thomas Figueira

Index for Volume 2 525

Reprint of Index for Volume 1 547

PREFACE

This is the second volume of a handbook which addresses the phenomenon of what we still call Greek colonisation in the Mediterranean region and the Black Sea. It covers the northern Aegean, the Adriatic, Libya and Cyprus, and also contains thematic chapters examining central Greece on the eve of colonisation, foundation stories and Greek expansion in the Classical period.

The handbook was initially envisaged as a single volume. It was obvious to me, when I took over the project, that there was too much material to be accommodated within one set of covers. Thus, a division into two volumes became necessary. However, in the course of working on volume 2, it became apparent that the remaining material was also too extensive to be accommodated comfortably herein. Therefore, after consultation with the authors and publisher, a third (and final) volume is planned; it will contain chapters on East Greece (A. Domínguez and G.R. Tsetskhladze), Miletus (R. Senff), the Black Sea (G.R. Tsetskhladze), Greeks and Near Eastern society (R. Rollinger), and secondary colonisation (M. Lombardo and F. Frisone), with a concluding chapter by me, to balance my introduction to volume 1, in which developments since the appearance of that volume can be considered alongside some general themes and conclusions.

The editing and preparation of volume 2 has been as challenging and time-consuming as its predecessor. I would like to express my profound gratitude to the authors for their patience and their willingness to update and, as necessary, rewrite their initial submissions. Many colleagues and friends have helped by reviewing chapters, answering queries, checking references, etc. I am most grateful to all of them, particularly to Prof. Sir John Boardman, Dr J.F. Hargrave and Dr O. Lafe. The translation of Prof. P. Cabanes's chapter from French was arranged by Michiel Klein Swormink.

Brill has provided much help and support. I am grateful to Ms Gera van Bedaf, Dr Irene van Rossum and Ms Caroline van Erp, as well as to our typesetter in the Philippines, Ms Maribeth E. Siguenza. Most of the maps and plans were redrawn by Brill to achieve uniformity.

It is a matter of regret that I must record the death of Prof. H.G. Niemeyer, one of the contributors to volume 1.

To assist readers, we have decided to reprint the indexes from previous volumes in later ones. Thus, that from volume 1 is reproduced here (with minor corrections), and those from volumes 1 and 2 will be reprinted in volume 3.

All translations of ancient authors use the Loeb editions unless otherwise indicated.

While every effort has been made to unify place names, personal names, transliterations and citations, a few anomalies will remain. These are an all but inevitable aspect of a project of this size, and I am content to retain some minor inconsistencies.

I hope that this volume will be as well received as its predecessor.

Gocha R. Tsetskhladze
January 2008, Melbourne

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AA	*Archäologischer Anzeiger.*
AAA	*Archaiologika Analekta ex Athenon.*
ADelt	*Archaiologikon Deltion.*
AEMΘ	*To Archaiologiko ergo sté Makedonia kai Thrake.*
AEphem	*Archaiologike Ephemeris.*
AFLPer	*Annali della Facoltà di lettere e filosofia di Perugia.*
AION	*Annali dell'Istituto universitario orientale di Napoli.*
AION ArchStAnt	*Annali dell'Istituto universitario orientale di Napoli, Dipartimento di studi del mondo classico e del Mediterraneo antico, Sezione di archeologia e storia antica.*
AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology.*
AJP	*American Journal of Philology.*
ALGRM	W.H. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexicon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* (Leipzig 1884–1937).
AM	*Athenische Mitteilungen.*
AntCl	*L'Antiquité classique.*
AnthAChron	*Anthropologika kai Archaiologika Chronika/Annals of Anthropology and Archaeology.*
AntKunst	*Antike Kunst.*
ASAA	*Annuario della [Regia] Scuola archeologica di Atene e delle missioni italiane in Oriente.*
ASNP	*Annali della Scuola normale superiore di Pisa, Cl. di lettere e filosofia.*
ATL	B.D. Meritt, H.T. Wade-Gery and M.F. McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists* (Cambridge, Mass. 1939–53).
Atti Taranto	*Atti del... Convegno di Studi dulla Magna Grecia, Taranto* (Naples/Taranto). [References use number of conference and the year in which it was held.]
AWE	*Ancient West & East.*
BABesch	*Bulletin van de Vereeniging tot Bevordering der Kennis van de Antieke Beschaving/Bulletin Antieke Beschaving.*
BAR	*British Archaeological Reports.*
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research.*
BCH	*Bulletin de correspondance hellénique.*
BEFAR	*Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome.*

BSA	*Annual of the British School at Athens.*
BSR	*Papers of the British School at Rome.*
ByzF	*Byzantinische Forschungen. Internationale Zeitschrift für Byzantinistik.*
CAH	*The Cambridge Ancient History.*
CASA	*Cronache di archeologia e di storia dell'arte.*
CIGIME	P. Cabanes, *Corpus des inscriptions grecques d'Illyrie méridionale et d'Épire* (Athens 1995–97).
CIRB	V.V. Struve *et al.* (eds.), *Corpus inscriptionum regni Bosporani* (Moscow/Leningrad 1965) (in Russian).
CISA	*Contributi dell'Istituto di storia antica dell'Univ. del Sacro Cuore.*
ClAnt	*Classical Antiquity.*
CPG	E.L. von Leutsch and F.G. Schneidewin, *Corpus Paroemiographicorum Graecorum* (Göttingen 1839–1851).
CPh	*Classical Philology.*
CQ	*Classical Quarterly.*
CVA	*Corpus vasorum antiquorum.*
DHA	*Dialogues d'histoire ancienne.*
ÉchosCl	*Échos du monde classique/Classical Views.*
FGrHist	F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* (Berlin/Leiden 1923–).
GGM	C. Müller, *Geographici Graeci Minores* (Paris 1855–61).
GHI	M.N. Tod, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions* (Oxford 1933–48).
HBA	*Hamburger Beiträge zur Archäologie.*
HCT	A.W. Gomme, A. Andrewes and K.J. Dover, *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides* (Oxford 1945–81).
IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal.*
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae.*
IPriene	F. Freiherr Hiller von Gaertringen, *Inschriften von Priene* (Berlin 1906).
IstMitt	*Istanbuler Mitteilungen.*
JbRGZM	*Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, Mainz.*
JDS	*Journal des savants.*
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies.*
JMA	*Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology.*
LIMC	*Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae.*
LSCG	F. Sokolwski, *Lois sacrées des cites grecques* (Paris 1969).
LSJ	H.G. Liddell, R. Scott and H. Stuart-Jones, *Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford).

MascaJ	*Masca Journal* (Museum Applied Science Center for Archaeology, University of Pennsylvania).
MDAI(A)	*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Athenische Abteilung.*
MDAI(R)	*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Römische Abteilung.*
MedArch	*Mediterranean Archaeology.*
MEFRA	*Mélanges de l'école française de Rome, Antiquité.*
MemLinc	*Memorie. Atti dell'Accademia nazionale dei Lincei.*
MHR	*Mediterranean Historical Review.*
ML	R. Meiggs and D.M. Lewis, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Oxford 1969; 2nd ed., 1988).
Mus Helv	*Museum Helveticum.*
NC	*Numismatic Chronicle.*
OEANE	E.M. Meyers (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East* (Oxford/New York 1997).
OJA	*Oxford Journal of Archaeology.*
ÖJh	*Jahreshefte des Österreichischen archäologischen Instituts in Wien.*
OpArch	*Opuscula archaeologica.*
OpAth	*Opuscula atheniensia.*
PCG	R. Kasel and C. Austin (eds.), *Poetae Comici Graeci* (Berlin 1983–).
PP	*La parola del passato.*
Praktika	*Praktika tes en Athenais Arkaiologikes Hetaireias.*
ProcAmPhilSoc	*Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society.*
PBA	*Proceedings of the British Academy.*
PZ	*Prähistorische Zeitschrift.*
QuadUrbin	*Quaderni urbinati di cultura classica.*
RBN	*Revue belge de numismatique et de sigillographie.*
RdA	*Rivista di archeologia.*
RDAC	*Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus.*
REA	*Revue des études anciennes.*
REG	*Revue des études grecques.*
RendLinc	*Rendiconti della classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche dell'Accademia dei Lincei.*
RendNap	*Rendiconti dell'Accademia di archeologia, lettere e belle arti di Napoli.*
Rev. Phil.	*Revue de philologie.*

RFIC	*Rivista di filologia e di istruzione classica.*
RhMus	*Rheinisches Museum für Philologie.*
RHR	*Revue de l'histoire des religions.*
RNum	*Revue numismatique.*
RivFil	*Rivista di filologia e di istruzione classica.*
RivStorAnt	*Rivista storica dell'Antichità.*
SB Berlin	*Sitzungsberichte der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Klasse für Sprache, Literatur und Kunst.*
SEG	*Supplementum epigraphicum graecum.*
SIMA	*Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology.*
StEtr	*Studi etruschi.*
StPh	*Studia Phoenicia.*
StTroica	*Studia Troica.*
SVA	H. Bengtson with R. Werner, *Die Staatsverträge des Altertums: Zweiter Band: Die Verträge der griechisch-römischen Welt von 700 bis 338 v. Chr.* (Munich 1962).
Syll.	*Sylloge inscriptionum graecarum.*
TAPA	*Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association.*
ThrakEp	*Thrakike Epeterida.*
TrGF	B. Snell, R. Kannicht and S. Radt (eds.), *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* (Göttingen 1971–2004).
ZPE	*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik.*

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

M. Tiverios

Fig. 1. Map illustrating Greek colonisation of the northern Aegean (modern place-names *in italics*).

1. Abdera; 2. *Ayios Dimitrios*; 3. *Ayia Paraskevi*; 4. Aegae; 5. Aege?; 6. Aineia; 7. Aenos; 8. Ainyra; 9. Aisa?; 10. Acanthus; 11. Akontisma; 12. Akrothooi?; 13. *Alyki*; 14. Alopeconnesus; 15. Aloros; 16. Ampelos?; 17. Amphipolis; 18. Anthemus?; 19. Antisara; 20. *Axiohori*; 21. Apollonia; 22. Apollonia; 23. Apollonia?; 24. Argilus; 25. Arnai; 26. Assa; 27. Aphytis; 28. Bergepolis?; 29. Berge; 30. Bisanthe; 31. Brea; 32. Galepsus; 33. Galepsus; 34. *Gefyra of Serbia*; 35. Gigonos?; 36. *Dikaia* (*Therme-Sedes*)?; 37. Dikaia; 38. Dikella; 39. Dion; 40. Doriskos; 41. Drys—Mesembria?; 42. Elaious; 43. Zone; 44. Eion; 45. Heraclium; 46. *Heraklitsa*; 47. Thasos; 48. Therambos; 49. Therme; 50. Thessaloniki; 51. Thyssos?; 52. Ismara?; 52a. *Kallithea-Maltepe*; 53. Cardia; 54. *Kastanas*; 55. Kerdylion; 56. Kissos; 57. Cleonae; 58. Koinyra; 59. *Koukos*; 60. Crenides (Philippi); 61. *Kryopigi*; 62. Kombreia; 63. *Larnaki*; 64. *Lefki*; 65. Lete; 66. Limnae?; 67. Lipaxos; 68. *Hill 133* (Ennea Hodoi)?; 69. *Makri*; 70. Maroneia; 70a. Maroneia 'Kikonian'?—Orthagoria?; 71. Methone; 72. Mende; 73. Mesembria—Drys (see no. 41); 74. Mykeberna; 75. *Nea Karvali*; 76. *N. Philadelphia*; 77. Neapolis; 78. Neapolis; 79. Oesyme; 80. Holophyxos?; 81. Olynthus; 82. Orthagoria —Maroneia 'Kikonian'? (see no. 70a); 83. Pakyte; 84. Palaiotrion?; 85. *Palatiano*; 86. *Paralimnion*; 87. Parthenopolis; 88. *Pethelinos*; 89. *Perivolaki*; 90. Perinthus; 91. *Petropiyi*; 92. Pilorus; 93. Pistiros?; 93a. Pistiros; 94. Posideion; 95. Poteidaea—Cassandreia; 96. Pydna; 97. Rhaikelos?; 98. Sale; 99. Samothrace; 100. Sane—Ouranoupolis; 101. Sane on Pallene; 102. Sarte; 103. Sermyle; 104. Serreios Akra; 105. Singus; 106. Sigeum; 107. Sindos? (*Anhialos*); 108. *Skala Marion*; 109. Skapte Hyle? (see no. 75); 110. Skapsa?; 111. Scione; 112. Smila?; 113. Stagirus; 114. *Stavroupoli* (see no. 50); 115. Stryme; 116. Stolos?; 117. *Sykia*?; 118. Tempyra—Trajanopolis; 119. Torone; 119a. Toumba in Thessaloniki (see no. 50); 120. Tragilos; 121. Troy; 122. *Tsaousitsa*; 123. *Fari*; 124. Chalastra; 125. Charadries; 126. Charakoma (see no. 40).

Fig. 2. Pydna: Mycenaean chamber tomb with its *dromos*.
Fig. 3. Pydna: 'Protogeometric' skyphos.
Fig. 4. Sindos: Euboean Atticising Geometric sherds.
Fig. 5. Sindos: imported Geometric pottery.
Fig. 6. Sindos: local oinochoe of the Geometric period.

Fig. 7. Sindos: choane (receptacle for pouring bronze into a mould) of the Geometric period.
Fig. 8. Stavroupoli: local Archaic pithos-amphora.
Fig. 9. Toumba in Thessaloniki: remains of houses, 6th–4th centuries B.C.
Fig. 10. Karabournaki: cellar of a house of the Archaic period.
Fig. 11. Karabournaki: Archaic pottery from East Greece.
Fig. 12. Karabournaki: Attic SOS amphora.
Fig. 13. Karabournaki: semi-subterranean house of the Archaic period.
Fig. 14. Poseidi: plan of the buildings in the sanctuary of Poseidon (after Moschonissioti 1998, 261, fig. 10).
Fig. 15. Torone: plan of the ancient city (after Cambitoglou and Papadopoulos 1990, 94, fig. 1).
Fig. 16. Acanthus: site of the ancient city.
Fig. 17. Acanthus: plan of the ancient city.
Fig. 18. Acanthus: silver coin of the ancient city.
Fig. 19. Acanthus: view of the ancient cemetery.
Fig. 20. Acanthus: burial offerings from a grave of the 6th century B.C.
Fig. 21. Acanthus: Parian Thasian cup and Corinthian aryballos of the 6th century B.C.
Fig. 22. Acanthus: East Greek kylix of the Archaic period.
Fig. 23. Acanthus: Laconian commercial amphora.
Fig. 24. Acanthus: handle of a Cycladic pithos-amphora.
Fig. 25. Acanthus: painted Clazomenian sarcophagus.
Fig. 26. Stageira: plan of the ancient city (after Sismanidis 1998a, 149, fig. 1).
Fig. 27. Abdera: plan of the ancient city (after Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 2004, 237, fig. 4).
Fig. 28. Abdera: view of the 'Clazomenian' cemetery.
Fig. 29. Abdera: palmette from the top of a grave stele, 5th century B.C.
Fig. 30. Abdera: Clazomenian commercial amphora.
Fig. 31. Maroneia: plan of the ancient city and the nearby *acropolis* on Ayios Yeoryios (after Lazaridis 1972b, fig. 36).
Fig. 32. Zone (Mesembria): plan of the ancient city (after Tsatsopoulou *et al.* 1998, 21, fig. 4).

Fig. 33. Samothrace: plan of the ancient city and the sanctuary of the Great Gods (after Lazaridis 1971d, fig. 34).

P. Cabanes
Fig. 1. Map of the Adriatic showing sites of Greek colonisation.
Fig. 2. Plan of Durrës/Durazzo/Epidamnus-Dyrrhachium (after L.A. Heuzey and H. Daumet, *Mission archéologique de Macédoine* [Paris 1878]).
Fig. 3. Plan of Illyrian Apollonia.

M. Austin
Fig. 1. Greek Libya (after Chamoux 1953, pl. XXV).
Fig. 2 The site of Cyrene (after Goodchild 1971, foldout plan facing p. 200).
Fig. 3. The territory of Tauchira (after Laronde 1994, fig. 1).

M. Iacovou
Figures 3–9 and 11–15 are reproduced by permission of the Director of Antiquities of Cyprus.
Fig. 1. Map of Cyprus showing sites mentioned in the text.
Fig. 2. Ground plan of Enkomi showing main sanctuaries (after Webb 1999, 290, fig. 92).
Fig. 3. Cypro-Minoan tablet from Enkomi (Cyprus Museum).
Fig. 4. Bronze *obelos* (skewer) inscribed with the Greek proper name of Opheltas from Palaepaphos-Skales T.49 (Cyprus Museum).
Fig. 5. Inscription on *obelos*. Detail of Fig. 4.
Fig. 6. Proto-White Painted pictorial pyxis of unknown provenance (Cyprus Museum).
Fig. 7. Proto-White Painted pictorial kalanthos from Palaepaphos-Xerolomni T.9:7 (Cyprus Museum).
Fig. 8. Palaepaphos-Skales T.48: plan of chamber tomb with *dromos*.
Fig. 9. Kition: view of the sanctuary area.
Fig. 10. Palaepaphos: view of megaliths on the south-west corner of the *temenos*.
Fig. 11. Red Slip Bowl with inscription in the Phoenician alphabet from the temple of Astarte at Kition (Cyprus Museum).
Fig. 12. Stele of Sargon II at Kition (Larnaca Museum).
Fig. 13. Silver stater minted by the kingdom of Paphos in the 5th century B.C., name of king inscribed in the syllabary on revers (Cyprus Museum).

Fig. 14. Cypro-Geometric plate from Palaepaphos-Skales with pictorial composition of two male figures slaying a double-headed snake monster (Cyprus Museum).
Fig. 15. The Ingot God from Enkomi (Cyprus Museum).

J.-P. Descœudres
Fig. 1. Map of Greece showing places mentioned in the text (adapted from P. Levi, *Atlas of the Greek World* [Oxford 1980], 14–5).

J. Hall
Fig. 1. Thucydides' calculations of Sicilian foundation dates.

GREEK COLONISATION OF THE NORTHERN AEGEAN*

Michalis Tiverios

To the memory of my teacher George Bakalakis, the pioneer Researcher of Aegean Thrace

Early Euboean Colonisation of Chalcidice

There can be no doubt that one area of Classical Archaeology which has been enriched with fresh knowledge during the latter half of the last century is that concerned with ancient Greek colonisation. Among other things, the leading rôle of the Euboeans in it has been confirmed, a rôle attested by ancient written sources, but, for various reasons, disputed by certain scholars. One of the main grounds for doubt had been the absence from the areas occupied by the Greeks in the first three centuries of the 1st millennium B.C. of excavational data relating to Euboea. But since the mid-20th century, numerous excavations in many parts of the Mediterranean, as also on Euboea itself, have not only confirmed the Euboeans' important rôle in the early historical period, but also given us a great deal of direct or indirect additional information about their activities.[1]

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[1] For Euboean colonisation, see the relevant articles in Bats and d'Agostino 1998; Tsetskhladze and De Angelis 1994; *Atti Taranto* 18 (1978); *AION ArchStAnt* n.s. 1 (1994) (= B. d'Agostino and D. Ridgway [eds.], *ΑΠΟΙΚΙΑ. Scritti in onore di Giorgio Buchner* [Naples]); Kopcke and Tokumaru 1992; *Contribution* 1975; *Nouvelle Contribution* 1981; Hägg 1983, including an extensive bibliography, with the literature on the excavations on Euboea itself (Lefkandi, Eretria, Cumae, Cyme, Chalcis, etc.) and elsewhere (for example Pithekoussai). See also Crielaard 1996; Ridgway 1992; Bakhuizen 1976; Parker 1997; Miller 1997.

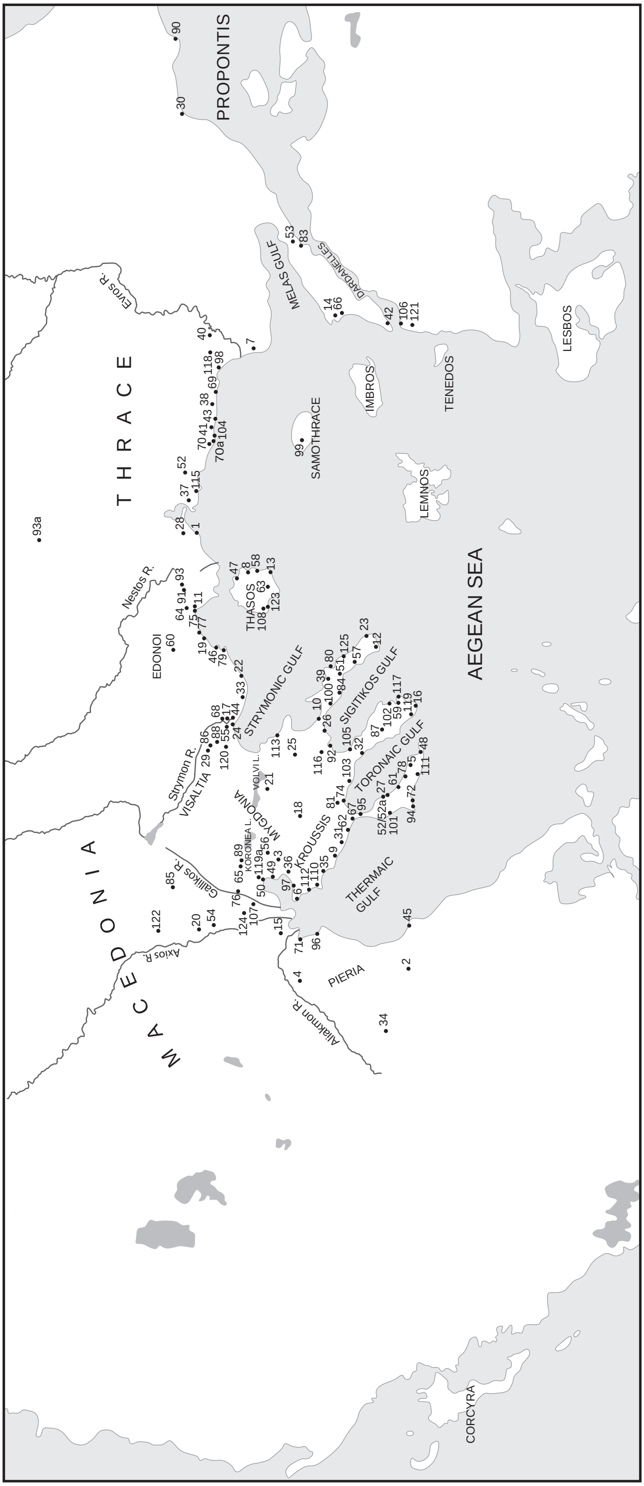

Fig. 1. Map illustrating Greek colonisation of the northern Aegean (modern place-names *in italics*).

1. Abdera
2. *Ayios Dimitrios*
3. *Ayia Paraskevi*
4. Aegae
5. Aege?
6. Aineia
7. Aenos
8. Ainyra
9. Aisa?
10. Acanthus
11. Akontisma
12. Akrothooi?
13. *Alyki*
14. Alopeconnesus
15. Aloros
16. Ampelos?
17. Amphipolis
18. Anthemus?
19. Antisara
20. *Axiohori*
21. Apollonia
22. Apollonia
23. Apollonia?
24. Argilus
25. Arnai
26. Assa
27. Aphytis
28. Bergepolis?
29. Berge
30. Bisanthe
31. Brea
32. Galepsus
33. Galepsus
34. *Gefyra of Serbia*
35. Gigonos?
36. Dikaia (*Therme-Sedes*)?
37. Dikaia
38. *Dikella*
39. Dion
40. Doriskos
41. Drys—Mesembria?
42. Elaious
43. Zone
44. Eion
45. Heraclium
46. *Heraklitsa*
47. Thasos
48. Therambos
49. Therme
50. Thessaloniki
51. Thyssos?
52. Ismara?
52a. *Kallithea-Maltepe*
53. Cardia
54. *Kastanas*
55. Kerdylion
56. Kissos
57. Cleonae
58. Koinyra
59. *Koukos*
60. Crenides (Philippi)
61. *Kryopigi*
62. Kombreia
63. *Larnaki*
64. *Lefki*
65. Lete
66. Limnae?
67. Lipaxos
68. *Hill 133* (Ennea Hodoi)?
69. *Makri*
70. Maroneia
70a. Maroneia 'Kikonian'?—Orthagoria?
71. Methone
72. Mende
73. Mesembria—Drys (see no. 41)
74. Mykeberna
75. *Nea Karvali*
76. *N. Philadelphia*
77. Neapolis
78. Neapolis
79. Oesyme
80. Holophyxos?
81. Olynthus
82. Orthagoria—Maroneia 'Kikonian'? (see no. 70a)
83. Pakyte
84. Palaiotrion?
85. *Palatiano*
86. *Paralimnion*
87. Parthenopolis
88. *Pethelinos*
89. *Perivolaki*
90. Perinthus
91. *Petropiyi*
92. Pilorus
93. Pistiros?
93a. Pistiros
94. Posideion
95. Poteidaea—Cassandreia
96. Pydna
97. Rhaikelos?
98. Sale
99. Samothrace
100. Sane—Ouranoupolis
101. Sane on Pallene
102. Sarte
103. Sermyle
104. Serreios Akra
105. Singus
106. Sigeum
107. Sindos? (*Anhialos*)
108. *Skala Marion*
109. Skapte Hyle? (see no. 75)
110. Skapsa?
111. Scione
112. Smila?
113. Stagirus
114. *Stavroupoli* (see no. 50)
115. Stryme
116. Stolos?
117. *Sykia*?
118. Tempyra—Trajanopolis
119. Torone
119a. Toumba in Thessaloniki (see no. 50)
120. Tragilos
121. Troy
122. *Tsaousitsa*
123. *Fari*
124. Chalastra
125. Charadries
126. Charakoma (see no. 40).

As we know, the written evidence referring to the colonisation of northern Greece (Fig. 1) is comparatively limited, late, and in some cases even puzzling. Typically, with some exceptions, we are not told when these colonies were founded. This, together with the lack of systematic excavations, led a number of scholars to believe that this region was colonised later than the West. But, as I pointed out a few years ago, this would be rather strange, given that a voyage from Euboea (the island which we know for sure played a leading rôle in at least the second Greek colonisation) to Chalcidice was both shorter and much more easily and safely undertaken than one to the West.[2] Certainly, there were some scholars who maintained that northern Greece must have been colonised at the same time as, or even earlier than, Magna Graecia.[3] However, based as they were only on written sources (and thus for the most part on later ones), and in the absence of excavational evidence, their views did not go down very well with historians. Even today, although recent excavations have lent strong support to their theory,[4] there are still scholars who do not share these views. With regard to Chalcidice in particular, some scholars are once again focusing on Harrison's old theory that the Chalcidians of Chalcidice had nothing to do with Euboea and Chalcis.[5] They believe that they were a Hellenic (more specifically an Ionian) tribe, which came to these parts from the north in the late 13th or early 12th century B.C.[6] One variant of this view is that these Greek-speaking 'phantoms' came to Chalcidice from the south at the end of the Middle or the start of the Late Bronze Age.[7]

But as Bradeen too has already pointed out,[8] there is nothing in the ancient written sources, no matter how taciturn and fragmentary they are, to support such hypotheses. On the contrary, they quite clearly speak of direct, close relations between Euboea and Chalcidice. Let us recall what Strabo says (10. 1. 8):

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[2] Tiverios 1989b, 57–8; *cf.* Graham 1971 (2001), 20–2.

[3] See, for example, Bradeen 1952, esp. 378–80.

[4] See, for example, Popham 1994, 30–2; Snodgrass 1994a, 88–91; 1994b, 5–6.

[5] Harrison 1912.

[6] Zahrnt 1971, 12–27.

[7] Papadopoulos 1996, 173; *cf.* Papadopoulos 1997, 191–95. For different views from those expressed in Papadopoulos 1996, see Hornblower 1997.

[8] Bradeen 1952, esp. 359.

> ...these cities [of Euboea] grew exceptionally strong and even sent forth noteworthy colonies into Macedonia; for Eretria colonised the cities situated round Pallenê and Athos, and Chalcis colonised the cities that were subject to Olynthus...These colonies were sent out, as Aristotle states, when the government of the Hippobotae, as it was called, was in power; for at the head of it were men chosen according to the value of their property, who ruled in an aristocratic manner.

Elsewhere, with reference to Macedonia, Strabo says (7 fr. 11):

> But of all these tribes [Bisaltae, Edones, Mygdones, Sithones], the Argeadae, as they are called, established themselves as masters, and also the Chalcidians of Euboea; for the Chalcidians of Euboea also came over to the country of the Sithones and jointly peopled about thirty cities in it, although later on the majority of them were ejected and came together into one city, Olynthus; and they were named the Thracian Chalcidians.

And this is not the only written evidence. Let us remember, first of all, that Aristotle (who, as we know, was born at Stagirus/Stageira and had a mother from Chalcis, with which city the great philosopher maintained close ties) gives us two interesting pieces of information. During a war, probably the Lelantine War, a Chalcidian from Chalcidice came to Chalcis to help his compatriots.[9] Moreover, according to the Stagirite philosopher, the law-giver of the Chalcidians of Thrace was Androdamas from Rhegion (Reggio-Calabria), which, as we know, was a colony of Chalcis (Aristotle *Politica* 2. 1274b). These two items confirm the connexion between Chalcidice and Euboea and there is no basis whatever for regarding them as coincidental or fortuitous. Taken together with all the other data available, this information cannot be disregarded and passed over in silence, when it comes from such an authoritative source as Aristotle. Other reputable sources too, which are hard to challenge, such as the tribute lists of the First Athenian League and Thucydides himself, tell us of Euboean colonies in northern Greece, like Mende (Thucydides 4. 123 1) and Dikaia.[10] Let us also recall the incident recounted by Plutarch, when the Eretrians who had been expelled from Corcyra in 733 B.C. (or 709 B.C.) made their way

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[9] Rose 1886, 96–7 fr. 98 (from Plutarch *Amatorius* 17 (Mor. 761 A)]; Zahrnt 1971, 17.

[10] *ATL* 1 266–7, 482–3. For other colonies in Chalcidice which written sources associate with Euboea, see Bradeen 1952, 366–8 and 375 n. 103 (for testimony which does not discount the possibility that the Thermaic Gulf was also called Chalcis is the ancient period). See also Mele 1998, 219.

to the Thermaic Gulf and founded Methone on the coast of Pieria, having first attempted to return home and been rejected by their compatriots (Plutarch *Aetia Graeca* 11 [Mor. 293 A–B]).[11] Lastly, Diodorus Siculus (12. 68. 6) refers to Torone as a colony of the Chalcidians; and it is also interesting to note Polybius' information (9. 28), to which we shall return later, that ην τι σύστημα των επί Θράκης Ελλήνων, ους απώκισαν Αθηναίοι και Χαλκιδής.

Other disciplines also testify to the relations between Chalcidice and Chalcis, and Euboea in general. Scholars have already pointed out the linguistic similarities between inscriptions and inscribed coins of these two areas.[12] Furthermore, some of their coins are of characteristic resemblance regarding their iconography.[13] There are also similarities in the numerical symbols used in the two areas;[14] and it is highly significant that the Euboeans and the inhabitants of Chalcidice had the same names for the months on their calendars.[15]

All this and more[16] confirms fully the close connexions between Euboea and Chalcidice and renders much less credible the view that the latter did not owe its name to Euboean Chalcis. Especially, also, in view of the fact that the relations between the two areas are further attested by a number of finds from recent excavations in parts of northern Greece.[17] In (mainly coastal) parts of the Thermaic Gulf, in Chalcidice and on other sites too, excavations have brought to light, *inter alia*, Protogeometric and Geometric pottery, much of which has a direct or indirect connexion with Euboea. Predominant is a characteristic Euboean shape, the skyphos, decorated with concentric semicircles.[18] Such wares have been found on the coast of Pieria (for instance, at ancient Heraclium[19] near Platamon and at Pydna:[20] Fig. 3), in areas of

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[11] See Graham 1978 (2001), 224; 1971 (2001), 21–2; Parker 1997, 55–8.

[12] See, for example, Hatzopoulos 1988, esp. 40–3; Bradeen 1952, 361–5; Psoma 2001, esp. 20–1.

[13] Bradeen 1952, 362–3; Kraay 1976, 134–5.

[14] Graham 1969; Knoepfler 1990, 115.

[15] Knoepfler 1990; 1989; Hatzopoulos 1988, esp. 65–8; *cf.* Parker 1997, 45–8.

[16] Knoepfler (1998) does not rule out even the possibility that the tribal distinctions of the cities of Euboea also passed over to Chalcidice.

[17] The number of excavations being carried out in northern Greece has increased considerably in recent years.

[18] For this shape, see Kearsley 1989.

[19] They are unpublished.

[20] See, for example, Besios and Pappa 1995, 37, 39.

Fig. 2. Pydna: Mycenaean chamber tomb with its *dromos*.

Olympus,[21] on sites in the Axios valley (such as Axiohori [Vardaroftsa][22] and Tsaousitsa),[23] in western Macedonia (for example at Gefyra of Servia[24] and Vergina),[25] on various sites in Thessaloniki prefecture (such as Anhialos,[26] Stavroupoli[27] and Nea Philadelphia),[28] in Thessaloniki itself (in Toumba,[29] for instance, Karabournaki[30] and probably the old centre of the city),[31] in the Lagadas basin (for instance at Perivolaki [Saratsi]),[32] at Palatiano in Kilkis prefecture[33] and on various sites in Chalcidice (such as Mende[34] and the sanctuary of Dionysus at Aphytis).[35] Similar pottery has also been found in eastern Macedonia[36] and on Thasos,[37] though the related finds there have been limited up to now and they are completely absent from Thrace.[38]

A considerable proportion of this pottery must be directly or indirectly connected with Euboea.[39] Yet some authorities regard the quantities of Euboean Geometric pottery found in northern Greece as limited and insignificant. They attach particular importance to the analyses of the clay fabric, which frequently, though not always, produce different results from analyses of wares found on Euboea itself.[40] But even if we regard many of these wares not as Euboean but as local imitations of Euboean pottery, this is of no consequence and does not affect the view that there

[21] See, for example, Vokotopoulou 1993, 137, fig. 97; Pandermalis 1997, 67, 88–9.
[22] Heurtley and Hutchinson 1925–26, 28–30 (D5), pl. 21.9, 11.
[23] Casson 1923–25, 10, fig. 3.
[24] See, for example, Vokotopoulou 1993, 121, fig. 70.
[25] Andronikos 1969, 168–71, pls. 34.15, 49.1, 50.21, 51.1, 63.24, 72.16.
[26] Tiverios 1998b, 248, fig. 8; 1993b, 564, fig. 6; Tiverios *et al.* 1994, 229, fig. 2; Tiverios *et al.* 1995, 300, fig. 4.
[27] Tzanavari and Lioutas 1993, 277, fig. 8, 278, fig. 11.
[28] Misailidou-Despotidou 1995, 319, fig. 3.
[29] *Thessaloniki* 1986, 87, fig. 66; Andreou *et al.* 1990, 398, fig. 3.
[30] Tiverios 1987, 255, fig. 2.
[31] Tiverios 1990a, 84, fig. 5.
[32] Heurtley and Ralegh Radford 1928–30, 141, fig. 28.1.
[33] Anagnostopoulou-Chatzipolychroni 1996, 202, fig. 22.
[34] Vokotopoulou 1990c, 407, fig. 7; Moschonissioti 1998, 258, fig. 5.
[35] [Leventopoulou-]Giouri 1971, 364, fig. 13. Similar pottery has also been found at Redina but is not published.
[36] Giouri and Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1987, 385, fig. 29.
[37] Bernard 1964, 140, figs. 10 and 52; Gimatzidis 2002, 80, fig. 1.
[38] It has, however, been found even further east, in the Troad. See Lenz *et al.* 1998, 208–9, 213, pl. 2.4, 22, pl. 11. *Cf.* Crome *et al.* 1942, 170 and pl. 57.4.
[39] Apart from the pendent semicircle skyphoi, there are other Protogeometric shapes from northern Greece which are connected with Euboea, such as amphorae, for instance. See, for example, Papadopoulos 1996, 156, fig. 8, 157 (from Torone).
[40] Papadopoulos 1996, esp. 152–5.

was a Euboean presence in northern Greece. Why, for instance, are there no imitations in northern Greece of Argive Protogeometric and Geometric wares; and why is the influence of the Attic Kerameikos less apparent in the local wares than that of the Euboean Kerameikos?[41] But apart from that, to attach so much importance to the results of clay analysis is to ignore the way the ancient potters frequently worked. There can be no doubt that, apart from the permanent potteries, there must also have been the so-called itinerant workshops, which would often have used local clay from the areas where they, temporarily or permanently, settled. Thus, for example, the Euboean potters working in the colonies would rarely have imported clay from the metropolis. Since it was a material that was available in many areas, they would have sought suitable clay in the locality of their new home. I recall in this connexion the words of Athenaeus (11. 107): Χαλκιδικά ποτήρια, ίσως από της Χαλκίδος της Θρακικής ευδοκιμούντα. And as for clay analysis, there is something else to be said. None of the traditional pottery workshops still operating in Greece uses clay from a single source. The potters take clay from various sources (which are sometimes quite far apart, moreover) in proportions which are a trade secret. Each of these types of clay has its own advantages or may compensate for deficiencies in the other clays being used. It is likely that similar practices were employed in the ancient period. So there is no real reason why we should not regard as Euboean all the ceramic products made by the Euboean colonists and their descendants in northern Greece, even if they are characterised by clay of different composition.

But with regard to the relations between Euboea and Macedonia in the so-called Iron Age, it is very telling that Macedonian pottery of this period has been found in various parts of Euboea itself from as early as the Protogeometric period, and, in terms of their shape, some Euboean wares are probably modelled on Macedonian originals.[42]

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[41] Far fewer Attic or Atticising Protogeometric and Geometric wares have been found in northern Greece than, for instance, Euboean or Eeuboeanising pendent semicircle skyphoi. For the influence of the Geometric Attic Kerameikos in Macedonia, see Mayr 1993, 3–12, who in fact argues that Attic influence in the Late Protogeometric and Late Geometric period came to Macedonia with the help of the Euboeans. *Cf.* I. Lemos 2002, 216 n. 115. Papadopoulos (1996, 156–8) believes that in the wares found in the Early Iron Age cemetery at Torone, the influence of Athens is stronger than that of Euboea. For the 'Euboean Koine' in this area, see also I. Lemos 2002, 207, and esp. 214–7.

[42] Popham *et al.* 1990, 65, 94–5 (R.W.V. Catling and I. Lemos); 1993, 97–100. See also Tiverios 1998b, 250 and n. 42; 1993b, 556; Popham 1994, 31, fig. 2.14c, 33. The

And although there can, I think, be no doubt whatever about the relations between Chalcidice and Euboea, an accurate dating of these relations is problematic. It should be noted that even those who question whether there was any special connexion between the two areas, do not deny that there was a Euboean presence in northern Greece in the final decades of the 8th century B.C. The surviving written sources are not very enlightening as to when the Euboeans first settled in Chalcidice, but they do preserve information which allows us to posit some ideas. It has already been noted that Herodotus distinguishes the Greek colonists of Chalcidice, many of whom were certainly from Euboea, from a 'Chalcidicon genos' which was also established in Chalcidice.[43] Herodotus' 'Chalcidicon genos' probably takes us back to a time when colonisation was 'a movement of nations'—carried out, that is, by tribes, since the city-states had not yet come into existence.[44] Moreover, when referring to the Chalcidians of the West, Thucydides frequently calls them Χαλκιδής εξ Ευβοίας; while he uses the term Χαλκιδής οι επί Θράκης for the Chalcidians of Chalcidice.[45] This distinction is not, perhaps, without significance. It may well be the Athenian historian's way of telling us that the Chalcidians of Magna Graecia were not directly connected with those of Chalcidice, since the latter had settled in northern Greece much earlier, long before the first colonists arrived in the West.[46] One colonisation that was carried out by nations, by tribes, was, as we know, the so-called first Greek colonisation, led by the Ionians. According to ancient writers, Ionian colonisation began at around the end of the 11th century B.C.[47] But it is quite possible that inhabitants of Euboea had settled in northern Greece even earlier. We know that Euboea took part in the Trojan War with the Abantes, who, according to tradition, after the end of the war, wandered also around

oinochoi from Chalcis illustrated by Andreiomenou (1998, 158, fig. 4, 161, fig. 7) may be Macedonian or influenced by Macedonia. *Cf.* Desborough 1972, 218; Coldstream 1977, 40–1.

[43] For the phrase 'Chalcidicon genos', see Zahrnt 1971, 12–3, who gives all the interpretations which have been put forward. See also the detailed discussion in Mele 1998, 221–8. *Cf.* Parker 1997, 47 n. 169.

[44] Kontoleon 1963, 14–7

[45] For these phrases of Thucydides', see Zahrnt 1971, 13–6, esp. 15. See also the detailed discussion in Mele 1998, 221–8.

[46] Tiverios 1989b, 58–9.

[47] Sakellariou 1958, 307–10.

Macedonia.[48] They even built a city near Edessa and called it Euboea (Strabo 10. 449).[49] Let us not forget that there are other traditions about heroes of the Trojan War wandering around northern Greece as well, the best known being Odysseus, Akamas (or Demophon) and Aeneas.[50] And at least two cities of Chalcidice trace their founding back to members of the Trojan campaign: Scione, which is said to have been founded by the Achaeans of the Peloponnese on their way home after the fall of Priam's city (Thucydides 4. 120. 1);[51] and Aineia, for which there is a tradition which asserts that it was founded by Aeneas himself on his flight to Latium after the fall of Troy.[52] That these traditions were not created in late antiquity is demonstrated by the fact that both Aineia and Scione chose to depict the heads of Aeneas and Protesilaos respectively on the coins they struck from the Late Archaic period onwards.[53] This means that the traditions about their founding existed from at least the 6th century B.C., if not earlier. And naturally, these traditions about the presence of known Mycenaeans in northern Greece[54] are backed up by the large and ever-increasing numbers of Mycenaean finds being turned up by excavations in this region, many of which consist of ceramic wares. The earliest Mycenaean pottery found in northern Greece to date comes from Torone and dates to LM I–II.[55]

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[48] Kontoleon 1963, 13–20. For the Abantes, see also Sakellariou 1958, esp. 199–203.

[49] And there are other cities, both on Euboea and in Macedonia, with the same names. See Kalleris 1988, 300 n. 3.

[50] See, for example, Isaac 1986, 113–4, 147; Kakridis 1986, vol. 3, 59–62 (E. Roussos), vol. 5, 205–08, 325–6, 329, 331–2, 335 (I. Kakridis). See also Danov 1988.

[51] See also Zahrnt 1971, 13–4, 234.

[52] Zahrnt 1971, 27, 143–4.

[53] See, for example, Zahrnt 1971, 27, 143–4, 234–5.

[54] For other known figures from northern Greece who took part in the Trojan War, see, for example, Mele 1998, 224–8.

[55] Cambitoglou and Papadopoulos 1993. To the same period belongs a sherd from an imported Mycenaean vessel which was probably found at Karabournaki, the ancient Therme, and is now in the Casts Museum of the Department of History and Archaeology of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki: see Tiverios 2004, 296, fig. 2. For Mycenaean presence in Macedonia and in the northern Aegean more generally, see Andreou *et al.* 1996, 567, 573–4, 577, 579–86, 590; Soueref 1999b; Donder 1999; Grammenos 1999; Pilali-Papasteriou 1999; Andreou and Kotsakis 1999; 1992, 259 n. 3 (a bibliography) and 265–70; Vokotopoulou 1984, 144–9, 155; Poulaki-Pandermali 1987a; 1987b, 705–8, 711–2, 715; Wardle 1993, 121–4, 127–33; Cambitoglou and Papadopoulos 1993; Podzuweit 1986; 1979; Hänsel 1989, 331–4; Vokotopoulou 1993d, 12 (I. Vokotopoulou), 108–10 (H. Koukouli-Chrysanthaki), 116–8 (G. Karamitrou-Mentesidi), 122–3 (E. Poulaki-Pantermali); Kilian 1990; Mitrevski 1999; Soueref

An early settling of the southern Greeks, more specifically the Euboeans, in the North Aegean is also supported by the findings of some recent excavations in Chalcidice, at Torone, colony of the Chalcidians, at Koukos near Sykia on Sithonia, and, especially, at Mende, colony of the Eretrians (Thucydides 4. 123. 1), and its extra-urban sanctuary at Poseidi. At Torone, which was known to Archilochos in the 7th century B.C., an extensive Early Iron Age (or early Protogeometric) cemetery has been uncovered, with 134 burials, of which 118 are cremations and 16 inhumations.[56] The cemetery has yielded over 500 entire and fragmentary ceramic wares, which indicate that it began to be used towards the end of the Submycenaean period and ceased to be used *ca.* 850 B.C. The presence among them of imported wares from Attica and Euboea, together with some which appear to have been made in Torone itself, though they imitate purely Greek (and sometimes quite innovative) wares from southern Greece, shows that the area had contact with southern Greece and also confirms the aforementioned written evidence of the presence of Athenians and Euboeans here. It should be noted that the remains of a pottery kiln have also been uncovered on the site of the cemetery, with wares dating to the middle or the second half of the 8th century B.C.[57] This find has given us valuable information for the study of the local pottery. Of the 14 fragmentary wares found here, ten are wheel-made (seven amphorae, one krater, one lekanis and a small pithos) and the other four are made by hand. Their decoration differs from that of the wares in the cemetery. Although the basic decorative motifs, such as concentric circles and semicircles, are still present, together, of course, with new ones (such as a row of cross-hatched lozenges), the decoration of these wares does not share the strict precision and regularity of the decoration of the wares in the cemetery. Pottery similar to and contemporary with that found in the cemetery and the kiln has also come to light during the excavations at

1993; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1992a, 553–6; 1980b, esp. 65–70; 1982b, 124–30; 1982c, 243–50; Grammenos 1979, 26–30; Jung 2002, esp. 44–6; 2003 (with recent bibliography); Andreou 2003. See also Panayotou 1986; Sampsaris 1988, 167–70; Smit 1988. There is also Mycenaean presence in Bulgaria. See, for example, Hoddinott 1988; Matthäus 1988; French 1982; Hartuche and Sirbu 1982; Kisjov and Bojinova 2006, 126. A terracotta fragment with Linear B text was found recently in the Drama (Bulgaria) prehistoric mound (excavated by J. Lichardus). I owe the last information to N. Theodossiev.

[56] Cambitoglou and Papadopoulos 1988, 187–8; Papadopoulos 1990, 13–4 and n. 3 for bibliography; and recently Papadopoulos 2005.

[57] Papadopoulos 1989, 9–12.

Lekythos:[58] *i.e.* imported wheel-made wares, together with local handmade and wheel-made vessels.

The site at Koukos, on a hill near Sykia, has yielded remains of a fortified settlement, which was probably founded in connexion with mining operations, and a cemetery.[59] The pottery connected with the settlement and the walls dates to the Early Iron Age, while the cemetery has yielded various types of graves, the earliest of which date to the end of the 10th century B.C. The graves, the latest of which date to the early decades of the 7th century B.C., contained, *inter alia*, local handmade pottery (such as cut-away oinochoi, kantharoi with elevated handles, two-handled vessels and pithoi) and imported wares. The latter (which include amphorae, kraters and lekanides with conical bases) are related mainly to Euboean pottery, specifically to similar wares found at Lefkandi.

Much more enlightening for our purpose are the findings of the excavations at ancient Mende (1.5 km south-east of modern Kalandra), most notably a sanctuary which came to light on the nearby promontory that rises appoximately in the middle of the west coast of the Cassandra Peninsula. Of the findings, I shall mention here only what is relevant to the matter in hand, while others will be discussed later. In Mende itself, more specifically on a site at the top of a hill, known today as Vigla,[60] the remains have been discovered of a settlement whose earliest phase dates to the Submycenaean period. Refuse pits have also been investigated and found to contain both imported and local pottery (some of it handmade) dating to between the 12th and 7th centuries B.C. The late excavator, Julia Vokotopoulou, found most of the imported Late Mycenaean, Submycenaean and Protogeometric wares comparable to similar pottery from Lefkandi, and they are also similar to the pottery found in the city's sanctuary at nearby Poseidi. Moreover, the pottery of the Geometric period has been found to share similarities, *inter alia*, with pottery from Eretria. Excavations at the seaward foot of the hill, where Thucydides' Proasteion must have been situated, have located a succession of habitation phases,[61] represented by brick-built houses with the lower part made of stone and

[58] Cambitoglou and Papadopoulos 1994, 141–7 and n. 3 for bibliography.

[59] Carington-Smith and Vokotopoulou 1988; 1989; 1990; 1992; Vokotopoulou 1987, 284–5.

[60] Vokotopoulou 1987, 280–1; Moschonissioti 1998, 256–7.

[61] Vokotopoulou 1987, 282; 1988; 1989; 1990c; Moschonissioti 1998, 257–60.

equipped with rectangular hearths, the earliest of which date to the Late Protogeometric period, *ca.* 850 B.C. Levels probably dating to the 8th century B.C. have yielded stone-paved circular areas (one with a diameter of about 1.80 m) which must have been connected with some domestic activity. Similar structures have been found at Lefkandi, but also in other parts of northern Greece.[62] According to Vokotopoulou,[63] the earliest—Sub-Protogeometric—pottery found here shares similarities with contemporary wares from the cemetery at Torone, which we have already mentioned, as also with pottery from Lefkandi. Local pottery, mostly large vessels and specifically amphorae, has also been found, decorated with concentric circles, hatched triangles and horizontal bands. Most notable among the imported wares are Euboean skyphoi decorated with suspended semicircles and some Thessalian skyphoi and kantharoi decorated with crosses and triangles. The characteristic pottery of the Geometric period is similar: here again we have skyphoi, which also seem to be connected with Euboea, more specifically with Eretria.

Four kilometres west of Mende, on a site by the sea with the significant name of Poseidi, Vokotopoulou, again, carried out an excavation which is of great significance for the subject at hand. She brought to light the ruins of an important sanctuary which, votive inscriptions confirm, was indeed dedicated to Poseidon Pontios (see Fig. 14 below).[64] I shall confine myself, for the time being, to the sanctuary's early history. The god's cult here began in the Late Mycenaean period and continued until Late Hellenistic times, with a vague break in the 9th century B.C. The clear remnants of a large altar of ash date to the 12th century B.C.; while the 10th century B.C. saw the erection of the first cult building, one of the oldest we know of in Greece.[65] An apsidal structure, it was strikingly large for its time, being over 14 m long and over 5 m wide. Here too the pottery of the Late Mycenaean/Submycenaean, Protogeometric and Geometric periods, both handmade and

[62] Vokotopoulou 1990, 399–400; Moschonissioti 1998, 258–9 (with bibliography). Similar structures have also been found at, for instance, Karabournaki (see Tiverios 1995–2000, 303) and Stavroupoli (see Tzanavari and Lioutas 1993, 268, 275, fig. 3). Hammond (1998, 396) believes that the settlement at Stavroupoli presents strong Euboean features.

[63] Vokotopoulou 1988, 331–2; 1990c, 400–1; Moschonissioti 1998, 259.

[64] Vokotopoulou 1989, 416–7; 1990c, 401–10; 1991; 1992; 1993a,; 1994a; Moschonissioti 1998, 260–4.

[65] Moschonissioti 1998, 265–7.

wheel-made, is comparable chiefly to pottery from Lefkandi, but also to wares from Torone and Toumba in Thessaloniki.[66]

Owing to their important finds dating to the Late Mycenaean period, the excavations at Mende and Torone are extremely significant with regard to early colonisation in northern Greece, specifically Chalcidice. For several reasons, the Mende excavations are the more interesting. Apart from the appearance there of Late Mycenaean and Protogeometric pottery that is directly or indirectly connected with pottery from Lefkandi, Mende itself has yielded evidence of permanent habitation from the Late Mycenaean to the Classical period, again with Euboean pottery strongly present until the Geometric period. And while the presence of the southern Greeks, and more specifically the Euboeans, at Mende, as evidenced by the pottery, may be disputed, it can hardly be questioned in the sanctuary at Poseidi on the basis of the excavational data.[67] For here we have, already from the 12th century B.C., the appearance of Greek cult practices and events, with sacrifices and from a later time on with *symposia*, which continue down to the Hellenistic period (attesting the continuous presence of the same Greek population), and also with the construction of four cult buildings, one of them dating to the 10th century B.C. And this very structure is the oldest confirmed Greek cult building in northern Greece, the like of which has never yet been found in any Macedonian settlement.[68] Furthermore, it cannot be fortuitous, given what we have said so far on the basis of the ancient written sources and the excavational data, that here too the most conspicuous pottery until the Geometric period is that which is, directly or indirectly, related to Euboea. It is also worth noting that the burial customs employed in the cemeteries at Torone, Koukos and Late Geometric Mende[69] clearly reflect Greek burial beliefs and practices.[70]

In view of all this, then, it cannot be very far from the truth to assert that southern Greeks, especially Ionians from Euboea, settled in Chalcidice after the Trojan War. The southern Greeks must have got to know

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[66] Moschonissioti 1998, 267–9. For the relation of the cult of Poseidon at Mende with Euboea, see Knoepfler 2000.

[67] *Cf.* I. Lemos 2002, 216 n. 118.

[68] Moschonissioti 1998, 265–7, 269–70.

[69] Vokotopoulou 1989, 414–5; Vokotopoulou and Moschonissioti 1990. See also Moschonissioti 1998, 259–60.

[70] *Cf.* Vokotopoulou 1994b, esp. 92–6; 1989, 414–5 and n. 9.

northern Greece as early as the Mycenaean period.[71] They first settled in these parts at a time when people were still moving about in tribes or clans. Let us remember here the words of Thucydides (1. 12):

> Even after the Trojan war Hellas was still engaged in removing and settling, and thus could not attain to the quiet which must precede growth. The late return of the Hellenes from Ilium caused many revolution, factions ensued almost everywhere, and it was the citizens thus driven into exile who founded the cities . . . so that much had to be done and many years had to elapse before Hellas could attain to a durable tranquility undisturbed by removals, and could begin to send out colonies, as Athens did to Ionia and most of the islands. . . . All these places were founded subsequently to the war with Troy.
>
> (translation R. Crawley)

The Euboeans must have been the most numerous population group in Chalcidice. This conclusion is easily reached because it satisfactorily explains not only why it was Chalcis which gave its name to the region, but also why Euboean wares outnumber Attic pottery and why most of the 'good' pottery found in northern Greece from the Protogeometric and Geometric periods is directly or indirectly related to the Euboean pottery. It is especially worth noting the exceptionally large number of 'Euboean' skyphoi decorated with suspended semicircles which have been found in northern Greece and which we have already mentioned. These vessels are common mainly in the Eastern Mediterranean, where there are also traces of an early direct or indirect Euboean presence; but they are also found in the West,[72] where the Euboeans settled later, in the 8th century B.C. Therefore, Herodotus' 'Chalcidicon genos' must have settled in Chalcidice after the Trojan War. And the Greeks' very early settling in Chalcidice may account for the ancient writers' silence about when most of the Greek colonies here were founded. This is an idea which has already been put forward.[73] And, as we shall see, apart from in Chalcidice, there is also evidence that Greeks came

[71] *Cf.* Vokotopoulou 1996a, 319.

[72] See, for example, d'Agostino 1999, pl. 1.1–3, 6, figs. 1 and 3. Most of these skyphoi should probably be dated before the mid-8th century B.C. The recent excavations on the double table at Anhialos confirm that these wares date also into the first half of the 8th century B.C. There has been a striking increase in the number of pendent semicircle skyphoi from northern Greece. Dozens of sherds from such pottery have been found at Anhialos, where there is a very strong Euboean presence. For the spread of these skyphoi and for their dating, see also Aro 1992–93, 218–25.

[73] See, for example, Bradeen 1952, 380.

and settled in areas around the Thermaic Gulf after the Mycenaean world had come to an end.

The Second Greek Colonisation of Northern Greece

During the second Greek colonisation, more specifically in the 8th century, new colonists must have come to Chalcidice from Euboea and in fact from its two most important cities, Chalcis and Eretria. An early Greek settling in Chalcidice may also explain why so many colonies are found here. More specifically, it is reasonable to suppose that the 'Chalcidicon genos' established settlements in Chalcidice *komedon*—*i.e.* as small clustered habitations—which was common practice at that time.[74] When the new colonists arrived in the 8th century B.C., most of them settled in the existing small but closely packed settlements. Numerous city colonies thus developed (for instance, Strabo [7 fr. 11] tells us that the Chalcidians had around thirty colonies on the middle prong of Chalcidice alone), most of which, however, did not have sufficient living space. Owing to their limited hinterland, these colonies never became as important as those in the West, while their proximity to the metropolis probably made it difficult to detach themselves from it. Their inability to cope alone with external perils had as a result the preservation of the ties among them for a long time and frequently made them act or be regarded by others as a tribe, a *genos*, at a time when the city-state was the predominant political system in Greece proper.[75]

The Thermaic Gulf

On the west coast of the Thermaic Gulf, the only Greek colony confirmed by the written sources was Methone. According to Plutarch, it was founded by Eretrians immediately after 733 (or 709) B.C.[76] So Ps.-Skylax (*Periplous* 66) is quite correct when he refers to Methone as a

[74] For *komedon* settlements, see, for example, Rhomaios 1940.
[75] Let us not forget the presence of the *koinon* of the cities of Chalcidice, under the leadership of Olynthus, which predominated in the region throughout the first half of the 4th century B.C. See, for example, Zahrnt 1971, esp. 80–97.
[76] See p. 6 above, and n. 11 for bibliography. See also Papazoglou 1988, 105–6.

Greek city.[77] It was founded at the time of the so-called second Greek colonisation, in which the Euboeans played a leading part. Strabo (7 fr. 20) specifies its position as 40 stadia from Pydna and 70 from Aloros, which was probably the ancient settlement near the modern village of Kypseli.[78] The site of Methone has been firmly located on two hills directly to the north of the Nea Agathoupoli cemetery. Excavations, which have recently began here, have revealed—among others finds—public buildings dating to the Archaic period and have shown that habitation on the east hill had been continuous from the Late Neolithic to the Archaic period.[79] When the Euboean colonists arrived here in the Iron Age, the settlement was extended to the west hill, which offered a higher, better fortified position. In the Archaic period both hills were occupied, as well as the area between them. The harbour, protected from the strong southerly winds which lash the coast of Pieria, must have been located where the marsh is now, its present state being due to silt from the banks of the nearby Haliakmon.[80] Late Geometric Euboean pottery and Protocorinthian kotylai found here must be more or less contemporary with the arrival of the Eretrians, whom Charicrates' Corinthians had expelled from Corcyra. These Eretrians must have found Thracians here and more specifically the Pierians, with whom they probably co-existed peaceably, until the latter were expelled by the Macedonians and fled east of the Strymon to the Pieris valley, which was named after them (Thucydides 2. 99. 3).[81] This is precisely why this Methone is also known as Thracian Methone, in order to be distinguished from the other cities with the same name (Strabo 9. 436). The archaeological data so far indicate that it must have been the most important urban centre in the area until the Archaic period. Moreover, it occupied a very important location, for it was also near

[77] For the significance of the phrase '*polis* Hellenis', see Kahrstedt 1958, 85–8. *Cf. RE* suppl. X (1965), 834 *s.v.* Pydna (C. Danov); Zahrnt 1997b.

[78] Hatzopoulos 1987, 39–40; Papazoglou (1988, 158) disagrees.

[79] Besios 1993b, 1114 and n. 4; 2003; Besios *et al.* 2004; Hatzopoulos *et al.* 1990, 639–42. For Methone, see also Vokotopoulou 2001, 743–4; Hatzopoulos and Paschidis 2004, 804.

[80] Besios 1993b.

[81] For the 'Pieron Chora', east of the Strymon, see recently Pikoulas 2001. According to Plutarch (*Aetia Graeca* 11), the colonists named their new settlement Methone after the Thracian Methon, an ancestor of Orpheus, who had controlled the area in olden times. Stephanus of Byzantium connects the name with the word μέθυ ('πολύοινος γάρ εστι'), while his information about the existence of a Euboean Methone may also be of interest.

the Haliakmon, which was a navigable river. All the same, with the progress of excavations in the area, there may well turn up Mycenaean finds, since the written sources, though they have little to say about the area in this period, they may allude to the presence of Mycenaeans here.[82] After all, as we shall see, Mycenaean finds are not unknown in Pieria. Consequently, when the Euboean colonists arrived, these parts were not entirely unknown to the Greek world.

But while the excavations at Methone have just begun, the same is not true of nearby Pydna, which lies about 2 km south of Makriyalos on a key site controlling the fertile plain of Katerini and is naturally fortified, having also a harbour. In recent years, major public works have prompted extensive excavations, which have added considerably to what we know about the history of this important site.[83] The new data indicate that the area was already known to the Greeks in the Mycenaean period, for interesting Mycenaen finds have come to light, such as a number of Mycenaean chamber tombs with a *dromos* (Fig. 2) and Mycenaean pottery, both imported and local.[84] And, as we have already said, the written tradition may also allude to Mycenaean activity in this area. Besides, this is not its only site to have yielded Mycenaean finds: their presence is appreciable on sites on Olympus (such as Ayios Dimitrios) and at Kastanas, Anhialos, Karabournaki and Toumba in Thessaloniki at the head of the Thermaic Gulf.[85] The excavational data indicate that the first settlement dates to the Late Bronze or Early Iron Age and is located in the most northerly part of the ancient city, directly to the north of the Byzantine castle, which must stand on the site of the ancient *acropolis*. There is also an important and extensive Neolithic settlement in the wider area. The Bronze Age settlement occupies a far from insignificant area of about 20 ha and is surrounded by a trench.[86] We do not know when Greeks first settled here, and anyway no written evidence survives which describes Pydna as a Greek

[82] See Krebber 1972. *Cf.* Merkelbach 1973; Kramer and Hubner 1976.

[83] Besios 1987, 209–10; 1988; 1989; 1990; 1991; 1992; 1993a, 203–4; 1996, 233–36; Besios and Krachtopoulou 1994. See also Besios 1993b; 1985. For Pydna, see also Papazoglou 1988, 106–10; Vokotopoulou 2001, 742–3; Hatzopoulos and Paschidis 2004, 806.

[84] Besios and Krachtopoulou 1994, 147–8; Besios 1996, 236; 1993b, 1111–2.

[85] For the Olympus areas, see Poulaki-Pandermali 1987. For Kastanas, see Podzuweit 1986; Hänsel 1989. For Anhialos, see Tiverios 1993b, 554. For Karabournaki, see Tiverios 1987, 249–50. For Toumba, see Andreou *et al.* 1996, 581–2 (including bibliography).

[86] Besios 1996, 236–7; 1993b, 1111–2.

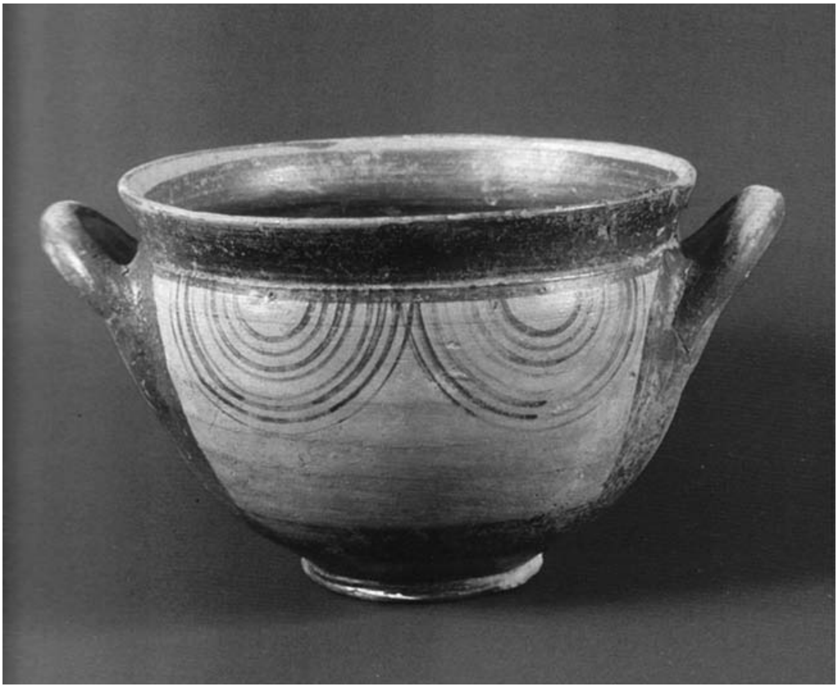

Fig. 3. Pydna: 'Protogeometric' skyphos.

colony; nor do the available excavational data help in this respect. M. Besios[87] believes that the first ones probably settled here immediately after the Trojan War, possibly tolerated by the Thracians. At any rate, its Hellenic character was clearly apparent in later years and Ps.-Skylax terms Pydna, like Methone, a Greek city.[88] The name is reminiscent of Pytna/Hierapytna on Crete and it is worth remembering the tradition that Cretans settled in nearby Bottiaia.[89] The archaeological data so far indicate a limited Greek presence in the Geometric and the Archaic period[90] and Besios suggests that this may be due to the fact that the Macedonians expelled the Thracians from the area.[91] Still, we should mention here a fragment from a large Late Archaic marble building,

[87] Besios 1993b, 1112. *Cf.* Besios and Pappa 1995, 5 (M. Besios).
[88] See pp. 17–18 above and n. 77.
[89] Kalleris 1988, 300 n. 3; Hammond 1972, 153; Papazoglou (1988, 106 n. 13) gives a different interpretation.
[90] Methone was probably the principal centre in the area at that time.
[91] Besios 1996, 236–7.

probably an Ionic temple, which has been found built into the wall of a Byzantine church in the castle.[92]

The presence of Euboeans during the so-called second Greek colonisation has also been revealed by excavations in the ancient settlement near Anhialos and modern Sindos,[93] which have yielded abundant Euboean Geometric pottery, together with large quantities of local wares (Figs. 4–6).[94] The latter include some categories which clearly reflect the influence of painted Geometric pottery from southern Greece. The site was very probably an *emporion*, a trading post, with a mixed population at a time when the relations between the Euboeans and the local Thracians on the west coast and at the head of the Thermaic Gulf must have been generally good. It was perhaps at this time that the myths about the Thracian Orpheus and the Pierian Muses were established, while the myths relating to the 12 gods of Olympus had probably already evolved in the Mycenaean period.[95] The Sindos settlement was on the coast, for the north-western part of the Thermaic Gulf penetrated much further inland than it does today.[96] There can be no doubt that the Euboeans were attracted here chiefly by the gold in the Gallikos river, to which they themselves probably gave the descriptive name Echedoros ('having gifts'). They too must have been the instigators of the cult of the Echedorian Nymphs here, which is mentioned in the sources. Furthermore, gold found in Geometric Euboea may well have come from the Echedoros.[97] It should be noted that traces have been found at Sindos of coppersmiths' workshops dating to as early as the Geometric period (Fig. 7).[98] We have very little Mycenaean pottery from this site at present, but the area is known to have been inhabited already in the Neolithic and the Early Bronze Age. The archaeological site at Sindos may probably be identified as ancient Sindos, since Chalastra, which was also a coastal city in the Geometric and Archaic periods and which Hecataeus describes as a Thracian city, must be identified

[92] Marki 1990, 45, 52, fig. 2; Schmidt-Dounas 2004, 136–7.
[93] Tiverios 1990b; 1991b; 1992; 1993a; Tiverios *et al.* 1994; 1995; 1997; Tiverios and Gimatzidis 2000. See also Tiverios 1991–92, 209–12; 1993b; 1996; 1998b.
[94] It is worth noting here the similarities which the Geometric pottery found at Sindos shares with that from Eretrian Mende in Chalcidice.
[95] Regarding the Euboeans' part in the formation of myths, which have as their protagonists gods and heroes of the Greek pantheon who were active in northern Greece, see pp. 43–44 and n. 201 below. *Cf.* Tiverios forthcoming.
[96] Vouvalidis *et al.* 2003.
[97] Tiverios 1996, 415; 1998b, 248–9.
[98] Tiverios 1996, 416, 424, fig. 6; 1998b, 250.

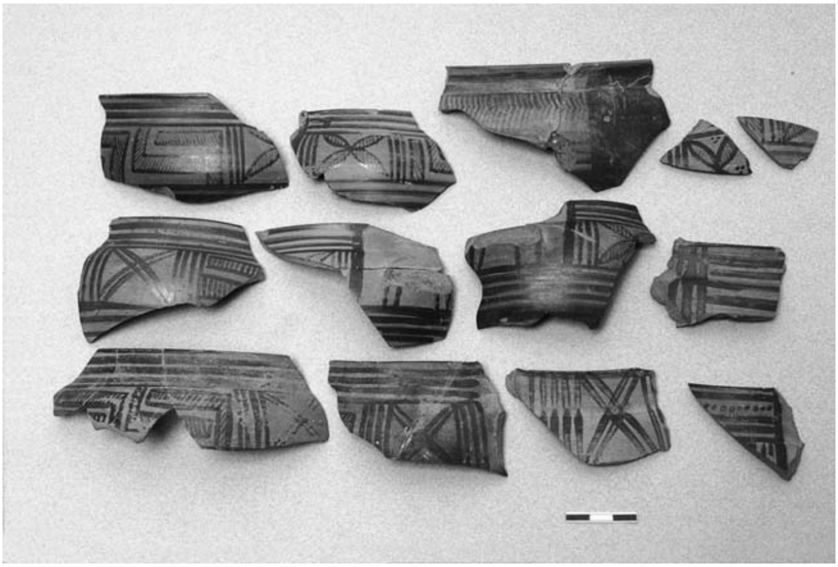

Fig. 4. Sindos: Euboean Atticising Geometric sherds.

Fig. 5. Sindos: imported Geometric pottery.

Fig. 6. Sindos: local oinochoe of the Geometric period.

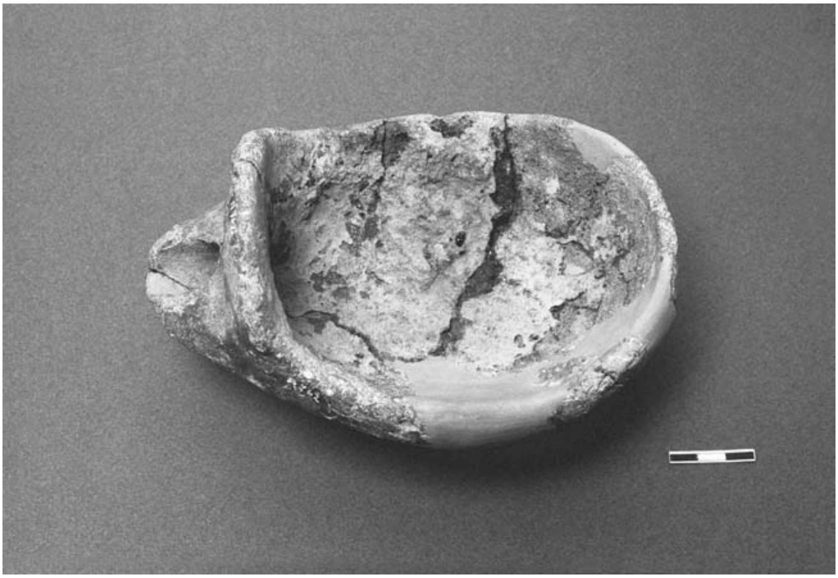

Fig. 7. Sindos: choane (receptacle for pouring bronze into a mould) of the Geometric period.

with the archaeological site at Ayios Athanassios.[99] That the settlement of Sindos maintained its importance also in the Archaic period, when there is no longer any sign of Euboean presence, is indicated by the wealth of the grave goods found in a cemetery which was excavated here in the early 1980s and which also yielded stone fragments of a monumental building, perhaps a temple, probably of the early 6th century B.C.[100]

The presence of Eretrians on the Thermaic Gulf is also confirmed by the presence here of another Eretrian colony. The Athenian tribute lists mention the Eretrian Dikaia, which minted silver coins as early as the end of the 6th century B.C.[101] Unfortunately, its precise location has not yet been determined with certainty. N. Hammond recently placed it on the western outskirts of modern Thessaloniki, in the area of Polihni and Stavroupoli,[102] where recent excavations have uncovered an ancient settlement (Fig. 8).[103] However, this settlement is probably one of those synoecised by Cassander when he founded Thessalonica. According to Pliny (*NH* 4. 36), Dikaia must have stood to the east of ancient Therme. Also, we know from an inscription that *theorodokoi* from Epidaurus went to Aineia and continued to Dikaia and Poteidaea (*IG* IV 1. 94 I b [10–12]). Given that route, it is very difficult to place Dikaia west of Therme, the basic nucleus of which, in the so-called historical period, must have been on the site of modern Karabournaki. It is also difficult to place Dikaia south of Aineia, because Herodotus does not mention it in his account of Xerxes' journey. Some scholars, on the basis of its position in the Athenian tribute lists, seek it east of Aineia and place it at Trilofos, Neo Ryssio or Ayia Paraskevi, or even on the so-called Gona Toumba near Thessaloniki airport.[104] On the other

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99 Tiverios 1996, 418–9; 1998b, 252; Gounaropoulou and Hatzopoulos (1985, 62–4) locate a Mygdonian Heracleia here.

100 Vokotopoulou *et al.* 1985, 12 (A. Despini).

101 Zahrnt 1971, 181–2; Hammond 1998, 395–8.

102 Hammond 1998, 395–8; Rhomiopoulou (1989, 199) locates the city of Pyloros, known only from Pliny, in the area.

103 Tzanavari and Lioutas 1993. See also Lioutas and Gioura 1997, esp. 322–5; Tzanavari and Christides 1995, 13.

104 Zahrnt 1971, 181. For the locating of Dikaia on the site of the prehistoric settlement of Gona, see Vokotopoulou 2001, 745–6; Sismanidis (1998b 34) locates Dikaia at Ayia Paraskevi, a hypothesis probably supported by the discovery near Ayia Paraskevi of an interesting inscription, which has been announced by Voutiras and Sismanidis at the 7th International Symposium on Ancient Macedonia in 2002. However, the circumstances in which this important find was made, together with some information

Fig. 8. Stavroupoli: local Archaic pithos-amphora.

hand, one could suggest its identification with Nea Kallikratia, where recent excavations have brought to light a certain number of bronze coins minted by Dikaia in the 4th century B.C.[105] It is not impossible, however, that it was on the site of the important settlement which is being excavated to the east of Thessaloniki, where modern Thermi (formerly Sedes) is located.[106] The excavations confirm that this was the site of an important ancient township.[107] The numerous and interesting

provided by the finder, suggest that the inscription could have been brought here from an area on the coast nearby. For Dikaia, see also Flensted-Jensen 2004, 826–7.

[105] Bilouka and Graikos 2002, 381. *Cf.* Psoma 2002b, 80 n. 20.

[106] Hammond (1972, 187) places Gareskos here. Ancient Therme was once believed to have been situated here. See Ignatiadou 1997, esp. 57–61.

[107] Moschonissioti 1988; Ignatiadou and Skarlatidou 1996; Allamani *et al.* 1999, 153–6 and n. 3 (for further bibliography); Grammenos 1997; Ignatiadou 1997 Grammenos and Pappa 1989–90, 223–6, 278–80 (M. Tsigarida); Skarlatidou 1990b; 2002.

finds, mainly from an extensive cemetery,[108] include most notably a silver coin attributed to Dikaia.[109] With the presence of Eretrians at the head of the Thermaic Gulf confirmed, we can better understand Peisistratos' activities in this area in around the mid-6th century B.C., for he founded Rhaikelos here.[110] It was probably the Eretrians, with whom he is known to have been on good terms, who brought him to these parts.[111] Of the sites which have been proposed for Rhaikelos, the most lilkely is in the area of Peraia in Thessaloniki prefecture.[112] Also, a workshop which was producing local Attic column-kraters somewhere at the head of the Thermaic Gulf, immediately after the mid-6th century B.C., was probably connected with Peisistratos' foundation in the area.[113] According to some scholars, Rhaikelos, like Kissos (in the area of modern Hortiatis),[114] Dikaia and Anthemus (possibly at modern Galatista[115] or in the area of Ayia Paraskevi, where, *inter alia*, an important cemetery of the Archaic and Classical periods has been excavated),[116] must have been located in the fertile area of Anthemus, to the east of the head of the Thermaic Gulf.[117]

The presence of Greeks at the head of the Thermaic Gulf may also be indicated by the name of the most important settlement in the area, Therme.[118] Unfortunately, there is no written evidence to prove that Therme, either, was a colony.[119] However, Hecataeus does describe it as a city of Ελλήνων Θρηίκων (Greeks Thracians).[120] Excavations in the

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[108] The finds indicate that there was an important ancient city here, as was Dikaia, judging by the contribution which it was paying into the treasury of the First Athenian League. See Hammond 1998, 395.

[109] Lazaridou and Moschonissiotou 1988, 359; Lazaridou 1990, 308–9.

[110] Zahrnt 1971, 218–9.

[111] *Cf.* Viviers 1987a.

[112] Tiverios 1997, 80, 86 n. 24. For Rhaikelos, see also Edson 1947.

[113] Tiverios 1993b, 557–8. See also Skarlatidou 1999; 1033–6; *CVA* Thessaloniki 1, 13 (with bibliography), pls. 1–29 (C. Sismanidis).

[114] Bakalakis 1953–55; Papakonstantinou-Diamantourou 1990, 101–2 (with bibliography); Flensted-Jensen 2004, 830. Vokotopoulou (1990a, 127) believes that Holomondas, as well as Hortiatis, was probably called Kissos in antiquity.

[115] Hatzopoulos and Loukopoulou 1992, esp. 27–8, 39 for other views on the site of the city. See also Soueref and Chavela 1999, 126–7; 2000, 174–5; Flensted-Jensen 2004, 824–5.

[116] Sismanidis 1987, esp. 802.

[117] *Cf. ATL* 1, 482–3 (Δικαιοπολίται Ερετριών άποικοι). For Anthemus, see recently Poulaki 2001, 137–40.

[118] For the name, see Bakalakis 1953–54 (including bibliography).

[119] B. Head, without strong arguments, asserts that it was a colony of the Corinthians. See Liampi 1994, 12.

[120] Tiverios 1990a, 79 and n. 52.

Fig. 9. Toumba in Thessaloniki: remains of houses, 6th–4th centuries B.C.

area leave no doubt that the city was established *komedon*—it was made up, that is, of a number of small habitations scattered about the head of the Thermaic Gulf.[121] In the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age, the basic nucleus of the city must have been the area of what is now the Toumba district in Thessaloniki (Fig. 9).[122] However, from the 8th and mainly from the 7th century B.C., when maritime communications increased and maritime trade was firmly established, the city's centre of gravity must have shifted towards the coastal settlement on the site of what is now Karabournaki, where parts probably of the most important port in the Thermaic Gulf have recently been uncovered.[123] That Therme was

[121] Rhomaios 1940, esp. 4 and 6. *Cf.* Tiverios 1995–2000, 315. For Therme, see also Papazoglou 1988, 190–3; Vokotopoulou 2001, 744–5; Flensted-Jensen 2004, 818–9.

[122] For the excavations in Toumba, see Andreou and Kotsakis 1996 (with older bibliography); Soueref 1996, 389–91 and nn. 1–3: older bibliography; 1997b; 1998; 1999a, 177. See also Soueref 1997a, 407–10 and nn. 3–4 for bibliography; 2000; 2004. Except for the remains of houses etc. of the Geometric, Archaic and Classical periods found in the archaeological site of Toumba, it is also interesting to note the presence here of the cult of Korybantes from the third quarter of the 4th century B.C., see Soueref 1990–95, 37–40.

[123] For the excavations at Karabournaki, see Tiverios 1995–2000 (including older bibliography). See also Tiverios *et al.* 1997; 1998; 1999; 2000; Pandermali and Trakosopoulou 1994; 1995. For the most recent excavations on the site, see Tiverios *et al.* in *AEMΘ* from 2001 onwards.

the most important township in the area until Thessalonica was founded is evident from the fact that Xerxes chose to camp his army and anchor his fleet there. Furthermore, it gave its name to the Thermaic Gulf. And it cannot be by chance that excavations at Karabournaki to date (Fig. 10) have brought to light Attic Middle Geometric sherds, Cycladic Geometric, Euboean Geometric and Protocorinthian pottery; whilst from the 7th century there is a strong presence of pottery from East Greece (Fig. 11). The latter is also found in the next century, together with Attic, Corinthian and Laconian wares. There is an impressive number of Archaic Chian, and also Attic SOS (Fig. 12), amphorae. From the Archaic period there are amphorae from other parts of the ancient Greek world as well, including Corinth, Lesbos and Ionia.[124] Its cosmopolitan character is also attested by the discovery of commercial inscriptions in foreign languages, such as Carian.[125] The imported Archaic pottery found at Toumba includes wares from Corinth, East Greece, Athens, Thasos/Paros and probably Euboea. The fragments of a large Ionic marble temple which turn up from time to time in the centre of modern Thessaloniki are probably indicative of Therme's importance. This temple dates to the early decades of the 5th century B.C. and the recent location of its site in the city centre has shown that it was a 'wandering' temple. All the same, as we shall see, the original site of this important temple may not have been in Therme.[126] The local element at Therme has been located through the discovery of both local pottery[127] and semi-subterranean dwellings (Fig. 13), mostly round, but also rectangular in shape, which are well known mainly in areas of the Black Sea.[128]

Another important city at the head of the Thermaic Gulf was undoubtedly Aineia, as is attested by its strategic site and by the splendid

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[124] Tiverios 1987; 1995–2000, 305–12. For pottery from East Greece, see Tsiafaki 2000. For Attic SOS amphorae, see also Tiverios 2000. Phoenician and Cypriote pottery of the Archaic period has also been discovered at Karabournaki recently (see Tiverios 2004, 297, fig. 4; Tiverios *et al.* 2004, 341, 344, fig. 8).

[125] Tiverios 1999.

[126] For this temple, see Tiverios 1998a, and bibliography at n. 1; 1995–2000, 316–7; more recently Tasia *et al.* 2000; Voutiras 1999, 1338–42; Schmidt-Dounas 2004. See also pp. 31, 82 below.

[127] Tiverios 1995–2000, 309–12.

[128] Tiverios 1995–2000, 304–5. For semi-subterranean dwellings, see, for example, Kuznetsov 1999 (including bibliography); Tsetskhladze 1997, 46 nn. 19–20, 47, fig. 3a, 50 n. 29; 2000a; Solovyov 2001, 120–40 and n. 4. For more recent discussion and bibliography, see Tsetskhladze 2004.

Fig. 10. Karabournaki: cellar of a house of the Archaic period.

Fig. 11. Karabournaki: Archaic pottery from East Greece.

Fig. 12. Karabournaki: Attic SOS amphora.

Fig. 13. Karabournaki: semi-subterranean house of the Archaic period.

silver coins which it minted as early as the 6th century B.C., as also by its contribution of 3 talents to the treasury of the First Athenian League. Its site has been firmly located, with the help of the written sources and excavational data, on the southern shore of Megalo Karabournou.[129] As we have already seen, there was a tradition, from at least the 6th century B.C., which traced Aeneas' founding of the city, that belonged to ancient Krousis, to just after the Trojan War. Skymnos' somewhat unclear assertion that it was a Corinthian colony (626–628) is not convincing. However, Ps.-Skylax (*Periplous*) describes it as a Greek city. Limited excavations confirm that the site was inhabited from the Early Iron Age and perhaps even earlier. This was very likely the original site of the Late Archaic marble temple which graced the centre of Thessalonica in the Roman period.[130] Let us not forget that Dionysius of Halicarnassus (chap. 49) tells us that there was a temple of Aphrodite at Aineia.

The fact that the Euboeans do not seem to have settled at Karabournaki and Aineia—two key sites on the Thermaic Gulf—and instead colonised nearby Dikaia strengthens the view that these areas were already 'taken'. That is to say that when the Euboeans of the second Greek colonisation arrived in these parts they found them already inhabited by other Greeks, who had settled here probably after the Trojan War and were for the most part living alongside the local Thracians. Cities such as Pydna or Therme, which the ancient writers do not describe as Greek colonies and whose foundation dates have not been transmitted to us, must have been occupied by Greeks after the Trojan War. It is worth noting here that, on the basis of Early Iron Age building remains with Mycenaean characteristics at Kastanas, some scholars have suggested that Mycenaeans settled there after the collapse of the Mycenaean centres.[131] The Paionians, and probably the Mygdonians and Krousians, who were living in these parts at the time of the Trojan War, were allies of the Trojans. Therefore, it seems reasonable that after the war the victors should have settled in the areas inhabited by the defeated. Furthermore, as we have seen, there is no

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[129] Zahrnt 1971, 142–4; Papazoglou 1988, 418; Vokotopoulou 1990d, 13–4, and esp. 112–6; Tsigarida 1994; Vokotopoulou 2001, 746; Flensted-Jensen 2004, 822. See also Pazaras 1974, 268–70; 1993, 17 and n. 17, 20–4 and n. 39.

[130] Voutiras 1999, esp. 1338–42. See also p. 28 above.

[131] See Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 124, 252. *Cf.* Hänsel 1989, 334–5. For reservations, see Andreou *et al.* 1996, 580–1.

lack of Mycenaean finds either at Pydna or at Therme, which indicates that these parts were probably known to the southern Greeks already in the Mycenaean period. The gaps created by the reduction of the Paionians' and the Mygdonians' living space here were filled not only by Greeks, but also by Thracians, such as Pierians and Edonians. The relations which developed among them on the coast of Pieria and at the head of the Thermaic Gulf do not seem to have been hostile, at least in many cases.[132] We are given to understand this by certain archaeological data, such as the absence of fortifications, and also by the mythological tradition,[133] with very few exceptions, such as the tradition about the single combat between Heracles and Kyknos near the River Echedoros.[134]

The Greek settlements, colonies and *emporia*, which we have mentioned on the Pierian coast and around the Thermaic Gulf provided agricultural produce, timber, fish, salt and precious metals. And they were certainly not the only ones. Recent excavations at ancient Heraclium, for instance, in the area of modern Platamonas, have brought to light Euboean, East Greek Geometric and Protocorinthian pottery, which makes it likely that there was a Greek presence there as early as the 8th century B.C.[135] By contrast, Lete, a city near modern Derveni which derived its name from the goddess Leto, must have flourished at a later date than the period we are dealing with here. The Archaic coins which have been ascribed to Lete and were the main proof of its importance in the Archaic period probably do not belong to Lete at all;[136] which explains why Herodotus does not mention it.

[132] *Cf.* Danov 1988, esp. 227–30.

[133] The Greeks placed the house of their gods on Olympus and some of their important myths relate to Pieria. See Poulaki-Pantermali 1985; 1986; 1987b; 1990; 1990–95. See also Bonano Aravantinou 1999.

[134] Frazer 1967, 220–4 and 221 n. 3. See also Tiverios forthcoming.

[135] Poulaki-Pantermali 2001, 335–6. See also the relevant announcement made by Poulaki-Pantermali at the 7th International Symposium on Ancient Macedonia in 2002 (publication in progress). For Heraclium, see also Edson 1947, 96–100; Papazoglou 1988, 114–5; Hatzopoulos and Paschidis 2004, 802.

[136] Smith 1999.

Chalcidice

We have already referred to the colonisation of Chalcidice, at the beginning of this study. It is an area in which the southern Greeks, especially Chalcidians from Euboea, probably settled right after the Trojan War. But Euboeans, mainly and again, one of the principal powers of that time, must have reached these parts also during the second Greek colonisation.[137] They settled mainly on the three prongs of the peninsula because these were narrow enough for the comparatively small groups of early colonists to be able to keep them under their control. They also offered access to the resources of the entire peninsula, specifically its fertile soil, rich forests and important mines. Often, the colonists' settling was probably not a peaceful process, but they must usually have overcome the resistance they encountered, either with ease or with difficulty. The Krousians, for instance, who dwelt in the north-west of the εν Θράκη Χερσονήσου, would not have been favourably disposed towards the Greeks.[138] Apart from Aineia, where Greeks probably settled just after the Trojan War, none of their other known cities, such as Smila (probably on the elevation known as Pyrgos on the shore at Epanomi), Skapsa or Kampsa[139] (probably on the coast south of Epanomi on the site of the table and the *toumba* of Kritziana), Gigonos (probably in the area of Nea Iraklia on the site of the so-called Missotoumba and Messimeriani *toumbas*), Haisa or Lisai (probably in the area of Nea Kallikratia),[140] Kombreia (somewhere near Nea Playa), Lipaxos (possibly in the area of Nea Moudania), Tinde and Kithas or Skithai[141] (one of the two was probably on the site of modern Messimeri), seems to have been a Greek colony. And they were all of limited importance, judging by the amount of tribute they paid into the treasury of the First Athenian League.[142] The Athenian colony of

[137] Bérard 1960, 64–70. For the presence of Euboeans in Chalcidice, see also Consolo Langher 1996. For Chalcidice, see also Winter 2006.

[138] For the Krousians and their relations with the Trojans, see Vokotopoulou 1997, 65–6, 73–4. See also p. 38 below.

[139] For Skapsa (Kampsa or Kapsa), see Flensted-Jensen 1997, 122–5; 2004, 829; Psoma 2000a. For Smila, see Flensted-Jensen 2004, 843.

[140] For the possibility of identifying the area of Nea Kallikratia as the Eretrian Dikaia in the, see pp. 24–25 and n. 105 above.

[141] For Kitha, which was near Poteidaea, see Flensted-Jensen 1997, 125–7; 2004, 830; Psoma 2000a.

[142] For these cities, see Zahrnt 1971, 236, 231–3, 179–80, 145–6, 198–9, 247, 193–4 respectively; Pazaras 1993, 15–24. See also Feissel and Sève 1979, 243–50;

Brea (or Beroia?) must also have been in the same area, more specifically on the coast south of Nea Syllata, near the village of Sozopoli, and not in Bisaltia, as a number of scholars contend.[143] An inscription of *ca.* the mid-5th century B.C. (or of 426/5 B.C.) gives important information about the structure of this colony, telling us about the social provenance of the settlers and the financial support they received, the distribution of land by the *geonomoi*, the drawing of the boundaries of the *temeni* and much more besides.[144] The same site has yielded Bronze Age and Iron Age pottery.

In the 7th century, expelled by the Macedonians, the Bottiaians must have settled in the interior of Chalcidice, mainly north of Pallene and Sithonia. They originally lived in Bottiaia, an area between the Haliakmon and the Axios, and, according to some authorities, they too were a Greek race, who remained in the north when the rest of the Greeks went south.[145] There was also the aforementioned tradition that the Bottiaians had ties with Crete.[146] In Chalcidice their most important cities were Spartolos and Olynthus. We shall discuss the latter further on.

Pallene

We have already mentioned the Euboean colonies of Mende and Torone. With regard to Eretrian Mende (Thucydides 4. 123.1), whose original name, Minde, also betrays its Eretrian origins,[147] I should like to add that in the Archaic and Classical periods it was one of the most important cities of Chalcidice. It had been striking coins already in the Late Archaic period and these circulated widely, in Egypt, Mesopotamia and Italy, for instance. This, coupled with the two colonies which it founded, Neapolis and Eion, shows that its economy was not based solely on the products of agriculture (predominant among which was

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Flensted-Jensen 2004, 828 (Gigonos), 828–9 (Haisa), 830 (Kombreia), 831 (Lipaxos), 846–7 (Tinde). Late Mycenaean pottery has reportedly been found on the table at Kritziana and Missotoumba: *RE* suppl. 6, 611 *s.v.* Mykenische Kultur: Makedonien. Epanomi (G. Karo).

[143] Pazaras 1996 (including bibliography).

[144] Tod 1951, 88–90.

[145] Vokotopoulou 1986, 101–2 and nn. 41, 42; Kalleris 1988, 300–1. For Bottike, the land of the Bottiaians in Chalcidice, see Zahrnt 1971, 171–8.

[146] Hammond 1972, 153, 171, 295–6, 335–6, 370, 393–4, 410; Vokotopoulou 1986, 101 n. 42.

[147] Oikonomos 1924.

wine),[148] but also on wider-ranging commercial activities.[149] This also accounts for the considerable sum of 8–15 talents which it was paying into the treasury of the First Athenian League at a certain time of the 5th century B.C.[150] The city's importance in this period is also confirmed by the excavations to date, both in the city itself and in its extra-urban sanctuary at Poseidi (Fig. 14). The city proper stood on a hill by the sea, with its *acropolis* at the top on a site known as Vigla ('watchtower'). Traces probably belonging to a temple have been found here, while the hill was surrounded by fortifying walls.[151] On a coastal site a little further south, where Thucydides' Proasteion was located, public buildings have been found, probably connected with commercial activities; and a little further east are the remains of pottery kilns and smelting furnaces. In addition houses of the Archaic period, with spacious rooms, have come to light, separated by streets approximately 1.50 m wide.[152] Archaic pottery from Corinth, the islands and East Greece has been found, as has local pottery showing the influence of the Cyclades, Ionia and, especially, Aeolis. The most distinctive local pottery comes from a cemetery on what is now the site of the Mende Hotel near a sandy area (in Chalcidice, and in northern Greece as a whole, sandy areas were preferred for cemeteries).[153] This cemetery had been used from the end of the 8th to the 6th century B.C. mainly for child burials in pithoi and amphorae.[154] In the Archaic and Classical period, the sanctuary of Poseidon was supplemented with new temples (Fig. 14), while the

[148] Salviat 1990, esp. 470–5. *Cf.* Papadopoulos and Paspalas 1999 (including full bibliography). Pottery workshops that had been producing commercial pointed amphorae have recently been located at Mende, see Anagnostopoulou-Chatzipolychroni 2004; Garlan 2004a.

[149] For Neapolis, see below. The Mendeans' Eion should not be identified with the Eion at the mouth of the Strymon. See Zahrnt 1971, 187; Psoma 2002b, 80 n. 23; Flensted-Jensen 2004, 827. Indicative of Mende's commercial activities is a graffito in a Cypriote syllabic script on an Attic (or Euboean?) SOS amphora of the 7th century B.C. See Vokotopoulou and Christidis 1995.

[150] For Mende, see Zahrnt 1971, 200–3; Vokotopoulou 1996a, 321–7. See also D. Müller 1987, 183–90 (including bibliography); Vokotopoulou 2001, 751–60; Flensted-Jensen 2004, 831–3.

[151] Vokotopoulou 1987, 280–1. See also Moschonissioti 1998, 256–7.

[152] Vokotopoulou 1987; 1988, 331–4; 1989; 1990c. See also Moschonissioti 1998, 257–9.

[153] *Cf.* Vokotopoulou 1994b, 81–90.

[154] Vokotopoulou 1988, 337; 1989, 414–5; Vokotopoulou and Moschonissioti 1990; Vokotopoulou 1994b, 91–8. See also Moschonissioti 1998, 259–60. For the local wares, see also Paspalas 1995, 29 and esp. 57–93; Moschonissioti 2004.

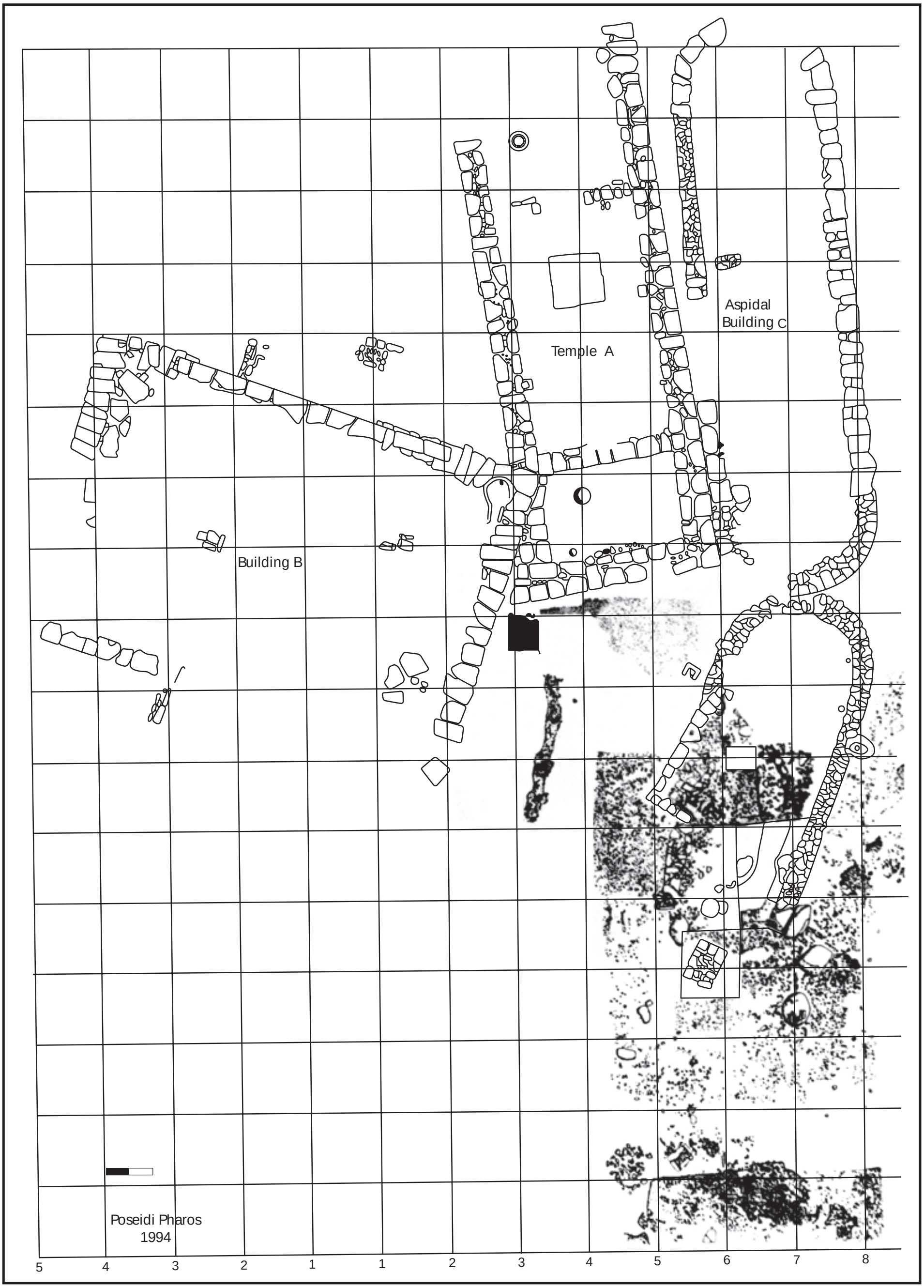

Fig. 14. Poseidi: plan of the buildings in the sanctuary of Poseidon (after Moschonissioti 1998, 261, fig. 10).

most notable votive offerings included local Chalcidician, Corinthian, Attic and Ionian wares, mainly of the Archaic period.[155]

From the Athenian tribute lists we know of another colony of Pallene, which is connected, indirectly at least, with Eretria. This is Neapolis, which is explicitly mentioned as a colony of Eretrian Mende.[156] The Mendians obviously named it Neapolis ('new city') in contradistinction to their old city, which was presumably Mende itself. The fact that Herodotus (7. 123. 1) mentions Neapolis immediately after Aphytis suggests that it may be identified as the ancient settlement which has been located and partially excavated near the modern village of Polyhrono on the east coast of the Pallene (or Cassandra) Peninsula.[157] More specifically, buttressed retaining walls have been found on the pine-clad Yiromiri hill, together with houses, the oldest of which the excavators have dated to as early as the 7th century B.C. The 6th century is represented by more finds, many of them from the city's cemeteries,[158] which have yielded, *inter alia*, imported pottery (mainly Corinthian) and very distinctive local pottery with a combination of Protogeometric and vegetal motifs, the latter showing clear Aeolian influences.[159] It is also interesting to note the discovery of an iron-smelting furnace dating to the 5th century B.C. The presence of local inhabitants in the area prior to the arrival of the settlers from Mende is confirmed by the discovery of an important settlement of the Early Bronze Age (late 3rd millennium B.C.) on a natural eminence on Yiromiri overlooking the modern village.[160] However, it is also possible that Neapolis is on another archaeological site, which has been located to the north of Ellinika hill, just north of the modern village of Kryopiyi. No excavations have been carried out here, so the fact that we know of no Geometric or Archaic finds from this area may not mean anything. If this latter identification is correct, then Polyhrono must be the site of another city, Aige.[161] But if Neapolis

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[155] Vokotopoulou 1989, 416–7; 1990c; 1991; 1992; 1993a; 1994a; 1996a, 325–6. See also Moschonissioti 1998, 260–3.

[156] *ATL* 1, 354–5, 464, 526; Zahrnt 1971, 207; D. Müller 1987, 188; Vokotopoulou 2001, 749–50; Flensted-Jensen 2004, 833.

[157] Vokotopoulou 1987, 282–90; 1990b; 1994b, 89–97; 1996a, 325; Vokotopoulou *et al.* 1988; 1989.

[158] For the presence here of an important building, probably a temple, of the Archaic period, see Schmidt-Dounas 2004, 137.

[159] Vokotopoulou 1990b; Paspalas 1995, 69, 75–80, 89–91.

[160] Pappa 1990.

[161] Herodotus (7. 123. 1) mentions it immediately after Aphytis and Neapolis. For Aige, see Zahrnt 1971, 142; D. Müller 1987, 134; Vokotopoulou 2001, 749–52; Flensted-Jensen 2004, 821–2.

was at Polyhrono, then we must look for ancient Aige in the area of Hanioti and Kapsohora (Pefkohori). Both the Aigetans and the Neapolitans contributed 3,000 drachmas (half a talent) to the treasury of the First Athenian League. We do not know the metropoleis of the colonies on the Pallene Peninsula, apart from Mende, Neapolis, Poteidaea and Scione. But we have Strabo's assurance (10. 8) that the first prong of Chalcidice had been settled by Eretrians. As for Mende's second colony, Eion, as we have already mentioned, scholars accept that it was not the well-known Eion which stood on the bank of the Strymon and which we shall look at later, but another city of the same name, which must be sought on the west coast of Chalcidice.[162] The southernmost city, almost at the tip of Pallene, was Therambos (or Thrambos),[163] near modern Paliouri, which was built on the hills above Glarokavos and Cape Hrousso. The sanctuary of Apollo Kanastraios on Cape Thrambos or Kanastron[164] at the southernmost tip of the Pallene Peninsula must have belonged to the city of Therambos (or Thrambos). The area was already inhabited in the Bronze Age and Early Iron Age, which indicates that Krousians were probably already established here before the southern Greeks arrived on Pallene. After the Greeks had settled in Mende and other parts of Pallene, the Krousians very probably withdrew in the direction of Krousis, or else were assimilated by the Greeks. In the area of the harbour, which is sheltered from the strong southerly winds by the little Hrousso Peninsula (perhaps a survival of the name of the first inhabitants of the area), we have chance finds, both movable and immovable, which may date to the 7th century B.C. At all events, the fact that it paid 1,000 drachmas into the treasury of the First Athenian League indicates that, at least in the 5th century, Therambos was of limited importance.[165]

Another important city on Pallene was Aphytis, which occupied the site of the modern Aphytos (or Athytos) on the east coast of the peninsula, where antiquities have been discovered, including Archaic

[162] See n. 149 above.

[163] Zahrnt 1971, 187–8; D. Müller 1987, 219–20; Vokotopoulou 1997, 73; 2001, 750–1; Flensted-Jensen 2004, 846.

[164] D. Müller 1987, 175–6; Vokotopoulou 1997, 72. The cult of Apollo Kanastraios is known from the inscribed base of a statuette of the god, which was found at the sanctuary of Zeus Ammon at Aphytis. See [Leventopoulou-Giouri] 1971, 360–1 and fig. 9.

[165] Vokotopoulou 1997, 65–74. For bibliography, see also n. 163 above.

pottery from Chios, Corinth and Attica.[166] There is no written evidence that it was a colony, but it probably was. Excavations in an area nearby, south-east of Aphytos, at modern Kallithea (Maltepe), have brought to light the, already known from the written sources, Greek sanctuary of Zeus Ammon, with a temple dating to the 4th century B.C., which may have replaced an earlier temple. The same area has also yielded a sanctuary of Dionysus, which Xenophon mentions (*Hellenica* 5. 3. 19) and which according to excavational data was first built in the Late Geometric period. There was probably also a cult of the Nymphs (or Graces) here, which, as we shall see, was widespread in northern Greece.[167] All this leaves no room for doubt that the Greeks of the south, in this case probably Euboeans, settled in this area at least as early as the 8th century B.C. In Chalcidice, as in other parts of the ancient Greek world, important sanctuaries of the colonies were extra-urban, as, for instance, at Mende, Aphytis, Poteidaea and Sane of Akte.[168] A toumba and a table with finds of the Bronze Age, Early Iron Age and the historical period indicate that the area was already inhabited when the first settlers of Aphytis arrived. Current knowledge indicates that the city, which reportedly founded a colony by the name of Chytropolis,[169] was apparently minting its own currency from the 5th century B.C. It was a member of the First Athenian League and paid a tribute of 3 talents, which was a considerable sum for this area.

I have already said that Scione is one of the few North Aegean cities whose founding right after the Trojan War is mentioned in the ancient literature.[170] Its site has been firmly located on the west coast of Pallene, on a hill at the tip of the Mytikas Peninsula, between the modern villages of Scione and Ayios Nikolaos.[171] The area has not been extensively excavated.[172] However, there are indications that the settlement existed already in the Early Iron Age at the top of the hill; and prehistoric local pottery found in the surrounding area north west

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166 Zahrnt 1971, 167–9; D. Müller 1987, 146–7; Vokotopoulou 2001, 749; Flensted-Jensen 2004, 825–6. See also Misailidou-Despotidou 1979; 1999.

167 [Leventopoulou-]Giouri 1971; 1976; Voutiras 2000.

168 For the sanctuaries of Sane and Poteidaea, see pp. 40 and 43 below and nn. 174 and 192 respectively. For the extra-urban sanctuaries, see de Polignac 1984, 31–40; Osborne 1994.

169 Zahrnt 1971, 254; Flensted-Jensen 2004, 826.

170 For Scione, see Zahrnt 1971, 334–6; D. Müller 1987, 213–4; Vokotopoulou 2001, 751; Flensted-Jensen 2004, 842–3. See also p. 11 above.

171 Meritt 1923, 450–1.

172 Sismanidis 1991b, 319–20.

of the ancient city confirms the presence of local inhabitants, probably Krousians, before the Greeks arrived here.[173] The city's coins, of the Late Archaic period, had a relatively limited circulation, which suggests that its economy was based more on agriculture. The wine of Scione was very well known in antiquity. Still its membership of the First Athenian League with a tribute of 6 talents indicates that, in the 5th century at least, it was a notable city.

Comparatively recent excavations have also firmly located the site of Sane on Pallene, in a locality known as Fylakes Xenofondos on the Ayios Yeoryios Peninsula to the north of the modern village of Megali Kypsa.[174] The excavations here have produced important information about local history not available from the written sources. The *acropolis* must have been on a coastal hill on which stands a Byzantine tower belonging to the Stavronikita Monastery, while the harbour would have been on the south side of the Ayios Yeoryios Peninsula. The earliest finds, both movable and immovable, date to the Submycenaean and Protogeometric periods and there are also important finds from the Archaic period. An interesting sanctuary of a female deity, probably (Pythian?) Artemis, which had links with the rest of the Greek world, especially East Greece, also dates to this period. The earliest pottery, both local (including handmade wares) and imported, from the Geometric period, shares similarities with pottery from Mende. The presence of local inhabitants is confirmed, both by the local pottery and by the discovery of an oval hut. Nevertheless, in the 7th and 6th centuries B.C., there is a striking amount of pottery from East Greece.[175] Corinthian wares are also distinctive in the 7th century, while from the first decades of the 6th century onwards there is a remarkable presence of Attic, Laconian and pottery from other workshops of the ancient Greek world. The presence of the Corinthian pottery[176] is explained by the presence of the nearby Corinthian colony of Poteidaea. The fact that Sane is not

[173] Vokotopoulou 2001, 751. For the presence of a settlement dating to the Late Neolithic and Early Bronze Age in this area, see Tsigarida and Mandazi 2004.

[174] Vokotopoulou 1993c. For Sane, see also Zahrnt 1971, 221; D. Müller 1987, 201; Vokotopoulou 2001, 756–7; Flensted-Jensen 2004, 840 (no. 601). See also Tiverios 1989b.

[175] *Cf.* Rhomiopoulou 1978, 65, pls. 28–30, figs. 3–7. A fragment of an imported Geometric krater (see Giouri 1976, 138, fig. 4; Rhomiopoulou 1978, pl. 29, fig. 5) probably comes from an Aeolian workshop in East Greece.

[176] For an iconographically very interesting Corinthian column-krater from Sane of the Middle or Late Corinthian Period, see Vojatzi 1982, 71–6, pls. 6–10.

included in the Athenian tribute lists may be due to the fact that it was under the sway of its powerful neighbour, Poteidaea.[177]

According to the ancient written tradition, Poteidaea was the only Corinthian colony in Chalcidice and indeed in the entire area of the North Aegean and the Black Sea.[178] Uniquely for the Greek colonies in Chalcidice, we also know the name of its founder. It was Euagoras, probably an illegitimate son of Periander (*FGrHist* A2, 90 fr. 59 [Nikolaus Damascenus]), who founded the colony in about 600 B.C., on a strategic site on the isthmus which links the Pallene Peninsula with the interior of Chalcidice and also offers direct access to both the Thermaic and the Toronaic Gulf.[179] It is interesting that the Euboeans, the masters of the area, had not already occupied such an important site. They had probably tried, but been unable to overcome the resistance of the local Krousians. The powerful Corinthians were successful later on, possibly with the support of the local Euboeans themselves. One indication of this may be the fact that the silver coins struck by Poteidaea from the 6th century B.C. conformed to the Euboean monetary standard;[180] and we should not forget that the Corinthians were apparently involved in the great intra-Euboean conflict known as the Lelantine War.[181] They were probably directed to these parts by Euboeans, who were no longer an appreciable power after the war.[182] But we shall return to this subject later. The presence of Protocorinthian pottery in various parts of northern Greece suggests that the Corinthians may have been familiar with these parts at least from around 700 B.C. But the dense concentration of Euboeans here may have deterred them from

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[177] However, the opinion of Vokotopoulou (1996a, 319) that Sane was a Corinthian colony cannot be proved.

[178] Skymnos' somewhat unclear assertion mentioned above (p. 31) that the Αίνειος άκρα was a Κορινθίων κτίσις does not seem to reflect the actual situation. The view that Therme (see n. 119 above) and Sane on Pallene (Vokotopoulou 1996a, 319) were Corinthian colonies is also unproven.

[179] For Poteidaea, see Alexander 1963; Zarhnt 1971, 214–6; D. Müller 1987, 197–2000; Vokotopoulou 2001, 748–9; Flensted-Jensen 2004, 838–9. For the date of its foundation, see Alexander 1963, 16 and 100 n. 21 (including bibliography).

[180] Zahrnt 1971, 215; Alexander 1963, 50–3.

[181] *Cf.* Ridgway 1992, 20. For the Lelantine War, the most widely accepted date for which is *ca.* 700 B.C., see Jeffery 1976, esp. 64–7; and more recently Parker 1997, 46–9, 59–62.

[182] *Cf.* Will 1955, 402 n. 5, 431, 546. However, we cannot entirely discount the possibility that the Corinthians themselves had been familiar with these parts (Aineia, for instance, see pp. 11 and 31 above) from a much earlier period, since immediately after the Trojan War.

attempting to settle permanently. The colony of Poteidaea seems to have been more of a commercial than an agricultural society. As the only Corinthian centre in the North Aegean, it was very useful for their commercial activities and for anchoring and stocking Corinthian ships. The Corinthians would have got from here the timber so vital for building their ships, and probably ores too. Significantly, Corinth maintained close ties with its colony later on; and the Corinthians were appreciably present at Poteidaea during the events connected with the colony's revolt from Athens shortly before the Peloponnesian War, as also during the early years of the latter. Among other things, they continued to send officials, the *epidemiourgoi*, to their colony every year.[183] Numerous events in its subsequent history confirm its important rôle in the area. Already in the Archaic period, the city had its own treasury at the Panhellenic sanctuary at Delphi and was the only city in Chalcidice, indeed in the whole of northern Greece, to take part, together with the Greeks, in the Battle of Platea; its name was thus inscribed on the tripod which the victors dedicated at Delphi.[184] Let us remember, too, the Persians' unsuccessful bid to take it in 479 B.C. and avert the threatened uprising of the Greek cities in the area; the very large sum of 15 talents which it was eventually paying into the treasury of the First Athenian League; and its rôle in the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War.[185] In 429 B.C., Athenians, including Socrates and Alcibiades, seized Poteidaea and settled ἐποικοι, Athenian cleruchs, there.[186] Graves of Athenian cleruchs, probably of the late 5th century B.C., have been located in a cemetery of the Classical period 2 km south of modern Poteidaea.[187] The city's north and south walls, which were apparently a little less than a kilometer apart,[188] ran from the Thermaic to the Toronaic Gulf. Apart from pottery from Corinthian, Attic, East Greek and local workshops,[189] the movable finds from the Archaic period also include a marble kouros, not a common find on the northern Greek mainland.[190] Archaeological investigations in the area have recently been uncovering buildings of the Archaic period, some of

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[183] Alexander 1963, 20–2, 46–9, 64–6.
[184] Alexander 1963, 25–8, 31–2.
[185] Alexander 1963, 32–4, 41–4, 64–6.
[186] Alexander 1963, 64–6, 75–8, 115 n. 39.
[187] Rhomiopoulou 1974; Sismanidis 1990–95.
[188] Vokotopoulou 2001, 749; *cf.* Pazaras 1987, 192.
[189] An Archaic kiln has also been found recently. See Kousoulakou 1994, 312.
[190] Sismanidis 1998b, 38, pl. 19; 1991a, 282, pl. 106 b.

them public ones.[191] Some of the architectural members, including Late Archaic Doric capitals, which have been found here must be connected with the city's main sanctuary, which was dedicated to Poseidon, the god who gave his name to the city and was portrayed on its coins.[192] His great sanctuary was located in a *proastion* outside the north city wall (Herodotus 8. 129. 3),[193] which was on the site of the present canal. He was probably also worshipped in later Cassandreia, if a Roman temple excavated by S. Pelekidis south-west of modern Poteidaea was indeed dedicated to him.[194] Poseidon has a notable presence in northern Greece and is involved in the myths connected with the founding of cities in the area. There are also settlements which bear his name, coins of local cities depicting his portrait and sanctuaries dedicated to him.[195] He was the Ionians' principal deity and, since they were the dominant element in the North Aegean, his strong presence in this geographical region is understandable. As well as being the colonists' tutelary god on their hazardous voyages, he was also the 'guardian angel' of the entire earthquake-prone area of Chalcidice. Owing to the strong seismic activity hereabouts, the Greeks, and probably the Euboeans, believed that their Gods had battled the Giants here too and they named part of the area, Pallene in particular, *Phlegraia pedia*. According to Herodotus (7. 123. 1), the old name of Pallene was Phlegre.[196] It may be no coincidence that the Euboeans must have been the first Greeks to experience the similar seismic phenomena in the Bay of Naples, in areas that were also dubbed *Phlegraia pedia* and which were also believed to have been the sites of the battle between the Gods and the Giants.[197] The Euboeans may have originated the tradition that Heracles overcame the Giants, 'an impious and lawless race', on Pallene, as well as

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[191] Sismanidis 1989, 357, 364; Sismanidis and Karaïskou 1992, 485–9; Kousoulakou 1993; 1994; 2000.

[192] Schmidt-Dounas 2004, 137; Sismanidis 1989, 364, 371, fig. 13. See also Alexander 1963, 8–9.

[193] *Cf.* Alexander 1963, 8.

[194] Alexander 1963, 6–7, 24, 97 n. 23 with bibliography; Kousoulakou 2000, 326–7.

[195] Apart from at Poteidaea and Poseidi near Mende, which we have already mentioned, his cult is also encountered elsewhere in northern Greece. See pp. 44–45, 64–65 below. *Cf.* Papangelos and Paliobeis 2002, 395 (Monastery of Iviron). For the cult of Poseidon at Poteidaea, see Alexander 1963, 23–4.

[196] Alexander 1963, 17, 101 n. 23.

[197] Aristotle was already familiar with this tradition (*Meteorologica* 2. 8 p. 368b 28–32).

Halkyoneas[198] and, in the area of the River Echedoros, a local leader known as Kyknos.[199] This latter battle may reflect the Euboeans' clashes with the local people for possession of the gold-bearing river. And, as we shall see further on, Heracles was also active at Torone.[200] The Euboeans must have played a leading rôle in the dissemination of the myths of Heracles in the Thermaic Gulf and Chalcidice.[201] However, in the areas east of the Strymon, it was probably the Parians and Thasians who played the main rôle and we shall return to this subject later.[202] An area in the Redina pass towards the Strymonic Gulf, known in Herodotus' time as the plain of Syleus,[203] must have been named after a terrible robber, a notorious vine-grower in Greek mythology, who is also presented as a son of Poseidon.[204] And in this connexion, perhaps it is no coincidence that there was a Posideion (Herodotus 7. 115. 2) not far from the plain of Syleus.[205] According to one tradition, Heracles slew the 'wicked' Syleus in these parts and gave the area to the robber's brother, the peaceable 'good' Dikaios, with orders that he was to guard it until the Greeks arrived! This Dikaios may well be the eponymous hero of the two Greek colonies in northern Greece which were called Dikaia. One, as we have already seen, was definitely an Eretrian colony; while there is a tradition that the eponymous hero of the other, east of the Nestos, was a son of Poseidon named Dikaios.[206] The myth of Syleus and Dikaios probably overlies or reflects Greeks' clashes with the local people in their efforts to settle in the area, which was renowned also for its wine.

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[198] Alexander 1963, 17, 25, 101 n. 28. For the presence of Heracles in northern Greece, see Tiverios forthcoming.

[199] See p. 32 above and n. 134.

[200] See p. 45 below.

[201] Scholars usually suppose that the Corinthians of Poteidaea must have played a considerable part in disseminating these myths in northern Greece. See, for example, Alexander 1963, 25. However, literary and archaeological evidence relating to the region makes it more likely that it was the Euboeans who played this role (see Tiverios forthcoming). Furthermore, the Euboeans' rôle in the development and dissemination of the epics and other myths is becoming increasingly apparent. See, for example, Wathelet 1970; M. West 1988, esp. 165–70; Mazarakis Ainian 1996; I. Lemos 2000, 16–7; Kalligas 1986, esp. 105–8, who notes the prominent position enjoyed by Poseidon and Heracles in Euboea. *Cf.* Malkin 1998; de Polignac 1998; Cassio 1998, who, however, has objections.

[202] See pp. 68–71 below.

[203] D. Müller 1987, 218; Moutsopoulos 1995, 4–5 and n. 7.

[204] Tiverios forthcoming. For Syleus, see Kakridis 1986, vol. 4, 112–4 (G. Anastasiou).

[205] D. Müller 1987, 195–6.

[206] See p. 104 below.

Sithonia

Excavations on the Sithonia Peninsula have been more limited than on Pallene and do not fill the gaps in the taciturn written tradition as much as we should like. The important excavations at Torone, which we have already mentioned, are an exception. The Mycenaeans probably knew Torone early on, because, as we have already said, the earliest Mycenaean pottery found anywhere in northern Greece to date comes from here.[207] And the tradition which connects its founding with Poseidon, Heracles and the sons of Proteus also suggests that the Greeks had some sort of early contact with Torone.[208] According to Strabo (7 fr. 11 and 10. C447), the middle prong of Chalcidice was colonised by the Chalcidians, who founded 30 cities. When they first settled here, the Chalcidians probably lived alongside the local Sithonians. Herodotus (7. 122) tells us that Torone was the southernmost city on the west coast of Sithonia. Its site, north-west of the very secure natural harbour of Kophos, which it controlled, has been confirmed.[209] It was certainly the most important city on Sithonia and one of the most noteworthy cities in Chalcidice. Significantly, when Artabazos destroyed Olynthus in 479 B.C., he gave it to the Chalcidian Toronians (Herodotus 8. 127). Its importance is confirmed by the fact that, already in the 6th century B.C., it was minting coins and circulating them widely both in Chalcidice and elsewhere. At a certain time of the 5th century B.C., Torone was paying as much as 12 talents into the treasury of the First Athenian League. The fortified city built on two hills spread onto a small, rocky peninsula known as Lekythos (Fig. 15). It too was fortified and Thucydides (4. 113. 2) refers to it as the *phrourion* ('fort'). Remains of a sanctuary of Athena, mentioned by Thucydides (4. 116. 2), have been found here,[210] while other finds attest habitation from the Early

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[207] See p. 11 below.

[208] For the myths referring to Torone, see Henry 2004, 82–4. *Cf.* Apollodoros *Library* 2. v. 9 (Frazer 1967, 208–9 and n. 4); Tiverios forthcoming; Mele 1998, 225. Archilochos already knew about Heracles' connexion with Torone in the 7th century B.C. See Henry 2004, 3–4; Kontoleon 1952, esp. 88. For Torone, see Zahrnt 1971, 247–51; D. Müller 1987, 230–2; Vokotopoulou 2001, 758–9; Flensted-Jensen 2004, 847–8. For the recent excavations, see Cambitoglou and Papadopoulos 1988; 1989; 1990; 1991; 1994; Papadopoulos 1989. See also Papadopoulos 1990; Cambitoglou and Papadopoulos 1993; Cambitoglou *et al.* 2001; Papadopoulos 2005. For the written sources referring to Torone, see Henry 2004.

[209] Meritt 1923.

[210] See Schmidt-Dounas 2004, 137–8.

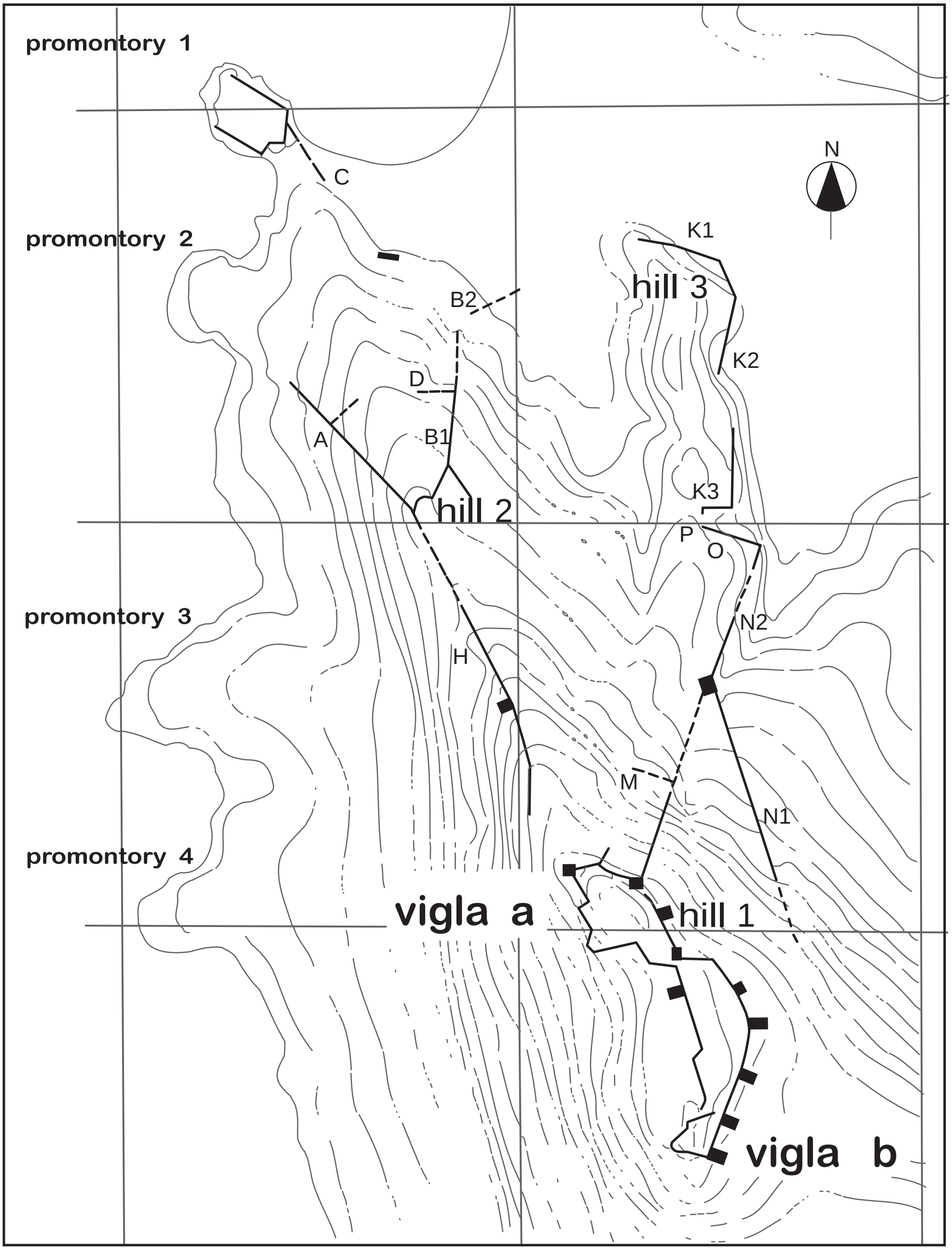

Fig. 15. Torone: plan of the ancient city (after Cambitoglou and Papadopoulos 1990, 94, fig. 1).

Bronze Age. The city's harbour was adjacent to Lekythos. Of the finds from the Archaic and Classical periods, the majority consist of pottery, both imported, from Corinth and Attica for instance, and local.

As for the other cities on Sithonia, most of them coastal, our knowledge is very limited. Not only have we no indication of whether they were colonies, but we do not even know the precise location of many of them. All, however, or at least most of them, must be included among the 30 colonies which Strabo (7 fr. 11 and 10. C447) tells us the Chalcidians founded on Sithonia. But judging from the sums which they were paying into the treasury of the First Athenian League, it would seem that, at least in the 5th century B.C., they were all of limited importance. Assa (Assera),[211] which Herodotus (7. 122) tells us was on the north shore of the Singitic Gulf, was probably on an elevation known as Koulia on the shore at Gomati, where antiquities occasionally come to light. Galepsus,[212] which according to Herodotus (7. 122) was between Torone and Sermyle, is usually placed in an area south of modern Nikiti, where antiquities have been found from time to time, including a cemetery of the Iron Age and the Early Archaic period on the coast at Aï-Yannis. Pilorus,[213] which Herodotus mentions immediately after Assa, is usually connected with the antiquities which have been located in the area of modern Pyrgadikia, more specifically on a steep hill known as Aspros Kavos, by the sea. Sarte,[214] according to Herodotus (7. 122), was the southernmost city on the east coast of Sithonia. It was close to the powerful Torone and was probably often under its influence. Its site is placed in the wider area of modern Sarte, where antiquities have been found at various times. Judging by the 5 talents which it paid into the treasury of the First Athenian League, in the 5th century B.C. at least, Sermyle (or Sermylia)[215] must have

[211] Zahrnt 1971, 162–6; D. Müller 1987, 150–1; Vokotopoulou 1990a, 127; Flensted-Jensen 2004, 826.

[212] Zahrnt 1971, 178–9; D. Müller 1987, 171; Trakosopoulou-Salakidou 1988, 347–50 and n. 3; Flensted-Jensen 2004, 827–8.

[213] Zahrnt 1971, 212–3; D. Müller 1987, 194–5; Vokotopoulou 1990a, 121–2, 127–8; Flensted-Jensen 2004, 837. See also Giouri 1967, 403–4; Petsas 1969, 310–1; Giouri 1972, 11–4.

[214] Zahrnt 1971, 221–3; D. Müller 1987, 204–6; Flensted-Jensen 2004, 840. For ancient Sarte, see also Papangelos 2000, 88–90. For an important Archaic inscription, written in the Chalcidian alphabet and referring to a dedication made by the *archons* of the city, which has been found in Sarte, see Papangelos 2000, 89 and n. 257.

[215] Zahrnt 1971, 225–6; D. Müller 1987, 207; Chrysochos 1900; Vokotopoulou 2001, 757–8; Flensted-Jensen 2004, 840–1. *Cf.* Psoma 2001.

been the second most important city on Sithonia after Torone. This is further supported by the fact that in the 6th and 5th centuries B.C. it was striking silver coins, which circulated widely. No doubt owing to its importance, Ps.-Skylax refers to the Toronaic Gulf as the *Sermylikos kolpos*. On the basis of Herodotus' (7. 122) and Ps.-Skylax's (66) information that it was the first coastal city to the east of Mecyberna, it seems certain that it stood by the sea near modern Ormylia, which is a corrupt version of the ancient name. The nucleus of the city must be sought in the area of Platia Toumba, 3 km south of Ormylia, where antiquities have been found from time to time; while the city must have spread as far as the sea. It should be noted that, between modern Ormylia and ancient Sermyle, two small prehistoric settlements have been located on the hills of Profitis Ilias and Ayios Yeoryios, near the bed of the River Ormylia. The site of Stolos (or Skolos)[216] has not yet been located with any certainty; but it was certainly not on the coast. Thucydides (5. 18. 5) places it between Acanthus and Olynthus, while according to Pliny (*NH* 4. 37) it was between Singus and the Canal of Xerxes. On the basis of the 4th century B.C. inscription from Epidaurus mentioned previously, which lists the cities to which *theoroi* of the sanctuary of Asclepius were sent, probably in the order in which they visited them, Stolos seems to have been somewhere in the area of Acanthus (*IG* IV 1. 94 I b 23). Some scholars place it on the plain of Megali Panayia (or Revenikia), where antiquities have been found. Others, and they may be more correct, locate it at Kelli of Vrasta[217] or at Smixi of Plana,[218] where various archaeological finds have occasionally turned up.[219] Herodotus (7. 122) mentions Singus[220] after Assa and Pilorus. Its site has been sought on the headland at Vourvourou and also, with greater probability, in the area of Ayios Nikolaos, more specifically on the Mytari (or Pyrgos) promontory. Building remains and movable finds have been found here, including pointed commercial amphorae.[221] Other townships are also mentioned on Sithonia, such as

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[216] A. West 1937; Zahrnt 1971, 244–7; Vokotopoulou 1990a, 125–6, 131; Hatzopoulos 1988, 70–3; Flensted-Jensen 2004, 845.

[217] Hatzopoulos 1988, 71–2.

[218] Vokotopoulou 1990a, 131; 2001, 757 and n. 104.

[219] Pelekidis 1924–25; Zahrnt 1971, 245–6 and nn. 396–398.

[220] Zahrnt 1971, 226–9; D. Müller 1987, 209–11; Flensted-Jensen 2004, 841.

[221] The area has been inhabited since prehistoric times. See Makaronas 1940, 493–4.

Parthenopolis,[222] Physkelle (Physkella/Myskella)[223] and Ampelos,[224] which was at the southernmost tip of the peninsula and probably dependent on Torone. Parthenopolis is located in the area of the modern village of Parthenionas, where, on a peak named Kostas on Mt Itamos (presumably its ancient name), a sanctuary, possibly of Zeus, was explored a few years ago and yielded interesting pottery, both local and imported, from as early as the Geometric and Archaic periods.[225]

Before leaving Sithonia, let us also mention Olynthus, which played an important rôle in Chalcidice until it was destroyed by Philip II in 348 B.C., and its port, Mecyberna, at the head of the Toronaic Gulf.[226] Ancient written sources and archaeological evidence leave no doubt that the latter was situated in a coastal area near the modern village of Kalyves. There are three mounds here and also remains of harbour facilities. The lowest mound, named Molyvopyrgos, was inhabited throughout the Bronze Age. The city of the historical period developed mainly on the higher mound, while the third, directly to the north of Molyvopyrgos, was inhabited in the Iron Age. Mecyberna, whose name seems to be pre-Hellenic, cannot have been founded as a Greek colony, as indeed Olynthus was not. When they settled in the area in the 7th century B.C., the Bottiaians probably did not drive out the local people, but rather settled down alongside them.[227] The history of Mecyberna is probably similar to that of its powerful neighbour, Olynthus, which, as we know, after the Persians destroyed it in 479 B.C., became clearly a city of the Greeks of Chalcidice. Olynthus[228] was built on two hills, the more southerly of which is believed to have been the city of the Bottiaians, which the Persians destroyed. However, it was re-settled and in fact grew much larger, since the heart of the new city was transferred to the north hill. The Bottiaians were certainly not the first inhabitants of Olynthus. The southernmost edge of the south hill has yielded the

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[222] Zahrnt 1971, 212.
[223] Zahrnt 1971, 252.
[224] Zahrnt 1971, 152. For the promontory of the same name on Sithonia, which Herodotus also mentions, see D. Müller 1987, 143–4.
[225] Vokotopoulou *et al.* 1990; Vokotopoulou 1996a, 327.
[226] Heurtley 1939, 10–3, 176–7; Mylonas 1943; Zahrnt 1971, 203–4; D. Müller 1987, 182; Chaniotis 1988; Vokotopoulou 2001, 757; Flensted-Jensen 2004, 831.
[227] For the Bottiaians in Chalcidice, see Hammond 1972, esp. 358–60.
[228] Robinson 1929–; Zahrnt 1971, 209; D. Müller 1987, 190–1; Flensted-Jensen 2004, 834–6.

remains of a small Neolithic settlement, the oldest settlement of this period excavated to date in Chalcidice.[229]

Akte

Our knowledge of colonial activity on Akte or the Athos Peninsula,[230] especially in the areas south of the Canal of Xerxes, is meagre in the extreme. The reason for this, apart from the taciturnity of the written tradition, is the total lack of archaeological investigations. However, the fact that the area is extremely mountainous, with very little arable land, would have made it impossible to establish noteworthy settlements and this is confirmed by the tribute they were paying to the First Athenian League in the 5th century B.C. According to the ancient tradition, Thamyris, the mythical Thracian musician of antiquity, ruled the peninsula (Strabo 7 fr. 35). On the west coast, which faces the Singitic Gulf, stood Thysson,[231] probably at the Arsanas of the Kastamonitou Monastery, and Cleonae,[232] possibly near the Xiropotamou Monastery and Dafni, on the site of the harbour of Karyes; while on the east coast were Dion,[233] probably at Platys Limenas of the Akanthian Gulf, Holophyxos[234] (or Holophyxis), perhaps at Mikri Samareia at Arsanas of the Chelandariou Monastery, Charadries (or Charadrou),[235] probably south of the Stavronikita Monastery, and, at the southernmost tip of the peninsula, Akrothooi (or Akrothynnoi or Akrothoion),[236]

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[229] Pappa 1998, 16–7. Not far away is the important mound of Ayios Mamas, the publication of the excavation of which by Prof. B. Hänsel is eagerly awaited, apart from anything else for what it will tell us about the contacts between Chalcidice and the Mycenaean world.

[230] Zahrnt 1971, 151–2; D. Müller 1987, 152–4.

[231] Zahrnt 1971, 189–91; D. Müller 1987, 228–9; Papangelos and Paliobeis 2002, 396–7; Flensted-Jensen 2004, 846.

[232] Zahrnt 1971, 194; D. Müller 1987, 177. Papangelos and Paliobeis 2002, 396; Flensted-Jensen 2004, 830. It has also been suggested that Cleonae should be located on the east coast of Akte, in the area of the Iviron Monastery and in particular at the Iviriki Skete of Prodromos and at Palaiokastro (see Papangelos and Paliobeis 2002, 395).

[233] Papangelos and Paliobeis 2002, 393; Flensted-Jensen 2004, 827. Zahrnt (1971, 182–5) and (D. Müller 1987, 166–8) locate Dion to the west of the Esfigmenou Monastery.

[234] Papangelos and Paliobeis 2002, 393–4; Zahrnt (1971, 208) and D. Müller (1987, 189) locate Holophyxos near the Vatopedi Monastery.

[235] Zahrnt 1971, 253.

[236] Zahrnt 1971, 150–1; D. Müller 1987, 142; Flensted-Jensen 2004, 824. For antiquities found in the area, see Papangelos and Paliobeis 2002, 395–6.

possibly in the area of the Skete of St Anne. All these identifications are based on scanty archaeological and literary data and cannot be regarded as certain. And the same applies to the other known cities on Akte, such as Apollonia[237] for instance, towards the southern end of the peninsula, probably near the Monastery of Megisti Lavra, and Palaiotrion (or Palaiorion)[238] towards the north end of the west coast. On the basis of Strabo's information (10. C.447 8) that it was the Eretrians who colonised Akte, we may regard most of the aforementioned cities as Eretrian colonies. Regarding Cleonaa, however, there is written evidence that it was probably a colony of Chalcis,[239] and, moreover, a city named Chalcis is mentioned on the Athos Peninsula.[240] Furthermore, Thucydides (4. 109. 4) tells us that in his time there were only a few of the 'Chalcidicon genos' living on Akte, the population consisting mostly of Pelasgians (the same ones who had once lived on Lemnos), as well as Bisaltians, Krestonians and Edonians. This means that Pelasgians/Tyrsenians (Tyrrhenians) from Lemnos had probably colonised the area as well, as Strabo gives us to understand (7 fr. 35), but we have no evidence of when this happened. However, the fact that the Pelasgians of Lemnos essentially confined themselves to the Akte Peninsula (and also, according to Herodotus [1. 57], to a city of Krestonia in the north-east of Chalcidice) means that they probably settled in these barren parts (uninhabited by the Euboeans by very reason of their barrenness) at some later date, possibly after Miltiades had occupied Lemnos in 500–499 B.C.[241] Thucydides' Bisaltians, Krestonians and Edonians must be regarded as locals, whom, by and large, the Euboeans and in general the Greeks did not manage to drive out from those steep and rugged areas (or could not prevent them from settling there).[242]

[237] Zahrnt 1971, 158. Papangelos and Paliobeis (2002, 395) believe that it is Akrothooi that should be located in the area of the Monastery of Megisti Lavra.

[238] Zahrnt 1971, 210.

[239] Zahrnt 1971, 194.

[240] Zahrnt 1971, 253. See also Bradeen 1952, 375 n. 103.

[241] Beschi 1995–2000, 153. For Pelasgians-Tyrsenians (Tyrrhenians) in northern Greece, see Vasilescu 1997. For Lemnos, see Reger 2004, 756–7.

[242] Written sources mention clashes between Chalcidians and Bisaltians in Chalcidice. See, for example, *FGrHist* A1, 26 fr. XX (Conon).

Andrian Colonies in Chalcidice and on the Strymon

Given what we have said so far, it is clear that the Euboeans were the main protagonists in Greek colonisation around the Thermaic Gulf and in Chalcidice. They probably first settled in these parts, especially in Chalcidice (where they mostly lived alongside the locals), after the Trojan War; and there followed another wave of Euboeans in the 8th century, during the second Greek colonisation, when a large number of Euboean colonies were founded. They occupied almost all the available living space here, without leaving significant gaps, which risked being filled by other Greek cities. The most significant exception was the founding of Poteidaea by the Corinthians. But it was founded at a time when the Euboeans were no longer a great power, and, as we have seen, the undertaking may well have been carried out under their guidance and with their help. There are indications that something similar happened when Peisistratos settled at Rhaikelos, when, as we have already said, he was probably helped by Eretria. And the same was certainly true of the Andrian colonies on the north-east coast of Chalcidice, for the written sources tell us that the Andrians were assisted by the Chalcidians. The latter had probably won the Lelantine War, but the truth is that this clash between the principal cities of Euboea produced no real victor. After the war, Euboea as a whole ceased to be a great power and was no longer able by itself to establish new colonies. Hammond attributes the founding of the Andrian colonies in Chalcidice to the upheavals which resulted when the Bottiaians settled there, having been driven out by the Macedonians.[243] This would explain why Chalcis and Andros co-operated to found new colonies in 'Chalcidian' parts which were being threatened and needed support. Besides, according to Kontoleon,[244] Chalcis did not have the ships necessary for this sort of venture, for it had previously borrowed them from Eretria, the biggest loser in the struggle for possession of the Lelantine plain. It may not be a coincidence that Chalcis chose to co-operate with the Andrians.[245] For the latter were probably under the dominion of Eretria before the Lelantine War; so they must have been pleased by the city's fall, which would have heralded their own independence. Consequently, the Chalcidians chose for their partners people who were demonstrably

[243] Hammond 1972, 440.
[244] Kontoleon 1963, esp. 21–5.
[245] Bérard 1960, 94; Bradeen 1947, 225 n. 7; Kontoleon 1963, 22.

hostile towards their rivals, the Eretrians. However, their collaboration with the Andrians, at least as regards the founding of Acanthus, ended ingloriously. The fact that the Andrians proved victorious in the struggle with the Chalcidians for the possession of Acanthus (Plutarch *Aetia Graeca* 30 [Mor. 298 A–B]) shows, if nothing else, the weakened state of the once mighty Chalcis.

The Andrian colonies in north-eastern Chalcidice and at the head of the Strymonic Gulf were founded in around the mid-7th century B.C.[246] According to Eusebius' chronicle, Acanthus and Stagirus were founded in the second year of the 31st Olympiad, *i.e.* in 655/4 B.C.[247] Scholars usually date the founding of Argilus to the same period.[248] However, we cannot entirely exclude the possibility that Argilus, which is in a more remote location than the others, was founded rather later. After all, the archaeological evidence from Argilus so far supports this likelihood and its excavators date the related finds to the last decades of the 7th century B.C.[249] Following the successful outcome of their struggle with the Chalcidians for the possession of Acanthus,[250] which became the finest of all their colonies, the Andrians consolidated their position in the area even more firmly by founding Stagirus, an undertaking in which, according to certain sources, the Chalcidians also participated (Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Epistola ad Ammaeum* 5 [727]). In addition, the latter took part in the founding of Sane (Plutarch *Aetia Graeca* 30 [Mor. 298 A–B]). So it seems reasonable to suppose that Chalcidians may also have helped the Andrians to found the colony of Argilus near the River Strymon, which, as we shall see shortly, must have been the most difficult undertaking. Furthermore, in the mid-7th century B.C., Andros does not seem to have been capable of simultaneously founding so many colonies in the North Aegean by itself. As for Sane, at the north-west end of the Athos Peninsula ες το προς Εὔβοιαν πέλαγος τετραμμένην (Thucydides 4. 109. 3), Plutarch tells us that the Andrians founded it not long before Acanthus. And since it was already founded near the latter, at the head of the Singitic Gulf, it facilitated

[246] Bérard 1960, 94; Graham 1978 (2001), 223–5. For the Andrian colonies, see also Rhomiopoulou 1999.

[247] However, some scholars do not discount the possibility that Eusebius' system of dating is based on a 40–year, not 30–year, generation. They thus propose that these colonies were founded in *ca.* 635 B.C. See, for example, Bradeen 1952, 378.

[248] See, for example, Graham 1978 (2001), 224.

[249] Bonias and Perreault 1996, 666.

[250] See also Piccirili 1973, 72.

access to the new city, making sailing along the dangerous east coast of Athos unnecessary.[251] All these Andrian colonies must have severed relations with the mother city quickly. No written evidence survives of any contact between them.[252] There is only the information that a silver tetradrachm of Acanthus has been found in the ancient capital of Andros.[253] It is also significant that, although Acanthus,[254] Stagirus[255] and Argilus[256] were already minting currency in the 6th century B.C., their metropolis does not seem to have followed suit. It did not capitalise on the colonies' proximity to sources of gold and silver and thus did not mint coins until much later.

Acanthus,[257] which is in the area of modern Ierissos, occupied an especially strategic position, because its harbour, whose site is now the harbour of Ierissos, was on the Strymonic Gulf, while the city itself was close also to the Singitic Gulf (Figs. 16–17). Moreover, it had fertile land which produced a rich agricultural yield (the wine of Acanthus, for instance, was renowned),[258] as well as mineral and forestall wealth. It thus rapidly developed into one of the most important cities in northern Greece, as is also attested by the fact that it was minting and widely circulating coins (Fig. 18) as early as the 6th century.[259] Its economic vigour is also reflected in its lavish hospitality towards Xerxes' army in 480 B.C. (for which the Persian king rewarded it with costly gifts: Herodotus 7. 115–120), in the size of its contribution to the treasury of the First Athenian League[260] and in the construction of an *akanthios oikos* at the Panhellenic sanctuary at Delphi during the Peloponnesian War (Plutarch *De Pythiae oraculis* 14). When the colonists arrived here, they

[251] *Cf.* Tsigarida 1998, 84.

[252] *Cf.* Rhomiopoulou 1999, 131.

[253] Paschalis 1925, 260–1 n. 4; Winter 1999, 289 looks for connexions between Andros and its colonies in the way the houses are built, as also in their dimensions.

[254] Desneux 1952; 1949; Cahn 1973; Rhomiopoulou 1998. For the coins of Acanthus, see Tselekas 1996.

[255] Gaebler 1930; Cahn 1973.

[256] Liampi 1994.

[257] Zahrnt 1971, 146–50; D. Müller 1987, 139–41; Trakosopoulou-Salakidou 1998; 1987a; Vokotopoulou 2001, 760–1; Flensted-Jensen 2004, 823–4. For the recent excavations, see Trakosopoulou-Salakidou 1987b; 1993; 1996, 298–312 and nn. 1 and 5 (references to earlier excavations); 2004a; 2004c.

[258] Salviat 1990, 469. *Cf.* Rhomiopoulou 1986; Garlan 1989, esp. 480 n. 11; Lawall 1995, 149–52. The workshops which produced the local commercial pointed amphorae have recently been located, see Trakosopoulou-Salakidou 2004b. *Cf.* Garlan 2004b.

[259] Trakosopoulou-Salakidou 1998, 97–8 (including bibliography).

[260] Zahrnt 1971, 148.

Fig. 16. Acanthus: site of the ancient city.

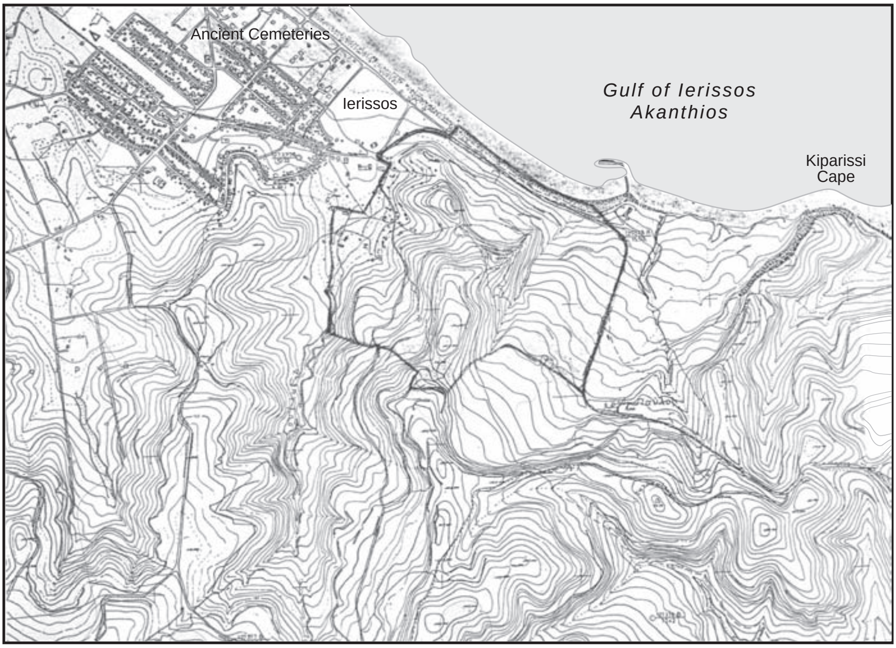

Fig. 17. Acanthus: plan of the ancient city.

Fig. 18. Acanthus: silver coin of the ancient city.

must have found a local population, which, according to Plutarch (*Aetia Graeca* 30), they drove away. The presence of a prehistoric settlement in the area is confirmed not only by ancient writers, but also by excavations.[261] An extensive cemetery on the town's sandy beach has been under excavation for many years (Fig. 19), its earliest graves dating to the time of the first settlers.[262] The ceramic burial offerings (Fig. 20) come mainly from Corinth (Fig. 21), East Greece (Fig. 22), Thasos (Fig. 21), Attica and elsewhere (Fig. 23), including some of Cycladic provenance (Fig. 24),[263] all of which is indicative of the city's far-ranging commercial activities. It is also worth noting the presence of Archaic Clazomenian terracotta sarcophagi (Fig. 25), which, together with Ionian pottery which has been found, bear witness to relations with Ionia.[264] The discovery of a decorated marble architectural member suggests that

[261] Trakosopoulou-Salakidou 1996, 298–9; 1998; 2004c.

[262] Trakosopoulou-Salakidou 1987b, 297–304; 1993; 1996, 306; 1998, 106–9; 2004a; Kaltsas 1998, 19–22 and nn. 14, 16–18 (older bibliography).

[263] Trakosopoulou-Salakidou 1999. Recent excavations have also brought to light a Cycladic vase of the Linear Island Style.

[264] Giouri 1990; Trakosopoulou-Salakidou 1998, 109; Kaltsas 1998, 293–6 n. 1102; 1996–97.

Fig. 19. Acanthus: view of the ancient cemetery.

Fig. 20. Acanthus: burial offerings from a grave of the 6th century B.C.

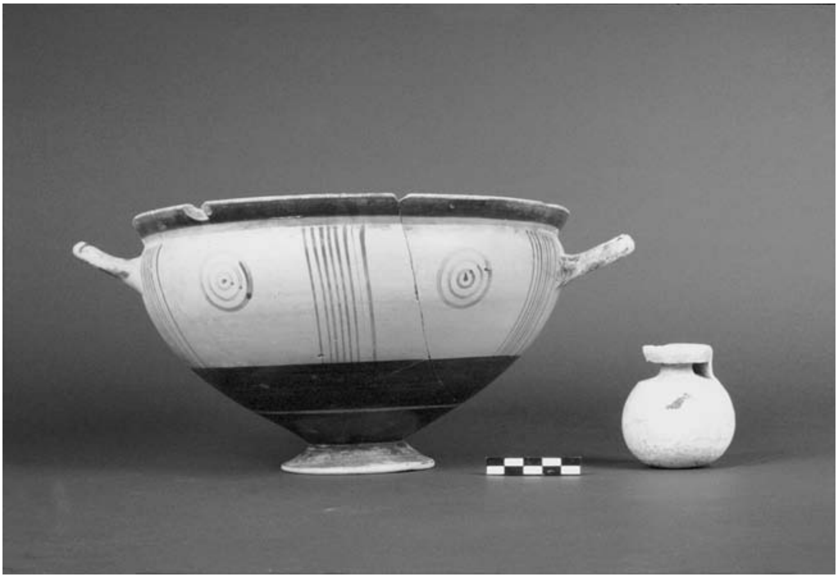

Fig. 21. Acanthus: Parian Thasian cup and Corinthian aryballos of the 6th century B.C.

Fig. 22. Acanthus: East Greek kylix of the Archaic period.

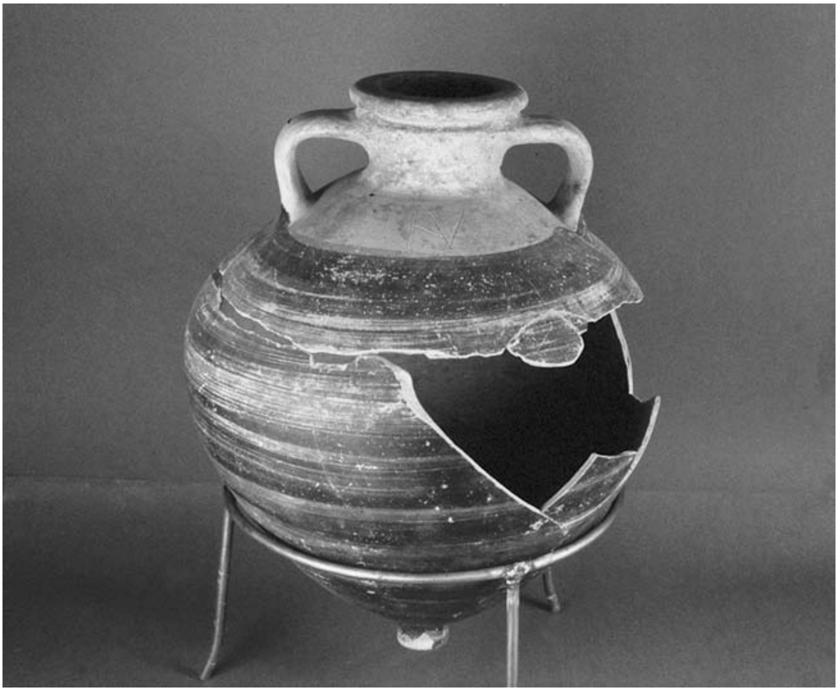

Fig. 23. Acanthus: Laconian commercial amphora.

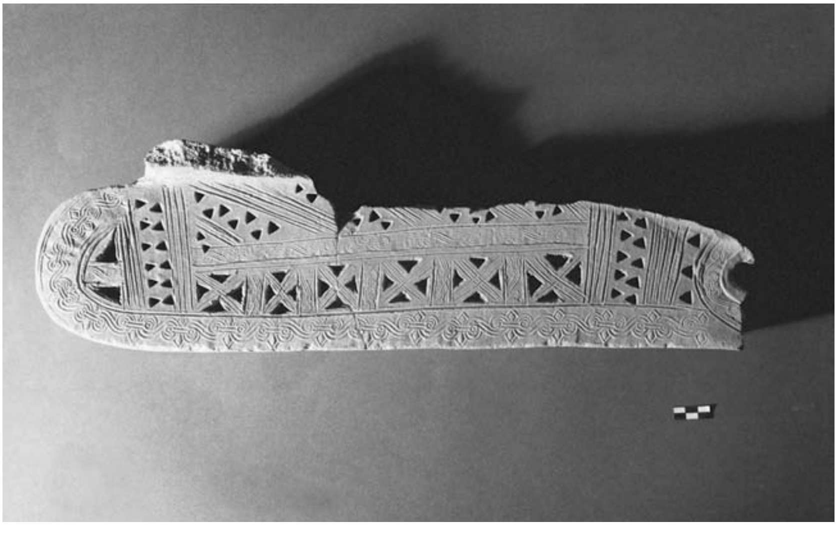

Fig. 24. Acanthus: handle of a Cycladic pithos-amphora.

Fig. 25. Acanthus: painted Clazomenian sarcophagus.

there was probably an Archaic Ionic temple here,[265] similar to those that were built, for instance, at Pydna, at the head of the Thermaic Gulf and at Neapolis, on the site of modern Kavala.[266]

Stagirus[267] is known principally as the birthplace of Aristotle.[268] In recent years, important remains have come to light from the ancient city, which covered not a very great area on two hills on a small

[265] Trakosopoulou-Salakidou 1996, 305. *Three Colonies* 1998, 11 (fig. bottom right) (E. Trakosopoulou). For a peripteral temple, perhaps of Athena, in Acanthus, see Trakosopoulou-Salakidou 1998, 101–5, 115, 123, fig. 13. It is probable that this temple remained incomplete, although we cannot discount the possibility that what we have here is another case of a 'wandering' temple.

[266] For these temples, see pp. 20–21 and 28 above and p. 82 below.

[267] Zahrnt 1971, 238–42; D. Müller 1987, 216–7; Vokotopoulou 2001, 760; Flensted-Jensen 2004, 844–5. For recent excavations, see Sismanidis 1990; 1991b; 1992; 1993; 1994; 1995; 1996; 1997; 1998a; 2003. See also Papangelos 1979.

[268] Its minor significance is also revealed by the tribute of 1,000 drachmas which it paid into the treasury of the First Athenian League. See Zahrnt 1971, 240–1.

peninsula known as Liotopi, 1 km south-east of the modern village of Olympiada (Fig. 26). According to the excavator, the first colonists must have settled on the north hill, while habitation on the south hill began in the 5th century. Considerable stretches of the fortifications have been uncovered, along with the remains of an Archaic temple with fine sculptured architectural decoration,[269] two(?) more Archaic sanctuaries, houses, some of them Archaic, public buildings, sculptures and inscriptions from the decoration of a gate in the Archaic fortifications and local and imported Archaic pottery from such places as Attica, Corinth and Thasos. The city's affluence in the Archaic period is also confirmed by its silver coins, which bear a representation of the city's sacred animal, the wild boar.[270] The fine natural harbour of Stagirus was called Kapros, as was an islet opposite, whose shape reminds that of a boar (*kapros*) (Strabo 7. 331, fr. 33 and 35).

The fact that Sane, at the head of the Singitic Gulf in the area of Trypiti, near the modern village of Nea Roda, gave access to Acanthus and the surrounding area without braving the perils of the east coast of Athos,[271] shows that the relations between Sane and Acanthus must have been close; and the former may well have been under the latter's control, at least for long periods until Cassander's time, when Ouranoupolis was built nearby.[272] These thoughts are supported by the two colonies' geographical proximity, as also by the fact that we still do not know for certain whether Sane minted its own currency, even though it had considerable mineral wealth on its doorstep. It is also significant that Acanthus, not Sane, played a leading rôle in the construction of the Canal of Xerxes, which is slightly to the east of Sane (Herodotus 7. 116–117). Sane would certainly have gained added importance as long as the canal was open, if it ever was, for it was one of the earliest and biggest technical projects carried out in Greece.[273] From an

[269] See Schmidt-Dounas 2004, 138.
[270] For bibliography, see n. 255 above.
[271] See pp. 53–54 above.
[272] *Cf.* Rhomiopoulou 1999, 129. It was eventually paying 6,000 drachmas a year into the treasury of the First Athenian League. See Zahrnt 1971, 220. For Sane, see Zahrnt 1971, 219–21; D. Müller 1987, 202–3; Tsigarida 1998; Vokotopoulou 2001, 761; Tsigarida and Tsolakis 2004; Flensted-Jensen 2004, 839–40. See also Papangelos 1993, esp. 1169–72.
[273] For the Athos canal, see Struck 1907, 118–21; D. Müller 1987, 156–8 with bibliography; Zahrnt 1971, 219 and n. 301 (bibliography); Isserlin 1991; 1997; Isserlin *et al.* 1994; 2003; Papangelos and Kampouroglou 1998–99.

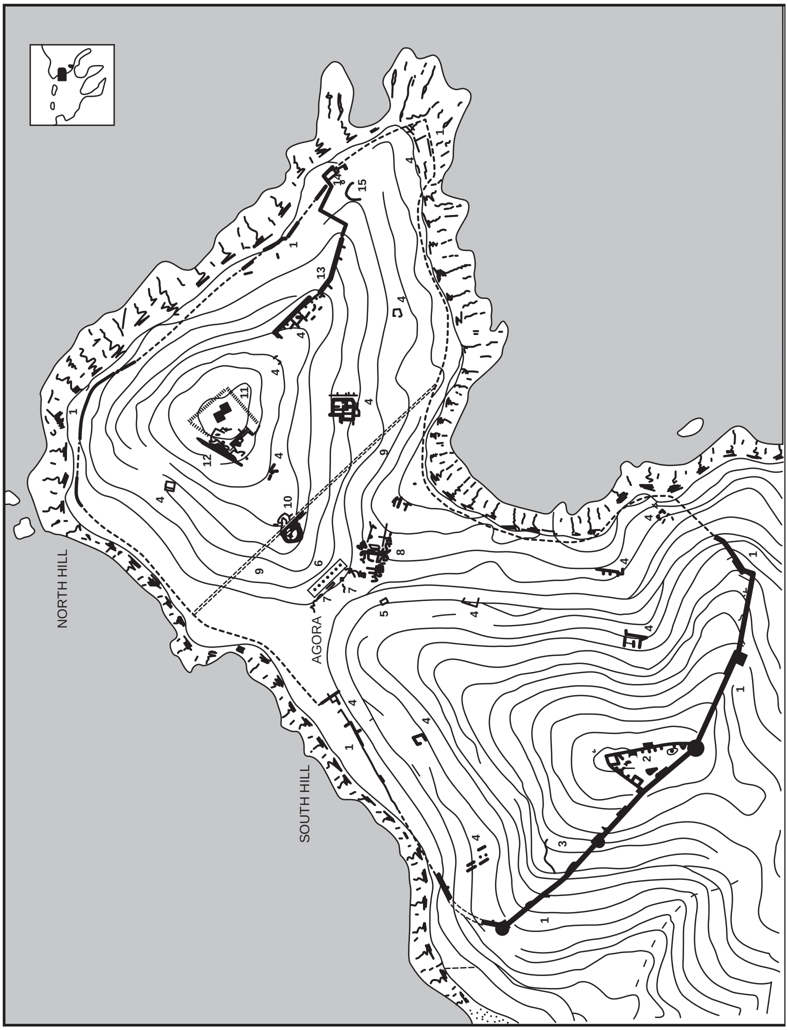

Fig. 26. Stageira: plan of the ancient city (after Sismanidis 1998a, 149, fig. 1).

archaeological point of view, Sane is not very well known.[274] It is worth mentioning a small extra muros Archaic temple dedicated probably to Apollo, the pediments of which had splendid terracotta Nikes as akroteria.[275] It is also interesting to note that this temple has features reminiscent of the Cycladic architecture of the Archaic period.[276] The sanctuary continued to exist in the Hellenistic period, after Ouranopolis had been built on the site of Sane. A mound known as the Tomb of Artachaies, containing prehistoric pottery,[277] proves that, here too, the first settlers encountered a local population, attested also by Plutarch.

The fourth Andrian colony, Argilus,[278] was built in a very favourably situated area, for it controlled trade along the Strymon valley, was fertile and at the same time gave access to the local mineral deposits. However, the local inhabitants, Bisaltians or Edonians, stoutly, and often successfully, resisted all the Greeks' attempts to settle here, as we shall see further on. This is why the Andrians' settling of Argilus (or Arkilos), a city with a harbour on the Bisaltian coast, is of particular importance. As far as we know, it is the oldest Greek colony in the area of Strymon. The site of Argilus has been located on two hills on the site of Paliokastro near the modern village of Nea Kerdyllia, approximately 4 km west of the mouth of the Strymon.[279] The inhabitants of Argilus further strengthened their position by founding nearby Kerdylion, a township on a commanding site closer to the Strymon, evidently with the purpose of controlling the area around the mouth of the river better (Thucydides 5. 6. 3.). Excavations here have uncovered the foundations of houses of the 6th and 5th centuries B.C. and part of a wall with a

[274] For the excavations, see Vokotopoulou and Tsigarida 1990; 1992; 1993; 1994; Tsigarida 1996; Tsigarida and Tsolakis 2004.

[275] For this sanctuary, see the bibliography in n. 274. See also Vokotopoulou 1996a, 326–7; 1993b, 92–5; Tsigarida 1990–95; 1998; 1999; Winter 1999, 289–90. For the terracotta sculptures, see also Moustaka 2000.

[276] *Cf.* Winter 1999, 289–90.

[277] The mound is named after the Persian noble who directed the work of building the Xerxes Canal, who was, however, buried at Acanthus (Herodotus 7. 117): Vokotopoulou 2001, 761. The name Sane may be Thracian (see Detschew 1957, 420).

[278] For Argilus, see Zahrnt 1971, 158–60; D. Müller 1987, 148–50; Flensted-Jensen 2004, 820–1; Lazaridis 1972a, 69–72; Isaac 1986, 54–8; Liampi 1994; Bonias and Perreault 1996; 1998.

[279] Perdrizet 1894, 436–40; 1922, 42–5. See also Lazaridis 1972a, 69; Bonias and Perreault 1998, 174. According to data provided by recent excavations on the site of Sykia Lakkou of Nea Kerdyllia, conducted by D. Malamidou and A. Salonikiou, it seems probable that in the 5th century B.C. the city was extended further east and towards the sea, thus occupying an area wider than that of the two hills on the site of Paliokastro.

gate, which was destroyed at the end of the 4th century B.C.[280] Some scholars believe, though without strong supporting arguments, that Tragilos (which we shall come to later), in the interior of Bisaltia, was also a colony of Argilus.[281]

Recent excavations at Argilus itself[282] have uncovered houses, some of them Archaic, part of the sea-wall with various structures and streets; and the earliest finds (including pottery from East Greece) date to the last decades of the 7th century B.C. Among the imported pottery of the Archaic period, apart from the wares from East Greece, there is also a considerable number of wares from Corinth, Attica, 'Chalcidice' and Thasos. Moreover, some silver coins of the Archaic period have recently been convincingly attributed to Argilus, evidence of the city's prosperity in that period.[283] This prosperity continued in the 5th century, until Amphipolis was founded in 437 B.C., judging by the very large sum of 10.5 talents which Argilus paid into the treasury of the First Athenian League in 453 B.C.[284] The large quantities of local pottery found during the excavations indicate that the Andrians probably found a local population here;[285] and it is worth noting that written sources assert that the name Argilus is Thracian and means 'mouse' (Stephanus of Byzantium *s.v.* Argilus).[286]

Apart from those already mentioned, there were probably other colonies in Chalcidice. For instance, near Acanthus there may have been Panormos, a city which is mentioned by Claudius Ptolemy[287] and whose name suggests that it might have been a Greek colony. Posideion, a sanctuary of Poseidon, which, according to Herodotus (7. 115. 2), stood on the shore of the Strymonic Gulf near the 'Syleos pedion' was

[280] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1997a; Pelekidis 1920, 93–4. See also Lazaridis 1972a, 76.

[281] Bonias and Perreault 1998, 176; 1996, 665; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1983a, 143; 2000, 365. *Cf.* Rhomiopoulou 1999, 130–1.

[282] Bonias and Perreault 1993; 1994; 1996; 1997; 1998, esp. 178–80; 2000. See also Grammenos and Tiverios 1984.

[283] Liampi 1994, esp. 10–3.

[284] On this subject, see Liampi 1994, 9, 16 (including bibliography). See also Tiverios 1984, 46–7.

[285] Bonias and Perreault 1998, 178–9; 2000, 114.

[286] Kalleris 1988, 105 and n. 4; Detschew 1957, 22–3.

[287] Zahrnt 1971, 212.

probably founded by Greek colonists as well.[288] Besides, there is also a Posideion on Euboea.[289] It is also likely that, after establishing their first settlements on the coast of Chalcidice, the Greeks went on to found colonies in the interior of the peninsula. The tribute lists of the First Athenian League include the Pharbelians, who probably lived in the interior of Chalcidice. If they are connected with Pharbelos, which is mentioned in the sources as a πόλις Ερετριέων, then we have yet another confirmed Euboean presence on the Chalcidice Peninsula.[290] We know that there were cities in the interior, some of them, indeed, quite important ones, such as (Mygdonian) Apollonia, whose name is appropriate to a colony, just south of Lake Bolbe.[291] Another Apollonia (or even more) has been placed in central Macedonia,[292] while an Arne (or Arnai)[293] is sought in the area of modern Arnaia.

The Greek colonies in Chalcidice relied largely on an agricultural economy (the local wine, for instance, was famed),[294] with few exceptions, the most typical of these being the colonies of Poteidaea, Torone, Mende and Acanthus. In these cases, an important rôle would have been played by timber, minerals and other commercial activities.[295] After the Euboeans, an important rôle was played in the region, especially the north-east, by the Andrians, followed chronologically by the Corinthians and the Athenians. Some written sources imply colonial activity by

[288] Zahrnt 1971, 214; D. Müller 1987, 195–6. Generally for the topography of this area between Mt Kerdyllion and the Strymonic Gulf, see Adam-Veleni 1997.

[289] *ATL* 1, 541–2. We should take note here of Arethousa near the 'Strymonic' Posideion, whose name is closely connected with Euboea. See Moutsopoulos 1995, esp. 53–8 and n. 138, 64. For the Chalcidian Arethousa, see also Zahrnt 1971, 160–1. Moutsopoulos (1993, 1054) believes Arethousa to have been a Chalcidian colony. For Euboean Geometric pottery from this area, see above n. 35.

[290] Zahrnt 1971, 251–2. *Cf.* Bradeen 1952, esp. 371.

[291] It was situated close to, and east of, the modern Nea Apollonia. See Vokotopoulou 1986, 105. For Mygdonian Apollonia, see Moutsopoulos 1993, esp. 1054–60, who believes it to have been a Chalcidian colony; more recently Adam-Veleni 2000a. See also Zahrnt 1971, 155–8. Makaronas (1977) located Mygdonian Apollonia at Kalamoto in Thessaloniki prefecture, but this must have been the site of ancient Kalindoia—see Sismanides 1983; Vokotopoulou 1986, esp. 102–5. For Apollonia, see also Hatzopoulos 1994; Flensted-Jensen 1997, 117–21; 2004, 816.

[292] See p. 51 above and n. 237. Papazoglou 1988, 198–9, 218–21, 421–4; Zahrnt 1971, 155–8; Moutsopoulos 1993, 1054 n. 116, 1055–6; Hatzopoulos 1994, esp. 177; Vokotopoulou 1996b, 217; Hammond 1995, 312. *Cf.* Flensted-Jensen 1997, 117–21.

[293] Zahrnt 1971, 161–2.

[294] See, for example, Salviat 1990, esp. 469–74; Papadopoulos and Paspalas 1999.

[295] For the mines of Chalcidice, see Papadopoulos 1996 esp. 171–5; Wagner *et al.* 1986. For the timber trade, See, for example, Hammond and Griffith 1979, 173.

Thasians, specifically at Torone.[296] But any Thasian settlements in this area, if they existed at all, do not seem to have been permanent. An assertion by Appian (*Bella Civilia* 4. 13.102), which perhaps is strengthened by a passage of Conon (*FGrHist* A1, 26 fr. XX), that Euboeans, specifically Chalcidians, crossed the Strymon and settled even further east is also hard to believe. It has been suggested that the Eretrians were interested less in finding living space than in acquiring stations and bridgeheads for commercial activities. The Chalcidians, by contrast, were mainly interested in permanent settlements, in mining and in an agricultural economy.[297] If this is indeed so, then it explains why Chalcidice took its name from Chalcis and not from Eretria.

The Area of the Strymon

We have already said that the Greeks' aspirations to settle in the area around the mouth of the Strymon, an exceptionally privileged area offering access to abundant resources, were strongly resisted by the local population, especially the Edonians. Strymon, for instance, for the 5th-century Athenians, was a wealth-giving god and as such was one of those who set the boundaries of the Garden of the Hesperides with its golden apples.[298] And so it is not surprising that areas near the Strymon have yielded even Mycenaean pottery, which probably indicates that the Mycenaeans were familiar with these parts and aware of the advantages they offered.[299] In their efforts to gain a foothold here and before they eventually managed to found Amphipolis in 437 B.C., a city which was to play a leading rôle in the subsequent history of the area, the Athenians suffered humiliating and bloody defeats.[300] In 465 B.C., 10,000 Athenians, led by Sophanes and Leagros, took Ennea Hodoi,

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[296] See p. 80 below and Lazaridis 1976a, 175 and n. 4 (bibliography).

[297] *Cf.* Kontoleon 1963, esp. 23–6.

[298] Tiverios 1991a, esp. 133–6. The Athenians apparently created other myths to legitimise their claims in these parts. They asserted, for instance, that the area between Amphipolis and the Angites, a tributary of the Strymon, had been given to Demophon (or Akamas), a son of Theseus, when he married Phyllis, the daughter of a local king. See Bakalakis 1936a, 39–41; Sampsaris 1976, 24–5.

[299] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki *et al.* 1996, 639–40.

[300] Some scholars believe that the Athenians had been planning to intervene in these parts since as early as the beginning of the 5th century B.C. (not counting Peisistratos' 'private' venture on Pangaion), more specifically just after 490 B.C. See Lazaridis 1976a, 176 (including bibliography).

but they were routed and wiped out by the Edonians at Drabeskos in the interior of Bisaltia.[301] Drabeskos was a township of the Edonians whose precise location we do not know, but Myrkinos, their best known settlement, must have been near and to the north of, Amphipolis.[302] In 477/6 B.C., immediately after the Persian threat had been averted, Cimon, as leader of the Greeks' now agressive war against the Persians, seized the walled Eion on the east bank of the Strymon and settled colonists there.[303] Eion[304] became an Athenian *emporion*, a base for Athens in the latter's efforts to penetrate the interior of Bisaltia, and it remained in their hands even after Amphipolis fell in 424 B.C. At one time it was believed to have stood on the site of Byzantine Chrysopolis, but lately it has been located on Profitis Ilias hill, east of the present mouth of the Strymon and not far from the coast. Archaeological and geomorphological investigations here have produced important new information about the history of the area.[305] We do not know when Eion was founded. But the area was probably known to Mycenaeans, because Mycenaean pottery has been found at Toumba Lakkovikion and the name Eion itself has been connected with the homeric hero Eioneus, father of Rhesos, king of the local Thracians.[306] Excavations on Profitis Ilias hill[307] have shown that the earliest habitation levels date to the Late Bronze Age; and the Early Iron Age levels are also clearly discernible. Another site on the hill has yielded important levels of the Archaic period. The earliest date to the early 7th century B.C. and the finds include pottery of the G 2–3 group and bird-cups from East Greece. However, there are no data which firmly associate these finds with a Greek settlement. Part of a cemetery of the Late Archaic period has also been uncovered, with grave goods that include local, often Ionicising pottery, imported pottery from, *inter alia*, Corinth,

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[301] Hammond-Griffith 1979, 102–3; Meiggs 1972, 83, 416; Deane 1972, 13–6; Hornblower 1991, 155–6. Parker (1994, esp. 366–8) dates this Athenian defeat to 453/2 B.C.

[302] For Drabeskos, see Sampsaris 1976, esp. 141–3; Papazoglou 1988, 391–2; Loukopoulou 2004a, 856. For Myrkinos, see Sampsaris 1976, esp. 140–1; D. Müller 1987, 76–7; Papazoglou 1988, 390–1; Loukopoulou 2004a, 862.

[303] Blamire 1989, 110–1, 115–6,156; Lazaridis 1972a, 12–3; 1976a, 173 and n. 9 for bibliography; Hornblower 1991, 149–50.

[304] For Eion, see Sampsaris 1976, 139; Isaac 1986, 60–2; D. Müller 1987, 54–6; Loukopoulou 2004a, 860–1.

[305] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki *et al.* 1996.

[306] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki *et al.* 1996, 639–40; Lazaridis 1976a, 174.

[307] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1993, 684–5.

Attica and Thasos, and a faience aryballos. Local bronze weapons and jewellery have also been found, the latter including crossbow fibulae, finger-rings, pins and an unusual belt.[308]

Important information about a Greek presence at Eion is furnished by an inscription which was found re-used at Amphipolis and dates to the late 6th or early 5th century B.C.[309] Its original place was on the pedestal of a bronze equestrian statue which the Parians erected in honour of a certain Tokos, possibly a local man,[310] who was killed fighting for 'beloved' Eion, presumably in defence of Parian interests. A Parian presence in the area of Eion is not attested by the ancient sources, so this find is an especially important one. There can be no doubt that these Parians were connected with Thasos, *i.e.* with the well-known Parian colony in the North Aegean, which we shall look at later. We must not forget that Thasos maintained close relations with its metropolis for many years. We know of one Parian, in the second half of the 6th century B.C., who held one of the highest offices both in his native Paros and in Thasos.[311] So the Parians may well have settled at Eion in the 6th or even in the second half of the 7th century.[312] A number of coins of the Late Archaic period, which several scholars had hitherto associated with Lete,[313] have recently been attributed to Eion; as has another group of small electrum and silver coins of the 5th century B.C., with a goose (or more rarely two) on the obverse and a concave square on the reverse.[314] We cannot determine with certainty who the Parians' rivals were. In the late 6th to early 5th century B.C. there were in the area Thracians, Persians and Greeks.[315]

During the period when the Persians held sway in the North Aegean (515–479 B.C.), the Milesians also tried to settle in this privileged area. In the late 6th century B.C. (probably after 509 B.C.), Histiaeus, the tyrant of Miletus, sought to establish a permanent presence in the area of the Edonian Myrkinos, which, Herodotus tells us (5. 23–24), had abundant timber suitable for making ships and oars, rich silver mines

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[308] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki *et al.* 1996, 641–4.
[309] Lazaridis 1976a.
[310] Lazaridis (1976a, 178–9) does not discount the possibility that he was a Greek with a Thracian name.
[311] See p. 78 below and Lazaridis 1976a, 178.
[312] Lazaridis 1976a, esp. 175–6. See also Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 2000, 365–6.
[313] Smith 1999.
[314] Lazaridis 1972a, 31; 1976a, 174.
[315] Lazaridis 1976a, 171–4.

and plentiful human resources, both Greek and barbarian. However, Darius would not allow him to settle and the whole project foundered, even though Histiaios had already walled his city.[316] The latter renewed his activity in the North Aegean in 493 B.C., when he made an unsuccessful attempt to take over Thasos, with an army of Ionians and Aeolians (Herodotus 6. 28). It may well be that these military operations spread to Eion and that Tokos was killed in the course of them. A short while before, in 497 or 496 B.C., the Milesians had returned to the mouth of the Strymon, this time with Aristagoras, who, with Myrkinos as his base, attempted to further extend his sway in the area. But the venture failed miserably and he himself was killed during the siege of a city (Herodotus 5. 124; 5. 126).

Another recent find probably reflects the activities of Thasians-Parians in the interior of the area. It is an inscription, which was found in the modern village of Neos Skopos and dates to 470–460 B.C.[317] On the basis of what it says, the antiquities which have been found at various times on the archaeological site south-west of Neos Skopos must belong to ancient Berge, a city in the interior of Bisaltia near the River Strymon and the Lake Kerkinitis, which was probably a Thasian trading station, an *emporion*, already in the 6th century B.C.[318] Of the earlier finds in the area, it is worth noting the imported pottery of the mid-6th century B.C. from various workshops, including Thasos. A desire for access to the rich mines of Mt Dysoron in the north of Bisaltia probably accounts for the Thasians' infiltration into the interior of Bisaltia.[319] The city began minting coins relatively soon, towards the end of the 5th century B.C., acquired democratic institutions and joined the First Athenian League in 452/1 B.C., that is before Amphipolis was founded.

On another nearby site, about 5 km south-east of ancient Berge, near the village of Paralimnio and on the east shore of the now drained Lake Ahinos, an ancient site has been located and has yielded prehistoric pottery (including Early Iron Age sherds) and imported Late Geometric wares.[320] The imported pottery of the Archaic period is strongly Ionian

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316 Lazaridis 1976a, 172 and n. 7 (a bibliography).

317 Bonias 2000; *cf.* Matthaiou 2000–03.

318 Bonias 2000. See also Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 2000, 351–4, 366–8. For Berge, see also Isaac 1986, 59; Sampsaris 1976, 114–7; Psoma 2002a, 223–4; Loukopoulou 2004a, 858–9.

319 Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1983a, 143.

320 Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 2000, 361–4.

in character and also includes sherds of Thasian wares, while Attic wares are markedly present in the 5th century B.C. Both this settlement and another close by, near the village of Pethelino,[321] must have had harbours which accommodated the ships that sailed on the navigable Strymon and Lake Kerkinitis.[322]

Since the Thasians-Parians seem to have got as far as Berge already in the 6th century B.C. and are known to have shown expansionist tendencies, it is more logical to assume that it was they, rather than the Andrians of Argilus, who controlled the less remote Tragilos.[323] This city, whose early history was similar to that of Berge, is situated on the archaeological site of the Monastery of Prodromos, about 3 km north-west of Aïdonohori, Serres prefecture. Excavations here[324] have uncovered: a sanctuary of a female Greek deity, possibly Aphrodite, the earliest construction phase of which dates to the late 6th century B.C.; cemeteries, the earliest of which date to the 6th century B.C.; and cult(?) buildings—houses of the Classical and Hellenistic periods. The movable finds of the Archaic period include local grey wheel-made pottery, imported wares from Corinth, Ionia, Thasos and Attica, bronze Macedonian jewellery, iron weapons and a variety of figurines.[325] Earlier finds clearly show a combination of local and Hellenic characteristics. An outstanding architectural sculpture of the second half of the 5th century B.C. also comes from here. It is a relief marble metope from a large Doric temple, the presence of which in the interior of Bisaltia comes as quite a surprise.[326]

The probability of the presence of the Thasians-Parians in the interior of Bisaltia may also be supported by some written evidence, the earliest of which is probably connected with Archilochos.[327] This penetration, which would have started from Eion (where, as we have

[321] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 2000, 362.

[322] For navigation on the Strymon, see Sampsaris 1982.

[323] For Tragilos, see Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1983a, 138–41. See also Isaac 1986, 54; Sampsaris 1976, 111–4; Flensted-Jensen 2004, 821.

[324] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1983a. See also Nikolaidou-Patera 1989; 1990; Bonias 2001.

[325] For the terracottas, see Brown-Kazazis 1982.

[326] See Bonias 2001, who, among other scholars, believes that this metope comes from a temple in Amphipolis (see also Schmidt-Dounas 2004, 138), built by the Athenians. If this is the case, then this temple must have been erected before 424 B.C., in which year the Athenians lost control of the city.

[327] Lazaridis 1993, 15; 1976a, 178–9 n. 8. *Cf.* Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 2000, 365–6.

already said, the Thasians had probably settled in the 7th century B.C.), would not have been a bloodless process, as indicated by the inscription regarding Tokos, as well as by certain lines of Archilochos. But we shall come to the Thasians' advance into the Thracian interior, their colonial state, their relations with the local people[328] and Thasos itself later.

The Athenians, led by Agnon, son of Nikios, were not the first to settle in the area of Ennea Hodoi, in Amphipolis, in 437 B.C., repelling the Edonians.[329] The city's splendid position, together with the access which it offered to precious metals, timber, a variety of agricultural produce, fishing and stockbreeding, always excited human interest.[330] Thus, for instance, on a hill known as Hill 133, which some scholars identify as the site of Ennea Hodoi,[331] a prehistoric settlement has been located.[332] It has yielded, among other things, pottery of the Geometric period, with some sherds bearing typical Sub-Protogeometric decoration. The important Late Geometric bronze vessels, utensils and jewellery supposedly from Amphipolis in the Vienna Natural History Museum[333] are probably from cemeteries belonging to this settlement. Hill 133 has also yielded pottery of the Archaic and Classical periods. The Archaic pottery includes imports from Corinth, Attica and East Greece. We also have finds from Amphipolis itself, including some from a sanctuary which certainly date to a period earlier than 437 B.C.[334] Excavations here have uncovered, among other finds, long stretches of the fortification, some of which date to as early as the 5th century B.C., public buildings, such as sanctuaries for instance, houses, an impressive bridge which facilitated access across the Strymon, extensive cemeteries and numerous movable finds, including sculptures, inscriptions and vessels from all periods of its history—finds whose wealth and variety bear witness to the city's power and importance. Built on a fortified

[328] The Athenians' efforts to settle at the mouth of the Strymon in the first half of the 5th century B.C. must have been fiercely resisted not only by the Thracians but by the Thasians too. Indeed, these two groups may have joined forces against Athens. See Isaac 1986, 18–21.

[329] Isaac 1986, 36–40. For Amphipolis, see Papastavrou 1936; Isaac 1986, esp. 35–6, 54–8; Lazaridis 1972a; 1993; Flensted-Jensen 2004, 819–20.

[330] Lazaridis 1972a, 1, 6–9, 20–1, 35–8.

[331] Vanderpool 1965; D. Müller (1987, 76–7) proposes Hill 133 as a possible site for Myrkinos. For Ennea Hodoi, see also D. Müller 1987, 57–8; Loukopoulou 2004a, 856.

[332] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1993, 682–5; Lazaridis 1972a, 10–1; 1993, 72–5.

[333] Lazaridis 1972a, 11.

[334] Lazaridis 1993, 31. See also Kranioti 1998, 375.

and strategic site, which controlled the major trade and military routes that crossed northern Greece from east to west and from north to south, linking the interior of Bisaltia, via the navigable Strymon, with the Aegean, it was inevitable that Amphipolis should play a leading economic, military and cultural rôle in the area's subsequent history. And it is astonishing how quickly (within the space of thirteen years) after Brasidas captured the city in 424 B.C. the Athenians essentially lost control of the area, in the gaining of which much Athenian blood had been spilt and great and costly efforts had been made for many years. Agnon's buildings were demolished at once and Brasidas himself was venerated as the real founder of the city. It was then that the city began to mint coins.[335] The Athenians certainly made up a minority in the city's population, in which the Ionian element predominated; while the existence of some important local cults—such as those of Rhesos, Strymon (there is also mention of a temple of his) and the Muse Kleio (whose sanctuary has been located)—bears witness to an appreciable Thracian presence.[336] As we shall see below, the cult of Rhesos seems to have been very prominent in ancient Thrace. Agnon himself, in obedience to the Delphic Oracle, translated his bones from Troy and interred them with honour inside the city, near the sanctuary of his mother, Kleio.[337] Other cults included those of Apollo, one of the most important in the city, Athena, naturally one of the first to be established here, Asclepius and Artemis Tauropolos, who is frequently identified with Bendis.[338]

Thasos and its Peraia

Thasos

As far as the colonisation of northern Greece is concerned, there can be no doubt whatever that, after the first Greeks, mainly Euboeans, settled here immediately after the Trojan War, and later on, in the 8th century B.C., the next major stage, which left an indelible mark on

[335] Lazaridis 1972a, 13–4, 25, 40, 44, 59. For the coins of Amphipolis, see Lorber 1990.
[336] Lazaridis 1972a, 22–3, 34, 51, 55–6.
[337] Lazaridis 1972a, 26–7, 31, 59–62.
[338] Lazaridis 1972a, 27, 59–60.

the subsequent history of the region, was the arrival of the Parians on Thasos. The island offered land for agriculture (Thasian wine, for instance, was among the finest and best known in the ancient world and the earliest Thasian commercial amphorae date to as early as 500 B.C.), timber, mineral wealth (gold, silver, iron and lead), which in the early 5th century brought Thasos an annual income of just under 80 talents (Herodotus 6. 46. 2–3), marble quarries and considerable marine wealth.[339] Without a doubt, this was a very successful colonial enterprise. The first Parian colonists settled in a location in the north-east of the island with a safe natural harbour, which was of fundamental importance for an island city. Very soon—early in the 5th century—they built also a closed harbour to use as a navy yard.[340] Another advantage of the site was its proximity to the Thracian coast, about which the first colonists probably already had information. This may explain why the Parians opted to settle at the most northerly end of the island and also why, as soon as they had settled in their new home, they began implementing their plans to expand onto the coast opposite. As we know, the first colonists arrived on Thasos in around 680–670 B.C., led by Telesicles, father of Europe's first lyric poet, Archilochos. There is a tradition that the Delphic Oracle was consulted about the colony and designated the leader of the entire venture (Eusebius *Praeparatio Evangelica* 5. 17).[341] It may well be, then, that the Parians received their information about the wealth on the Thracian coast from the Oracle itself, as happened in other cases too, although it is very likely that they also received advise from the Euboeans.[342] It should be noted that in the case of Thasos, there is an indication in the later written tradition that initial contact might had been made before the colony was officially

[339] Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 178–81, 191–2 (for bibliography). See also Lazaridis 1971b, 38–40. For the mines and quarries, see also the relevant studies in Koukouli-Chrysanthaki *et al.* 1999 (including bibliography). *Cf.* Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1992a, 725–30 (including bibliography). The famous Thasian wine production must have begun later. See, for example, Graham 1978 (2001), 211–2. For more bibliography on Thasos, see Grandjean and Salviat 2000. See also Reger 2004, 778–81.

[340] Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 53–6 (including bibliography). See also Simosi 1999; Lianos *et al.* 1985; Simosi and Empereur 1987; Picard 1988; 1989; Kozelj 1990; Sintès 2003.

[341] Graham 1978 (2001), 165–208, esp. 207–8 (*cf.* Graham 2001a) believes that the colony on Thasos was founded in 660–650 B.C. by Archilochos, a view which has been rejected by the French excavators of Thasos. See Pouilloux 1982; Grandjean 1988, 436–40, 465–8.

[342] Tiverios 2006, 75–6.

founded. More specifically, the painting of the Nekyia done at Delphi by the great 5th-century Thasian painter Polygnotos (Pausanias 10. 28. 3) suggests that, before Telesicles arrived on Thasos, he had been preceded there by his father Telles, who, together with a woman named Kleoboia, had introduced the cult of Demeter to the island. And it may be no mere coincidence that a sanctuary of Demeter has come to light at the north-east end of the ancient city, next to the sanctuary of the Ancestral Gods.[343] The arrival of Telesicles and the first colonists must have been rapidly followed by a second wave of colonists in around 660–650 B.C., led by Archilochos and his friend, the *strategos* Glaucus, son of Leptines. An oracular response from Delphi survives about this enterprise too, ordering the poet to go to Thasos.[344] Thasos certainly maintained close ties with Delphi, as is also attested by the presence of the sanctuary of Apollo Pythios, one of the most important sanctuaries on the island,[345] in the area of its *acropolis*. The arrival of the new colonists should be regarded less as a bid to strengthen the Parians' position on the island than as part of the process of occupying the Thracian coast. The speed with which the Parians advanced across to the Thracian Peraia seems to suggest that they were in a hurry, anxious to forestall others. It is worth remembering that the Andrians' arrival on the banks of the Strymon (which we have already mentioned,[346] and with whom the Parians are known to have been on bad terms at this time)[347] and the Clazomenians' arrival just to the east of the River Nestos (which we shall look at later)[348] were not very far removed in time from Archilochos' arrival on Thasos and the start of his expansionist operations on the coast opposite. As for the relations between the first Parians and the local inhabitants of the island, the new readings of Archilochos' verses by K. Tsantsanoglou are very enlightening. According to these, the Thracians of the island were expelled by the Parians and moved to the coast opposite. In the age of Archilochos, however, the Parians encouraged their return to the island, in order to use their help in repelling the Naxians, who, as it seems, were trying at

[343] Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 102–5; Rolley 1965; 1997, 38–41; A. Muller 1996, esp. 9–10; Tiverios 2006, 74–5 and n. 14. Rolley (1997, 40–3) considers the events related to Telles as contemporary with the first colonial venture of Telesicles.

[344] Parke and Wormell 1956, 95, no. 232.

[345] Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 111–2 (113 for bibliography).

[346] See pp. 52–64 above.

[347] Kontoleon 1963, 22.

[348] See pp. 92–94 below.

that time to establish themselves on Thasos. The Thracians who came back were wiped out by the Naxians, but still the latter did not manage to reach their purpose. Many of them were eliminated by the Parians, while the rest, who had fled to the Thracian coast, were exterminated by the Sapaian Thracians.[349] And except for those mentioned above, we should not forget that Phoenicians had already settled on the island, led, tradition tells us, by Thasos, son of Phoenix or of Agenor or of Poseidon himself.[350] We know the difficulty of tracing archaeological evidence of the Phoenicians. In the case of Thasos too, if it were not for Herodotus' information (6. 47) that they settled at Koinyra (modern Koinyra) and Ainyra (in the area of modern Potamia) on the east coast of the island, where the goldmines were also located,[351] it would have never occurred to anyone to suggest a Phoenician presence here on the basis of archaeological finds alone.

Written evidence of the presence of Phoenicians in northern Greece is scarce and mostly of later date. Homer (*Iliad* 23. 740–745), for instance, attests a movement of Phoenicians from Sidon to Lemnos. There is also a tradition that Torone owes its name to a daughter of Poseidon and Phoenice (Stephanus of Byzantium *s.v.* Torone), while Galepsus, a colony on the Thasian Peraia, is said to have been named after a son of Thasos and Telephe (Stephanus of Byzantium *s.v.* Galepsus). Furthermore, some scholars believe that the name of the Ionian colony of Abdera is Phoenician[352] and according to written sources the goldmines on Pangaion were first exploited by Cadmus, who, together with Harmonia, is also found on Samothrace.[353] In addition, there is the view that the *biblinos* (or *byblinos*) *oinos* from the Oesyme area in the Thasian Peraia must have taken its name from vines introduced by the Phoenicians, which also gave their name to the area and one of its mountains.[354] Lastly, we have a small number of finds from parts of northern Greece (such as ancient Therme, for instance) which are

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[349] Tsantsanoglou 2003, esp. 248–50. The presence of the Naxians in northern Greece is perhaps suggested also by an amphora of the Linear Island Style which was recently found in Acanthus, see n. 263 above.

[350] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1992a, 725–8; Graham 1978 (2001), 211–4. For a more detailed account of the Phoenician presence in the North Aegean, see Tiverios 2004.

[351] des Courtils *et al.* 1982.

[352] Graham 1992 (2001), 269–70.

[353] Graham 1978 (2001), 185, 212–4.

[354] Salviat 1990, 462–5.

believed to be of Phoenician origin.[355] Given all this, it is hard to accept assertions that, before the mid-7th century B.C., the Phoenicians held sway in the North Aegean.[356]

Some scholars also attribute the marked upsurge in the cult of Heracles on Thasos to the Phoenicians.[357] Let us remember that Herodotus (2. 44) saw a temple of Thasian Heracles in Tyre itself. The excavations on the island have uncovered the Heraclium, with the earliest finds dating to the late 7th and early 6th century B.C.[358] However, we must not forget that this Panhellenic hero was also very popular on Paros itself. Moreover, there was a tradition that Heracles took Thasos from the Thracians and gave it to grandsons of Minos who had connexions with Paros and then moved on westward and took Torone.[359] So, in the final analysis, the upsurge in the hero's cult on Thasos must be attributed to the Parians on the island, as must its wide diffusion on the Thracian coast; and the pre-existing cult of Phoenician Heracles must certainly have contributed to this.

Thanks to the excavations, we know something about the colony's early years. The earliest phase of its impressive surviving walls dates to the end of the 6th century B.C., though the city had been fortified earlier than this, probably from the very start of Parian occupation.[360] The Thracians and the Phoenicians were not the first inhabitants of the island, for it was inhabited already in the Palaeolithic period.[361] There are also interesting remains from the Neolithic and Bronze Age.[362] The Late Bronze Age is represented on the island by some notable Mycenaean finds and so we cannot discount the possibility that the Mycenaeans were familiar with these parts.[363] To the Iron Age belong some interesting finds from Kastri, Paliokastro of Maries, Ai-Lia,

[355] Tiverios 2004, 297–8, fig. 4; Tiverios and Gimatzidis 2001, 200. See also Graham 1978 (2001), 209 n. 249, 217–8.

[356] Graham 1978 (2001), 225–7.

[357] Graham 1978 (2001), 212–7 (including bibliography). For the cult of Heracles on Thasos, see Bergquist 1973.

[358] Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 142–4; Launey 1944; Roux 1979; des Courtils and Pariente 1985; 1986; 1991; des Courtils *et al.* 1996. For the 5th-century temple of Heracles, see also Schmidt-Dounas 2004, 114–6, 121–4.

[359] Kontoleon 1952, esp. 54, 88–90.

[360] Pouilloux 1979, esp. 135–8. See also Blondé *et al.* 1996, 815, 820; and recently Viviers 2001.

[361] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki and Weisgerber 1993, esp. 550–3; 1999.

[362] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1987a; 1988a; 1989a; 1990b; 1992a, 701–4; Malamidou and Papadopoulos 1993. See also Malamidou 1999.

[363] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1992a, 553–6, 703–5, 727.

Drakotrypa of Panayia and Larnaki, which share similarities with Iron Age finds from Macedonia and other parts of the Balkans.[364] This was the period when Thracians were living on the island and one of its names which have come down to us was Edonis (or Odonis).[365] From the city of Thasos itself we have finds dating to the 8th and early 7th century B.C., no doubt before the Parian colony was founded.[366] They are local and imported pottery, which has been found north-west of the Artemision. The cave of Pan in the south-west of the city has recently been recognised by some scholars, in its original form, as a Thracian funerary monument.[367] Some scholars also detect evidence of Thracian presence in the rock altar of the Heraclium.[368] The fact that the Parians were able to launch their bid to conquer the Thracian coast opposite very soon after arriving on Thasos means that they rapidly overcame any local resistance on the island itself, evidently because the locals were few in number.[369] Furthermore, Archilochos complains mainly about the battles in the Thracian Peraia, in which he lost his friend Glaucus. Excavations have found the latter's cenotaph, the original site of which must have been in the city's Archaic *agora*, which occupied an area in the south-east corner of the *agora* of the Classical period.[370] Excavations in the city of Thasos have also uncovered some structures built by the 7th-century B.C. colonists, while finds of the same period have turned up in the Artemision, in the area of the gate of Hermes, in the *acropolis*, in the Heraclium, in the Thesmophorion and at Alyki in the south of the island, where there were also natural harbours.[371] These finds include pottery mainly from Paros, East Greece and

[364] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1992a, 708–11.
[365] Pouilloux 1954, 16. For the Thracians in Thasos, see Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1992a, 729–31.
[366] Bernard 1964; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1992a, 717–20; and recently Kohl *et al.* 2002; Gimatzidis 2002; Tiverios 2006.
[367] Owen 2000. I was not able to study the dissertation by Owen 1999. For the cave of Pan, see also Danner 2002.
[368] Graham 2001a, 379–81.
[369] For the relations of the first colonies with the local Thracians, see Graham 1978 (2001), 218–20 (with bibliography); Pouilloux 1989.
[370] Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 69–70 (including bibliography). See also Blondé *et al.* forthcoming.
[371] Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 91 (including bibliography), 99–100, 102 (bibliography), 111, 113 (bibliography), 144, 145 (bibliography), 162, 165 (bibliography). This site, which was probably dedicated to Apollo and thus Archegetes, must have been the Parians' first station on the island, before they advanced further in the area of modern Limenas. See Blondé *et al.* forthcoming.

Corinth.[372] Some Syro-Egyptian ivories, Macedonian bronze jewellery and Phrygian bronze fibulae also date to the Archaic period.[373] Parian potters probably settled on Thasos as early as the 7th century B.C. and manufactured Thasian-Parian pottery, among other things.[374] There is firm evidence of the presence of Parian potters in the 6th century B.C. in the form of the finds from a pottery workshop excavated at Fari in the west of the island.[375] Pottery was also imported in the 6th century B.C., from Corinth, Attica and East Greece, for instance.[376] However, in the 6th century B.C., interesting Atticising black-figure wares and possibly 'Chian' pottery[377] were also being manufactured on Thasos, and traded there and elsewhere. And apart from pottery, Thasos was producing other forms of art in the Archaic period, most notably architectural monuments, marble sculptures and clay figurines,[378] with a remarkable presence both on and off the island. It is known that Thasos had important marble quarries.[379]

We have already mentioned the close, long-lasting ties between Thasos and its mother city, Paros.[380] These are clearly apparent not only in the sphere of art (in pottery and architecture, for instance),[381] but also in religious, social and state institutions. Close connexions are also evident at a religious and cult level,[382] as well as in the calendar.[383]

[372] Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 283–5, 296 (bibliography); Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1992a, 717–20.

[373] Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 297–8, 301 (bibliography).

[374] Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 285–6, 296 (bibliography).

[375] Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 171–2 (including bibliography), 291. See also Tiverios 1989a.

[376] Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 287, 296 (bibliography).

[377] Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 287–95 (A. Coulié), 296 (bibliography). See also Coulié 1996 (including bibliography); 2002; A. Lemos 2000, 379 (and n. 19 with bibliography) believes that the Chian pottery on Thasos was manufactured by a Chian workshop which had settled 'somewhere on the Thracian coast, possibly at Maroneia, Chios' colony'.

[378] Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 203–15, 216 and 218 (bibliography), 237–44, 245 bibliography (B. Holtzmann), 273–9, 280 bibliography (A. Muller).

[379] Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 167, 180; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki *et al.* 1999, esp. Tsombos and Laskaridis 1999; Herrmann 1999.

[380] *Cf.* Lazaridis 1976a, 178.

[381] Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 115, 195.

[382] The cult of Athena Poliouchos was common to both islands, for instance. See Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 230.

[383] Salviat 1991. See also Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 230.

The Thasians soon began to mint coins, as early as the last third of the 6th century B.C.[384] In fact small denomination coins were also in circulation, attesting a concern for the domestic market and for local trade in general. It is significant that other mints in the North Aegean, both Greek and those of certain Thracian tribes, adopted their standard of monetary weights. The Thasian coins circulated widely: Thasian coins of the Late Archaic and Classical periods have been found in the Eastern Mediterranean, Egypt and the south of Italy, while later coins have turned up elsewhere, such as in modern Bulgaria and as far as the Danube and southern Russia. By the 7th century B.C., Thasos had developed into a major economic, military and cultural centre in the North Aegean. Its presence in these parts was strong and, with its expansionist policy, it also played an important part, *inter alia*, in introducing Greek culture to the Thracians, via the colonies and the *emporia* which it established from the 7th century onwards on the Thracian coast opposite.[385] There is no doubt that the island's heyday was in the Archaic period and its occupation by the Athenians in 463/2 B.C. heralded the decline of its power and importance. All the same, as a member of the First Athenian League, Thasos was one of the highest contributors to the treasury.[386]

The Thasian Peraia

We know that the Thasians often had a hard struggle to found their colonies and *emporia* on the Thracian coast.[387] But despite the resistance of the Thracians (Edonians, Saians, Pierians, Odomantians, Satrians, Bisaltians, Sintians, Sapaians and Bistonians), the Paionians and also of other Greeks, literary evidence and archaeological finds confirm that the colonists managed to settle here comparatively quickly, by the second half of the 7th century. Written sources mention the Thasians' colonial activities on the mainland, most of which were carried out between the Strymon and the Nestos and south of Mts Symbolon and Orbelos. Stryme, east of the Nestos, seems to have been the most important

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[384] Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 303–6, 313–4 (bibliography) (O. Picard). See also Picard 1990; Pantos 1980.

[385] See pp. 80–91 below.

[386] Pouilloux 1954, 108–11. In 425/4 B.C. the Thasians apparently paid 60 talents into the League's treasury. *Cf. ATL* 1, 283.

[387] Graham 1978 (2001), 205–6, 94. *Cf.* Bakalakis 1967, 143–4. For the Thasian Peraia, see Bakalakis 1936a, 37–40; Lazaridis 1971b; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1980a.

Thasian colony outside these limits.[388] However, a site with the revealing name of Thasion Kephalai east of Stryme suggests a Thasian presence for a certain time even further east.[389] Some scholars, in fact, believe that the Thasians also waged hard battles in the area of Abdera and do not discount the possibility that nearby Dikaia παρ' Ἄβδηρα was also a Thasian colony.[390] We have already spoken about the activity of the Thasians-Parians in the area of the Strymon. Indeed, they seem to have proceeded towards the interior of Bisaltia as early as the 6th century, sailing up the Strymon. In the Thasian Peraia proper, *i.e.* the coastal area bounded by the Strymon and the Nestos, the Thasians seem to have crossed the mountain range which separates it from the hinterland and advanced into the interior somewhat later, in the 4th century B.C.[391] Some Thasian colonial activity to the west of the Strymon[392] and east of the Hebrus, as far as the Bosporus, Aenos and the Black Sea,[393] attested by taciturn and later written sources, does not seem to have had permanent results, if indeed it ever took place.

Excavations to date suggest that the earliest Thasian colonies were Neapolis, on the site of modern Kavala, and Oesyme, in the area of Nea Peramos. They must have been founded very early on, in the third quarter of the 7th century B.C. They were located very close to Thasos and occupied strategic sites for commercial activities. They also gave access to mineral-rich areas (according to Herodotus [6. 46], in the early 5th century B.C. the mines of both the island and its Peraia were bringing an annual income of 200–300 talents) and had fertile soil suitable for growing crops.[394] The Thasian Peraia afforded precious metals, timber, agricultural produce such as cereals and wine, fish, slaves, horses, leather, sheep and goats.[395]

Neapolis was built on a small rocky peninsula which juts out into the sea creating two safe harbours on either side, especially the one on the

[388] Bakalakis 1967, 143–4. For Stryme, see pp. 85–86 below.
[389] Bakalakis 1958, 97–8, 104 n. 2.
[390] Isaac 1986, 79–80, 115. See pp. 104–05 below.
[391] See Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1980a, 311.
[392] Bakalakis 1967, 143 and n. 4 (bibliography).
[393] Graham 1978 (2001), 223 n. 325; Loukopoulou 1989, 63 n. 1, 64–5 n. 7 (including bibliography).
[394] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1980a, 310–1.
[395] Lazaridis 1971b, 38–40; Sampsaris 1976, 24–7; Papaevangelou 2000, 8–10. For the metals, see Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1990a.

east side.[396] Mariners put in here, having crossed the Aegean on their way to the interior of what is now eastern Macedonia and to the gold-bearing Pangaion; and the road which crossed northern Greece from east to west also passed through Neapolis. The remains of the city's fortifying wall date to no later than the early 5th century B.C. Although we have no written evidence to confirm that Neapolis was a Thasian colony, there can be no doubt that it was.[397] It was so named by the first colonists in order, probably, to denote that it was for them a 'new city', as opposed to their 'old' one on Thasos. So the name itself probably also indicates something else: that this was the Thasians-Parians' first colony. To distinguish it from the other cities of the same name, on the tribute lists of the First Athenian League (to which its annual contribution at a certain period came up to 1,000 drachmas) it is called Νεάπολις παρ' Αντισάραν. That is to say, it was defined with reference to a nearby, likewise Thasian, township, Antisara, which stood slightly to the west of Neapolis (see below). Neapolis seems to have severed all dependence on Thasos very rapidly. This is confirmed by the fact that in the final decades of the 6th century B.C. (at the same time as its metropolis, that is to say) it was minting its own currency and thus in small denominations;[398] and at the end of the 5th century B.C. we know that relations between Thasos and Neapolis were exceptionally strained, to the extent that the latter sought the protection of Athens.[399] This may also explain why the principal deity of Neapolis was not one of the deities of the metropolis, but a local goddess named Parthenos (see below).[400] It may be that the Thasians got familiar with her cult when they settled in the area and adopted it themselves in a bid to win the local people over. The cult of the Nymphs, which seems to have

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[396] For Neapolis, see Bakalakis 1936a, 1–15; Collart 1937, 102–5; Chionidis 1968, 11–4; Lazaridis 1969, 13–6; Isaac 1986, esp. 66–9; Papazoglou 1988, 403–4; Papaevangelou 2000, 2–4, 16–9; Loukopoulou 2004a, 862–9. See also Lazaridis 1971b, fig. 69.

[397] This may be confirmed by the inscription *IG* I 108. However, the inscription is restored at the contentious points (see Lazaridis 1969, 14). The views of earlier scholars, based on numismatic evidence, that Neapolis was an Athenian or Eretrian colony are unfounded (see Pouilloux 1954, 158–61; Isaac 1986, 66 and n. 376; Papaevangelou 2000, 17–8).

[398] Papaevangelou 2000, 49–51; Isaac 1986, 67.

[399] Isaac 1986, 67.

[400] For this goddess, see *LIMC* VIII 1, 944–6 *s.v.* Parthenos (H. Koukouli-Chrysanthaki).

been especially popular in the north,[401] is also found at Neapolis, and at Oesyme too, which was, as we have already said, another Thasian colony in this area. The locals may well have helped the Neapolitans to throw off Thasian dominion, even though Thasos was right on their doorstep. However, very few of the finds from Neapolis to date can be attributed to an earlier settlement of Thracians in the area, before the first colonists arrived, and any such attribution is doubtful.[402] A small Neolithic settlement has been found to the east of modern Kavala, just to the east of Stratones.[403]

The important sanctuary of Parthenos has been located in the Panayia district in Kavala's Old Town.[404] Parts of a precinct and a retaining wall, together with architectural fragments from a splendid, large, marble Ionic temple have come to light here at various times. It dates to the first decades of the 5th century B.C., when the area belonged to the Persian empire, and shares similarities with the temple at the head of the Thermaic Gulf mentioned earlier. All the finds, which include inscriptions, indicate that this was a Greek sanctuary. Most of them are clay figurines[405] and vessels, dating to the 7th century B.C. and later. They include pottery from East Greece, Thasos, the Cyclades (Paros) and Corinth; while considerable quantities of fine Attic, Corinthian and Laconian black-figure wares date to the 6th century B.C. It is worth noting that Laconian black-figure pottery is rarely found in northern Greece and around the Black Sea.[406] This all goes to show the importance and the wealth of this sanctuary in particular and of Neapolis itself in general.

In contrast to Neapolis, we do have written evidence that Oesyme was a Thasian colony.[407] It has been firmly located on the coast at Nea Peramos, on a site which had a splendid natural harbour, was close to

[401] Bakalakis 1938b, 92–100; Isaac 1986, 11, 69.

[402] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1993, 686–7.

[403] Lazaridis 1969, 13.

[404] Bakalakis 1936a, 7–10; 1938a, 106; Lazaridis 1969, 17–20. *Cf.* Schmidt-Dounas 2004, 112–3, 116–9. For a bibliography relating to the excavations in the sanctuary, see Sampsaris 1976, 152 n. 2. See also Koukouli[-Chrsanthaki] 1967, 417.

[405] The study of these terracottas has been undertaken by A. Prokova for her dissertation, currently under preparation in Cologne.

[406] See, for example, Stibbe 2004, 223, no. 48 (from Thasos).

[407] For the written sources, see Bakalakis 1938b, 101 n. 2; Sampsaris 1976, 72 n. 6. For Oesyme, see Collart 1937, 81–4; Isaac 1986, 9–10, 64–5; Sampsaris 1976, esp. 153–7; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1980a, 317–8; Papazoglou 1988, 400f-3; Loukopoulou 2004a, 864–5. See also Lazaridis 1971b, figs. 66–67.

mineral-rich and forested areas, and had fertile tracts of arable land.[408] The 'Bibline chora' which produced the renowned *biblinos oinos*, was the area between Antisara and Oesyme.[409] We have already said that the archaeological evidence to date suggests that it must have been founded in the second half of the 7th century. The *acropolis* was built on a fortified hill, which has yielded a temple of the Archaic period with two construction phases,[410] and its surviving walls date to the Late Archaic period. The city's cemetery has been located south of the *acropolis* in sand dunes on the shore, a practice which we have already seen in colonies in Chalcidice. The oldest finds from here date to the second half of the 7th century B.C. and include most notably Thasian-Parian pottery and pottery from East Greece. Corinthian and Attic wares make their appearance in the 6th century B.C. But the Thasian presence is particularly apparent not only in the pottery, but also in other finds, such as clay figurines. Homer too knew the city, as Aisyme, birthplace of Kastianeira, one of Priam's wives,[411] which suggests that it already existed before the arrival of the first settlers from Thasos, who thus must have kept its name. Indeed, recent excavations in the *acropolis* located a precolonial level dating to the Early Iron Age.[412] A cave with prehistoric pottery has been investigated slightly to the north of Oesyme, on a little peninsula towards modern Iraklitsa. The Nymphs were worshipped here from at least the 6th century B.C.[413] and, as we have already said, their cult is frequently encountered in the north and, naturally, on Thasos.

Galepsus, which was to the west of Oesyme on the site of Gaïdourokastro on the coast of Karyani, south of the modern village of

[408] For the excavations, see Bakalakis 1938b, 98–100; Giouri 1965, 147–8; Giouri and Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1969; Koukouli[-Chrysanthaki] and Giouri 1969; Giouri and Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1987; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki and Papanikolaou 1990.

[409] Bakalakis 1938b, 101 n. 3; Isaac 1986, 65; Sampsaris 1976, 196–7; Salviat 1990, 462–5.

[410] The earlier temple was replaced by a new one early in the 5th century B.C. As for the goddess who was worshipped here, the excavators suggest that she was the city's patron, Athena (see Giouri and Koukouli[-Chrysanthaki] 1987, 372–3; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki and Papanikolaou 1990, 490). Isaac (1986, 9) erroneously attributed the temple to Parthenos, because he believed that an inscribed find of Bakalakis (see Bakalakis 1937, 61) came from Oesyme, when it was in fact from the sanctuary of Parthenos at Neapolis.

[411] Isaac 1986, 64; Giouri and Koukouli[-Chrysanthaki] 1987, 374–5.

[412] Giouri and Koukouli[-Chrysanthaki] 1987, 374–5; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki and Papanikolaou 1990, 492–3. See also Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1993, 687.

[413] Bakalakis 1938b, 81–4; Isaac 1986, 9–10 and nn. 43–44.

Akropotamos, was another Thasian colony, as attested by ancient written sources.[414] We have 5th-century B.C. inscriptions from Galepsus, written in a Thasian-Parian alphabet. It took its name from Galepsus, who, tradition tells us, was a son of the Phoenician Thasos.[415] If its name is in fact Thracian,[416] it confirms that before the first colonists from Thasos reached these parts, the area was inhabited by Thracians. And Thracian presence here is probably indicated by bronze finger-rings with figure-of-eight terminals found in graves.[417] Furthermore, Hecataeus refers to the city as πόλιν Θράκης τε Παιόνων. The presence of a local population before the colonists arrived is also confirmed by finds from the Bronze and the Early Iron Age. Some are probably Mycenaean.[418] Part of the *acropolis* of the Greek colony has been investigated, together with its fortifying wall and cemeteries.[419] The oldest finds from here date to the 6th century and it is worth mentioning the discovery of terracotta larnaces with painted or relief decoration. There is evidence of the cults of Zeus Ktesios, Patroios and Herkeios at Galepsus, while a number of Late Archaic inscriptions on *horoi* (boundary stones) written in Thasian-Parian alphabet, refer to a sanctuary of Demeter, with a *hekatombedos* temple.[420]

Between Oesyme and Galepsus stood Apollonia,[421] whose name suggests that it may have been a colony; one which, owing to its position, may also, perhaps, have been part of the Thasians' colonial state. However, none of the finds to date support this[422] and there is no written evidence to this effect.

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[414] For the sources, see Sampsaris 1976, 72 n. 6. For Galepsus, see Collart 1937, 78–80; Isaac 1986, 9, 63–4; Sampsaris 1976, esp. 157–60; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1980a, 319–20; Papazoglou 1988, 398–9; Loukopoulou 2004a, 861. See also Lazaridis 1971b, figs. 64–65.

[415] See p. 75 above. Sampsaris (1976, 157) wonders whether this story was invented by the Thasian colonists.

[416] Detschew 1957, 98.

[417] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1980a, 320.

[418] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1980a, 320; Giouri and Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1987, 374–5. See also Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1993, 687–8.

[419] Mylonas and Bakalakis 1938 Rhomiopoulou 1960, 218; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1980a, 319–20.

[420] Isaac 1986, 64 and nn. 354–355 (bibliography); Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1982a, 325–6; and in *Ellenikos* 1993, 190, no. 215.

[421] Collart 1937, 87–90; Isaac 1986, 65; Sampsaris 1976, esp. 156–7; Papazoglou 1988, 399–400; Loukopoulou 2004a, 858.

[422] The earliest pottery which has been collected on the hill on which the Byzantine tower stands dates to the 6th century B.C. See Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1990a, 494 n. 12.

As we have already said, Stryme is the easternmost known Thasian colony. Bakalakis located it on the archaeological site on the Molyvoti Peninsula, east of the Nestos, between Porto Lagos and Maroneia. Most scholars accept this view, but it has yet to be confirmed by, for instance, an inscription.[423] The geomorphology of the terrain strongly suggests that Stryme was originally an island and this is supported by certain written sources.[424] It also makes Bakalakis's identification more likely. In this case, the site would have been chosen for the greater security which it afforded its inhabitants; a vital consideration, given that the colony was quite remote from the metropolis and therefore more vulnerable to any attack from its neighbours, who did not welcome the Thasians' expansion into their territory. It is known that the Maronites tried to occupy Stryme as early as Archilochos' time.[425] And we know of other cases where colonists opted, for reasons of security, to settle on a small island not far from, and with easy access to, the mainland. The Thasians must have used Stryme as a station for commercial exchange with the Thracians and it also gave them access to the fertile hinterland of Thrace. We do not know when it was founded; but the fact that it lies east of Abdera, which was apparently founded in 656–652 B.C.,[426] probably suggests that, when the Thasians-Parians reached these parts, Ionian colonists had already settled here, and so they were forced to move on even further east. This is precisely why Stryme was eventually established in a rather remote place in relation to the other Thasian settlements on the Thracian seaboard; and, as we have mentioned before, for a while it was probably not the only Thasian foundation in the area.[427] At any rate, it cannot have been founded very much before or after the mid-7th century B.C., because Archilochos mentions a quarrel between Thasians and Maronieians for possession of Stryme.[428] The earliest finds from hereabouts date to the end of the 6th century.[429] A technical work that was surprisingly large for this area

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[423] Bakalakis 1958, esp. 91–4. See also Lazaridis 1971b, fig. 71. For reservations, see Isaac 1986, 70–1; Terzopoulou 2000, 181; Loukopoulou *et al.* 2005, 127, 130, 287–8. For Stryme, see also Loukopoulou 2004b, 880–4.

[424] Bakalakis 1958, 95–7.

[425] Bakalakis 1958, 95–6 n. 1.

[426] See p. 91 below.

[427] See p. 80 above.

[428] See above and n. 425.

[429] Bakalakis 1967, 38–40. For the excavations in this area, see Terzopoulou 2000; Loukopoulou *et al.* 2005, 287–90.

and this period is quite admirable: it is an underground water-supply system with cisterns, tunnels and wells, which was probably constructed in the 6th or in the first half of the 5th century B.C.[430] Excavations have also uncovered houses and underground beehive-shaped spaces, stretches of a fortifying wall and cemeteries with noteworthy grave goods, all dating to the 5th or 4th century B.C.[431] Two inscriptions of the last decades of the 5th or the early decades of the 4th century B.C., found in Stryme, are of particular interest; the first of them testifies to the practice here of the cults of Athena and Zeus Orios, while the second to that of Podaleirios, Machaon, Periesto and Athena.[432] The cult of Asclepius and his children has not yet been confirmed at such an early date on Thasos itself.

Apart from colonies, there were also *emporia*, or commercial stations, on the Θασίων ἤπειρον ἢ περαίαν. It must be noted that it is often difficult to clearly distinguish between a colony and an *emporion*. Each ancient writer had his own criteria for describing a city as one or the other, and furthermore, as time went by, a colony might be 'demoted' to an *emporion* or an *emporion* might be 'promoted' to the status of a colony.[433] Although Antisara[434] is not specifically mentioned in the ancient sources as a Thasian *emporion*, there can be little doubt that it was. Written tradition (Stephanus of Byzantium *s.v.* Antisara) mentions it as the port of the Datonians. Its site has been firmly located at Kalamitsa, a suburb of modern Kavala. Antiquities uncovered on a

430 Significantly, the city's name is semantically connected with water. See Bakalakis 1958, 97.

431 For the excavations in the cemeteries, see also Triantaphyllos 1992; 1993; 2000. For the funerary monuments of the area, see Terzopoulou 2000. According to archaeological data, Stryme's heyday was in the 5th and the first half of the 4th century B.C., while the city seems to have been abandoned after 350 B.C. See Loukopoulou *et al.* 2005, 287.

432 Loukopoulou *et al.* 2005, 289–92, nos. E107 and E108 (including bibliography), where the presence of those cults in Stryme is understood under the Athenian influence; *cf.* p. 87 below. For the inscription referring to the Asclepiads, see also Kranioti 1990.

433 See Bresson and Rouillard 1993, esp. 163–70 (A. Bresson). *Cf.* Hansen 1997a–d, esp. 1997d. with bibliography. For more bibliography on the *emporia*, see also Loukopoulou *et al.* 2005, 126 n. 7. For an updated and enlarged version of Hansen 1997d, see Hansen 2006.

434 For Antisara, see Bakalakis 1935, 41–2; Sampsaris 1976, esp. 152–3; Isaac 1986, 10, 65; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1980a, 314–7; Loukopoulou 2004a, 856.

small peninsula here include a fortifying wall and houses.[435] Antisara's proximity to Neapolis fully justifies the latter's more precise identification as the Νεάπολις παρ' Αντισάραν found in the tribute lists of the First Athenian League. The walls of the township date to the end of the 6th century B.C., as does the earliest phase of the houses which have been uncovered. It was surprising to find a sanctuary of Asclepius here,[436] because its earliest phase dates to at least the beginning of the 4th century B.C., while, as we have already said, archaeological evidence to date suggests that the cult of Asclepius appeared in the metropolis itself at a later date.[437] Could it be that his cult came to Antisara from Athens via nearby Neapolis, which, at the end of the 5th century B.C., when the cult of Asclepius was introduced to Athens, and in the first half of the 4th century B.C., is known to have had close relations with Athens?[438] Excavations in the sanctuary indicate that the cult of Asclepius replaced another, local, cult,[439] which had existed here since the end of the 6th century. The area has also yielded pottery with indications of Thasian-Parian influence, dating to the 7th century B.C.

The antiquities which have come to light on two hills east and west of Nea Karvali, east of Kavala, also probably belong to one or two Thasian *emporia*.[440] The first of these two sites, according to H. Koukouli-Chrysanthaki, is more likely to be identifiable as Akontisma, a Roman station on the Via Egnatia, which must originally have been a Thasian *emporion*.[441] A fortifying wall has been located here which may date to the end of the 4th century B.C. Another has also been located on the second site and is dated more firmly to *ca.* 500 B.C.[442] We cannot exclude the possibility that these two sites are related to a single ancient settlement, which was in the proximity of rich mineral

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[435] For the excavations, see Bakalakis 1935 (*cf.* Oikonomos 1935); Bakalakis 1936b; 1937, 64–7; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1980a, 315–6, including bibliography relating to the latest excavations.

[436] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1980a, 315–6.

[437] See, for example, Salviat 1958, 251–2.

[438] See, for example, Lazaridis 1969, 22–5. See n. 432 above.

[439] Voutiras 1993, 253 believes that the principal deity of the sanctuary was Apollo.

[440] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1980a, 320–5.

[441] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1980a, 321; 1972. For Akontisma, see also Isaac 1986, 12, 69; Sampsaris 1976, 162–6, including bibliography; Papazoglou 1988, 404–5; Loukopoulou 2004a, 856.

[442] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1980a, 320–1; 1973; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki (1980a, 324 n. 79) does not discount the possibility that this may have been the site of Pistiros.

sources. This settlement should be identified as Skapte Hyle, which is usually placed in the area of Mt Pangaion.[443] Skapte Hyle is mentioned as a Thasian foundation already in the early 5th century B.C. and Herodotus tells us (6. 46. 2–3) that its goldmines were bringing Thasos an annual income of 80 talents at the beginning of the 5th century B.C. As Koukouli-Chrysanthaki points out, its location in the Pangaion area presupposes that the Thasians had already penetrated into inland areas of the gold-bearing Pangaion by the end of the 6th century B.C., which is hard to believe.[444] For instance, it was not until 360 B.C. that the Thasians managed to establish Crenides[445] on an inland site quite some distance from the coast. Koukouli-Chrysanthaki herself looks for Skapte Hyle east of Neapolis on the southern slopes of Mt Lekani, ancient Orbelos, in the area of Palaia Kavala.[446] The identification of the ancient township at Nea Karvali with the gold-bearing Skapte Hyle, where Thucydides is said to have owned mines, is further supported by the written sources, which note Σκαπτησύλη, πόλις Θράκης, μικρά αντικρύ Θάσου (Stephanus of Byzantium *s.v.* Skaptesyle).

The location of settlements further east of Nea Karvali is not so easy, because of the drastic changes in the geomorphology of the area caused by the alluvial deposits left by the Nestos.[447] Stretches of a fortifying wall with some buildings inside it, all dating to the end of the 6th century B.C., have been located near the village of Pondolivado, on the plain to its east.[448] The movable finds, which include sherds of Thasian commercial amphorae and roof-tiles inscribed ΘΑΣΙΩΝ, indicate close connexions between the ancient township which stood here and Thasos. Some scholars have identified the site as the Thasian foundation Pistiros.[449] And indeed, the discovery of residue from metal (mainly silver) processing within the fortifying wall, the presence of ancient mine galleries in the nearby mountains north of the township[450] and the finding, in 1971, of a hoard of 55 silver coins of Thasos and

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[443] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1980a, 322.
[444] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1980a, 322–5.
[445] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1973, 237–40; 1980a, 324; 1990, 507 n. 93.
[446] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1980a, 323; 1990a, 507–10.
[447] Oikonomidou 1990; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1980a, 325.
[448] For Skapte Hyle, see Isaac 1986, 27–9, 31–4; D. Müller 1987, 100–1; Sampsaris 1976, 37–40, 144–5; Loukopoulou 2004a, 857.
[449] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1990a, esp. 494–7. See also Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1980a, 313 (before n. 27), 323–4 (continuation of n. 77). For Pistiros, see D. Müller 1987, 88; Loukopoulou 2004a, 866–7.
[450] For Crenides, see n. 462 below.

Neapolis dating to the early 5th century B.C.[451] indicate that this has been the site of an important city of the Thasian Peraia, probably Pistiros, which Herodotus (7. 109) locates to the west of the Nestos and describes as a coastal city of the Thasian Peraia.[452]

A Roman inscription from the time of Trajan which was found just to the north-east of Pondolivado, more specifically in the area of Petropiyi, confirms that the Thasian Peraia reached as far as here at least from the 4th century B.C., which is when the Thasians were engaged in their last known colonial activities.[453] An ancient tower which survives in the north-west of the community of Lefki probably marks the boundary of the Thasian Peraia in this area.[454]

The identification a few years ago of another Thasian *emporion* much further north, near the village of Vetren near Plovdiv in Bulgaria and beside the Maritsa, has led to considerable debate. With the help of an inscription of the late 4th century B.C., which has a number of Ionian features and contains regulations pertaining to the Thasian *emporion* of Pistiros, which also had a riparian harbour, the archaeological site in this area has been identified as Pistiros itself.[455] However, this view has not been unanimously accepted.[456] Herodotus (7. 109) tells of a mainland city named Pistiros (which we have already encountered above), near a lake just to the west of the River Nestos, through which the Persian army passed on Xerxes' campaign against southern Greece.[457] Xerxes' troops could not possibly have marched so far north, in the territory of what is now Bulgaria, so, if we accept the aforementioned identification, we must suppose there were two places with this name

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451 Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1990a, esp. 512–4.

452 The alluvial deposits laid down by the Nestos have certainly brought about considerable geomorphological changes in the area. See Polychronidou-Loukopoulou 1989. In the ancient period, the archaeological site at Pondolivado must have been closer to the sea.

453 Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1980a, 323.

454 Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1980a, 323–4 (continuation of n. 77); 1967, 422 and n. 15.

455 Velkov and Domaradzka 1994; 1996. For the city's Thracian name and its harbour, see respectively Lazova 1996; Bouzek 1996, 221–2. For the excavations in Pistiros generally, see Bouzek *et al.* 1996; 2002; 2007.

456 See, for example, the articles of Salviat 1999; Bravo and Chankowski 1999; Tsetskhladze 2000b; 2003, 152–5.

457 For possible sites of this city, see Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1980a, 324; 1990a, 510–1 n. 108. See also p. 87 above and n. 442.

in the region, a city and an *emporion*. This possibility is also supported by ancient literary evidence.[458]

The written sources give names of other parts of the Thasian Peraia, such as Daton, for instance.[459] This may be the name of both an area and a township[460] and its goldmines mentioned in the sources must be sought in the area of Eleutheroupolis, near Neapolis, and not in the area of the Strymon.[461] This is supported by ancient writers, who tell us that Antisara was the port of the Datonians (Stephanus of Byzantium *s.v.* Antisara). As we know, the exceptionally rich goldmines in this area gave rise to such expressions as Δάτον αγαθών and αγαθών αγαθίδας (Strabo 7 fr. 36). Crenides[462] was founded in 360/59 B.C. on the fertile plain of Philippi, near gold deposits. The Thasians managed to mint coins with the inscription ΘΑΣΙΟΝ ΗΠΕΙΡΟ in this colony of theirs, before Philip II seized it four years later. The colonies and *emporia* of the Thasian Peraia never managed to throw off the tutelage of their metropolis. The only exceptions, as we have seen, were Neapolis, which was very soon minting its own coins, and Galepsus and Oesyme in the 4th century B.C.[463] Galepsus may well have achieved a degree of independence, at least for a time, already in the 5th century B.C., since it was paying separate tribute to the First Athenian League.[464]

For many years, the Thasians managed to prevent all other powers from infiltrating their Peraia, apart from the area of the Strymon. Most of their colonies and *emporia* were built on fortified sites, a number of which also afforded access to the sea, had fertile land and were also very close to areas with rich deposits of precious metals. However, their proximity to the metropolis, together with their limited size, meant that they were never able to develop into large cities and gain independence.

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[458] Velkov and Domaradzka 1996, 209; Archibald 2004, 895–6 (with relevant discussion).

[459] For Daton, see Bakalakis 1936a, 38; Sampsaris 1976, 34–5, esp. 148–9; D. Müller 1987, 45–7; Counillon 1998; Loukopoulou 2004a, 859–60. *Cf.* also Samartzidou 1990, 577–8, who locates Daton on the Vasilaki hill, to the south of Amygdaleon, Kavala prefecture.

[460] It is unlikely to be identifiable as Crenides, as has been asserted. See Collart 1937, 42–4.

[461] Counillon 1998; Isaac 1986, 30 and n. 151; Sampsaris 1976, 148–9.

[462] For Crenides, see Collart 1937, 39–42, 133–5; Sampsaris 1976, 34–5, 75, esp. 146–9; Isaac 1986, 28, 49–50; Loukopoulou 2004a, 861–2. For traces of prehistoric habitation in the citadel of Philippi, see Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1993, 683.

[463] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1980a, 312; Isaac (1986, 65) erroneously speakes of an Archaic bronze coin of Oesyme.

[464] *ATL* 1, 252–3, 477; Isaac 1986, 48.

But they played an important part in Hellenising Thrace's Aegean littoral and in disseminating Hellenic culture through the interior of Thrace.

Ionian Colonisation to the East of the River Nestos

Naturally enough, the Thasians-Parians tried to consolidate themselves mainly in the areas nearest their island, for it was these which afforded access to rich mineral sources. They thus left room east of the Nestos for other Greek cities to found colonies. Though this area does not appear to have had much mineral wealth, it did have, among other things, fertile tracts of low-lying land and rich pasturage. In his paean to the Abderites (2. 25–26, 60), Pindar refers to Thrace as γαίαν αμπελόεσσάν τε και εὔκαρπον and πολύδωρον όλβον, while to Homer (*Iliad* 11. 222) it is εριβώλακα and μητέρα μήλων. Somewhere between 656 and 652 B.C., at about the same time as Archilochos arrived on Thasos, settlers from Clazomenae led by Timesias (or Timesios) founded Abdera,[465] a city which was to overcome considerable difficulties and become for many years a major economic, military and cultural centre of the North Aegean.[466] Let us not forget, for instance, that Democritus, the father of atomic theory, was a native of Abdera. According to written sources, this Clazomenian colony soon collapsed, being unable to withstand the pressure of the local Thracians (probably the Sintians, the Sapaians and the Bistonians). However, about a 100 years after Timesias' attempt, Ionians, once again, but this time from Teos, seeking to evade the Persian yoke, left their native city in 545 B.C. (as Ionians from other cities did, too) and waged harsh battles with the Thracians to settle in Abdera.[467] Among them was the lyric poet Anacreon, who,

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[465] Isaac 1986, 78–9; Graham 1992 (2001), 272–5. Strabo (7 fr. 43) tells us that Abdera was inhabited by Thracians of Bistonian origin. For pre-Hellenic settlements in the Abdera area, see Lazaridis 1971c, 7; Triantaphyllos 1987–90, 299.

[466] For Abdera, see Lazaridis 1971c; Isaac 1986, 73–108; D. Müller 1987, 37–9; Graham 1992 (2001) (including bibliography); Veligianni-Terzi 2004, 37–40; Loukopoulou 2004b, 872–5; Loukopoulou *et al.* 2005, esp. 157–60. See also Skarlatidou 1984b; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1986; Kallintzi *et al.* 1998. See also bibliography in n. 469 below.

[467] Isaac 1986, 80–1; Graham 1992 (2001), 276–9; Lazaridis 1971c, 7–8.

unlike Archilochos, had fond memories of the 'Thracian land' and so referred to Abdera as the καλή Τηίων αποικίη.[468]

The recent excavations at Abdera, whose site has been firmly located on Cape Bouloustra on the west side of the bay of Porto Lagos on Bistonis lagoon, have produced much new information and added considerably to our knowledge of the city's early history.[469] First of all, they have shown that Abdera was not abandoned in the late 7th or early 6th century B.C., as the written sources suggest. Clazomenian dominion here may have ended in around 600 B.C., but some (even if few) Clazomenians remained, presumably under Thracian domination.[470] As we have already noted, Isaac asserts, though without supporting evidence, that the Thasians were probably active in the area after the Clazomenian collapse.[471] One unexpected recent find is a second enclosure, the first phase of which dates to the third quarter of the 7th century B.C.[472] (Fig. 27). It lies to the north of the known wall, which dates to the 4th century B.C. Geophysical investigations have shown that when the more northerly, earlier enclosure was built, the sea formed a bay directly to the south of it, with a natural harbour.[473] This explains why the first Clazomenians settled so far to the north. However, the Nestos changed course and the delta silted up, closing off the harbour. Yet maintaining its connexion with the sea was of vital importance to Abdera; so the city had to be relocated a short distance southward, where there were probably two harbours, one of them artificial.[474] The view that the alluvial deposits carried down by the Nestos gradually pushed the sea away and created marshland is indirectly confirmed by the findings of palaeopathological tests conducted on bones from burials here dating to that period. The bones present clear evidence of

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[468] Isaac 1986, 81–5.

[469] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1987a; 1988b; 1994, 33–5, 38–41, 47–50; 1997b; Skarlatidou 1988; 1989; 1992; Kallintzi 1991; 1993. For the earlier excavations, see Lazaridis 1950. For references, see Lazaridis 1971c, 2 (bibliography at the end of the study); 1971a; 1976c; 1978; 1979b. See also Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1982d; 1983b; 1987b; 1988c; 1989b; 1991; 1992b; 2004; Skarlatidou 2004; Triantaphyllos 2004; Kallintzi 2004; Samiou 2004.

[470] Skarlatidou 2000, esp. 325–8.

[471] Isaac 1986, 79–80.

[472] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1997b, 715–6, 719–22.

[473] Psilovikos and Syridis 1997. A dockyard has also been discovered in the area of the harbour. See Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1997b, 720–1.

[474] Lazaridis 1971c, 30, 40–1.

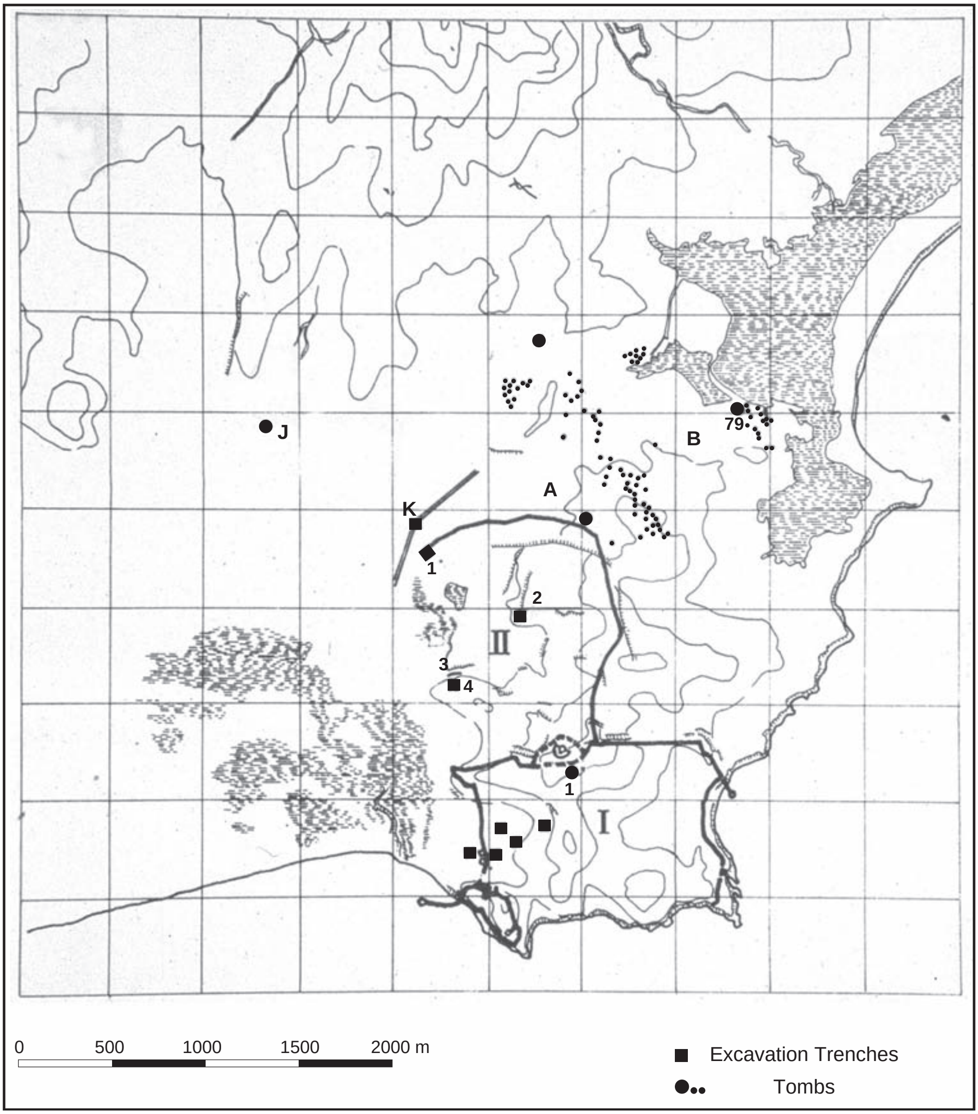

Fig. 27. Abdera: plan of the ancient city (after Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 2004, 237, fig. 4).

malaria,[475] a disease which, written sources confirm, was a real scourge at Abdera.[476] So it too may well have played a part in the Clazomenians' failure to withstand the Thracian pressure.[477]

The first phase of the older enclosure was presumably built by the Clazomenians. It has a later phase, however, which dates to around 500 B.C. and must have been connected with the Teians.[478] So, having first made the necessary repairs, the first Teian colonists must have used the already existing enclosure. Megaroid houses, some with an apse at one end, date to the end of the 7th century,[479] while the earliest phase of an important sanctuary which has been found very close to the older wall dates to the end of the 6th century.[480] Any Clazomenians still living in the area would probably have helped the Teians to settle here. Moreover, Clazomenians from Asia Minor may well have participated in the Teians' colonial venture, for Clazomenae lies very close to Teos and it is known that colonial enterprises were often carried out by inhabitants of many different cities. Archilochos tells us, significantly enough, that πανελλήνων οϊζύς ες Θάσον συνέδραμεν. And this explains why the Teians venerated Timesios of Clazomenae as hero-founder of their colony.[481] According to evidence provided also by Pindar, it seems that the Teians settled here after violent clashes with the Thracians.[482]

The excavations have, additionally, uncovered graves in various places north of the older enclosure.[483] Densely clustered in a thick layer of sea sand, they include some which date to the time of the first Clazomenian settlement (Fig. 28). Infants were buried in vessels, which means that jar burial was practised here, as we know it was elsewhere. For adults there was inhumation and cremation. Among the grave goods were

[475] Agelarakis in Skarlatidou 2000, esp. 3–5 (appendix 2).

[476] See also Lazaridis 1971c, 33.

[477] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1988b, 54–5; Skarlatidou (2000, esp. 324–5) exaggerates somewhat when she asserts that 'the first colonists' greatest enemy was the high infant and child mortality caused by the bad local climate, and not the assaults of their Thracian neighbours.'

[478] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1997b, 719–22.

[479] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1994, 38–9.

[480] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1997b, 720.

[481] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1988b, 55–6. For the cult of Timesios, see Isaac 1986, 78–9.

[482] Isaac 1986, 85–6; Graham 1992 (2001), 278–81.

[483] Kranioti 1987; Kallintzi 1990; 1995; Skarlatidou 1986; 1987; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1994; and esp. Skarlatidou 2000.

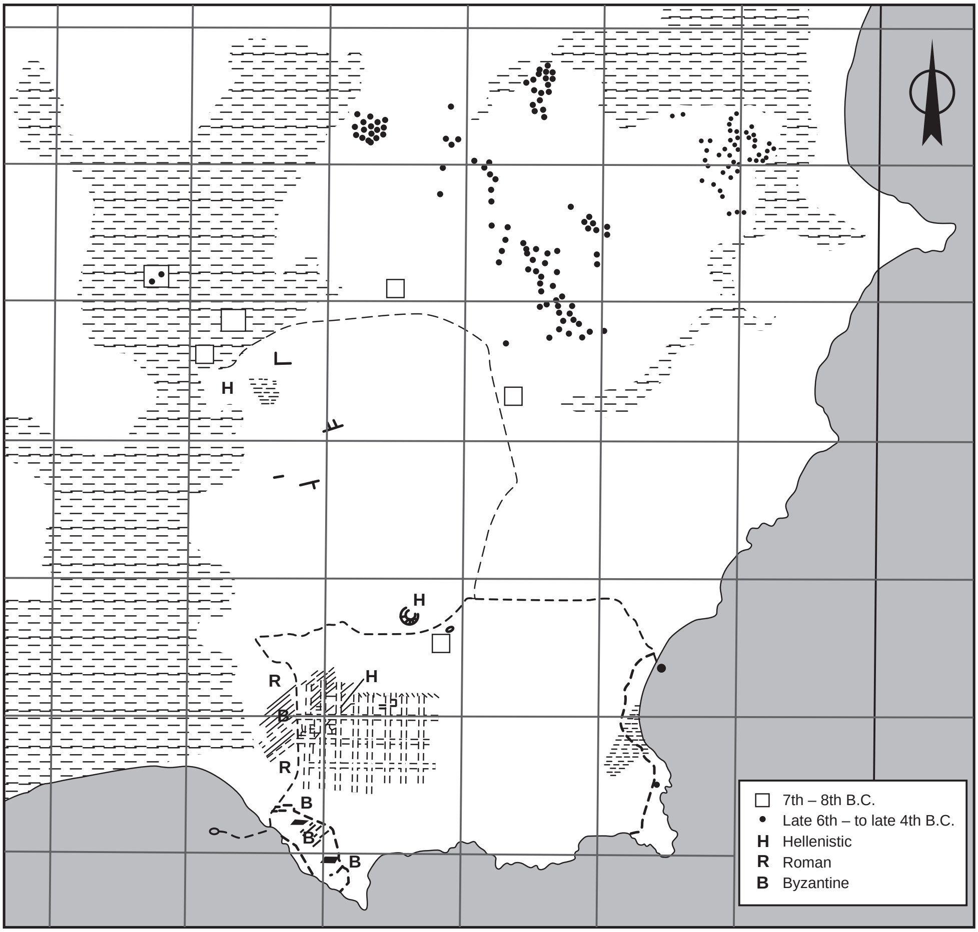

Fig. 28. Abdera: view of the 'Clazomenian' cemetery.

Ionian vessels of the 7th century B.C., including Clazomenian wares, as well as Corinthian pottery of the Late Protocorinthian and the so-called Transitional period. Burials dating to the first half of the 6th century B.C. have also been investigated, confirming that life continued at Abdera in this period; and there are also burials from the second half of the 6th century B.C., which must be connected with the Teians. Some of the latter were in sarcophagi of poros or clay. The grave goods from the second half of the 6th century B.C. include wares from Attica, Corinth, East Greece and Chalcidice.[484] The Abdera cemeteries have also yielded two groups of finds which are very characteristic of the Ionian world. They are stone grave stelai, some of them crowned with a palmette[485] (Fig. 29) and painted clay Clazomenian sarcophagi.[486] The latter were probably made by Clazomenian craftsmen who had settled at Abdera. They were probably the same craftsmen as those who made the similar sarcophagi found elsewhere in northern Greece.[487]

As we have already said, the Teians' colony soon began to thrive. After a number of battles—one of which is said to have taken place in the area of Pangaion[488]—the Abderites advanced into the interior of Thrace and they established a powerful city-state.[489] They even founded a second city within their territory, named Bergepolis, which may be identifiable as the ancient township near the modern village of Koutso.[490] The Abderan economy was based on agriculture (grain production, for instance), stockbreeding, fishing and above all trade.[491] One indication of this is the fact that the city started minting coins almost as soon as the Teians settled there and Abderan coins have been found even in very far-flung parts of the ancient world, for example Egypt, Syria, Mesopotamia and southern Turkey.[492] The fact that they

484 The so-called pre-Persian pottery from the excavations at Olynthus.
485 See Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1988b, 52–8.
486 Triantaphyllos 1997; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1970.
487 See p. 56 and n. 264 above.
488 See Lazaridis 1971c, 22; Isaac 1986, 85–6; Skarlatidou 1984b, 148–9.
489 For the 'land' of Abdera, see Skarlatidou 1990a. See also Lazaridis 1971c, 22–3.
490 Triantaphyllos 1973–74; Loukopoulou 2004b, 877. See also Skarlatidou 1984b, 149 and n. 25; 1990a, 616.
491 Lazaridis 1971c, 4–6, 14, 23–6.
492 For the coinage of Abdera, see May 1966; Chrysanthaki 2000. See also Isaac 1986, 86–9; Lazaridis 1971c, 6, 14–5, 24, 26; Chrysanthaki 2004a. The latter asserts that 'recent numismatic finds place the beginning of the mint's activity in the years of 520/515 B.C.' (Chrysanthaki 2004a, 311).

Fig. 29. Abdera: palmette from the top of a grave stele, 5th century B.C.

include such large denominations as octadrachms, in association with their wide distribution, has prompted some scholars to assert that Abdera exported silver. According to some scholars, the Abderites established their own currency standard, which was also used by the mints of other cities in the area, such as Maroneia and nearby Dikaia.[493] Just like those of the metropolis, the coins of Abdera display a griffin. For that matter, Abdera maintained very close ties with Teos at a political, religious and legal level, even in later years.[494] And we also have here the rare case of a colony, Abdera, helping to re-establish its own metropolis.[495] The excavations at Abdera have also turned up a large number of

[493] According to Smith (1999, 19–20) it was based on a tetradrachm weighing approximately 14.7 g. The standard weights used in the mints of Macedonia and Thrace in the Archaic and Classical periods are still being investigated. *Cf.* Psoma 2000b. Fundamental studies on this subject are those by Raymond 1953, esp. 19–22 (essentially for central Macedonia); and May 1966 (for eastern Macedonia and Thrace).

[494] See, for example, Graham 1991 (2001), with bibliography; 1992 (2001), with bibliography. See also Lazaridis 1971c, 27; Veligianni-Terzi 1997, 691–705 and n. 53 (bibliography); Loukopoulou and Parisaki 2004.

[495] Graham 1991 (2001); 1992 (2001), 283; Veligianni-Terzi 1997, 692–5.

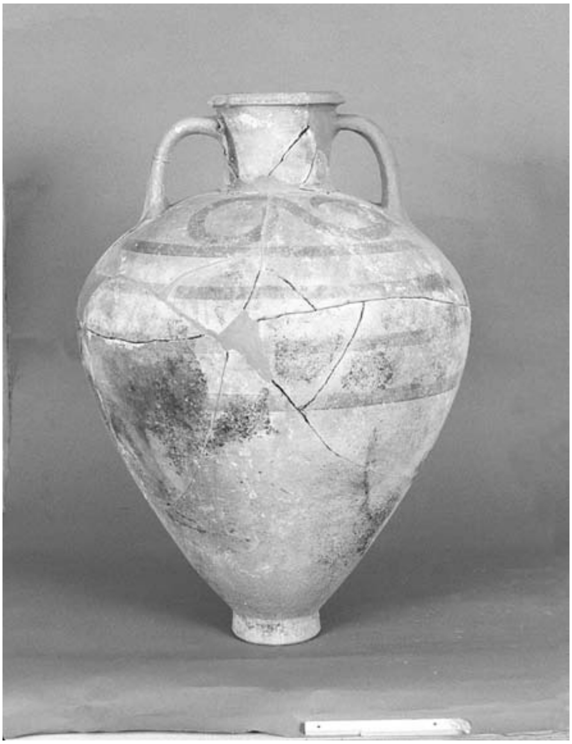

Fig. 30. Abdera: Clazomenian commercial amphora.

Archaic commercial amphorae from many parts of the ancient Greek world, such as Chios, Attica, Corinth and East Greece, including, naturally, Clazomenae (Fig. 30).[496] There is also high-quality Archaic pottery from various parts of ancient Greece. Abdera's wealth in the Late Archaic period is also confirmed by its lavish hospitality towards the Persian troops and towards Xerxes himself during his campaign against southern Greece (Herodotus 7. 120). Another indication is the 15 talents which it was paying into the treasury of the First Athenian League at a certain time of the 5th century B.C.; while in 425 B.C., Abdera and nearby Dikaia were together required to pay the League the incredible sum of 75 talents, most of which would certainly have come from the Abderites.[497]

[496] Skarlatidou 2000, 287–90.
[497] Isaac 1986, 94–5, 98–9.

The fact that one of the city's major deities was Apollo may mean that the Teians undertook their colonial venture under the guidance of the Delphic Oracle. Some scholars believe that the priest of Apollo was also the city's supreme *archon*.[498] Thracian elements here may have crept into the cult of Apollo, who bore the epithet Derenos.[499] As on Teos, another important cult was that of Dionysus, which must also have been affected by Thracian influences here.[500] Of the other cults known at Abdera, it is worth mentioning that of Hecate, a cult which must originally have come from the metropolis,[501] though it soon picked up Thracian elements too. Some scholars identify Hecate here with the local Bendis and even with Parthenos, whom we also find in Neapolis. We do not know how or when the tradition came about that Abdera was founded by Heracles himself, in honour of his friend Abderos, killed and devoured by the man-eating horses of Diomedes, king of Thrace.[502] The Abderites honoured Abderos, who was a son of Poseidon and the Naiad Thronia, with athletics contests.[503] The myth probably relates to unsuccessful efforts by Mycenaeans, or even settlers of the first Greek colonisation, to settle in the area.[504] And a Mycenaean presence is probably also indicated by the existence at Abdera of the cult of Jason, with a temple dedicated to him, from at least the 4th century B.C.[505]

Settlers from various parts of Ionia arrived in Aegean Thrace in the first half of the 7th century B.C. They included Chians, who played a leading part in the founding of Maroneia on the south-west coastal slopes of Ismaros.[506] Precisely when this happened we do not know and excavations so far have not proved helpful in this respect;[507] but it

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498 Münzer and Strack 1912, 6. Others have argued that the supreme *archon* was the *prytanis*. See Bousquet 1940–41, 103.

499 Isaac 1986, 107; Graham 1992 (2001), 304–5.

500 Isaac 1986, 83–4 (including bibliography).

501 Isaac 1986, 107–8 (including bibliography); Graham 1992 (2001), 305.

502 Isaac 1986, 77–8; Malkin (1987, 11, 56, 76, 131, 204, 208, 222) believes that the cult of Abderos gradually eclipsed that of Timesios.

503 Lazaridis 1971c, 7. See also Veligianni-Terzi 1997, 702 n. 65.

504 Sakellariou 1958, 222 n. 1.

505 Isaac 1986, 108.

506 For Maroneia, see Lazaridis 1972b; Isaac 1986, 111–4; D. Müller 1987, 70–2; Veligianni-Terzi 2004, 42–5; Loukopoulou 2004b, 878–84; Loukopoulou *et al.* 2005, esp. 130–1, 319–21. See also Bakalakis 1958, esp. 100–2; Schönert-Geiss 1979; Sarla Pentazou and Pentazos 1984; Karadima-Matsa 1997.

507 For the excavations, see Pentazos 1971, 102–5; 1973; 1975; 1978; 1980, 1–2; 1982; 1983; Anagnostopoulou-Chatzipolychroni 1987; 1992; Karadima and Kokkotaki

must certainly have been before the mid-7th century B.C., because, as we have already seen, the Maroneians and the Thasians were quarrelling over Stryme in around 650 B.C.[508] The area of Maroneia is very well known in the Homeric epics.[509] Homer knows that Maron, priest of the temple of Apollo at Ismara and eponymous hero of Maroneia, came from these parts. After the Trojan War, Odysseus landed here and Maron offered him gifts of precious metals (it should be noted that mine galleries have been located in the surrounding area)[510] and the splendid Ismarian wine, with which he later intoxicated Polyphemus, the Cyclops, in order to escape from his cave. The tradition which placed Odysseus and the Cyclops in these parts survived for many years. Until the Roman period, if not later, there was a site named ρείθρον οδύσσειον in Thrace (on Lake Ismaris);[511] and even today there are at least two caves in Thrace named 'Cyclops' Cave', which have yielded finds from as early as the prehistoric period.[512]

The Ionians probably did not found a new city here. Ancient writers report that Maroneia was one of the three cities of the Kikones (Strabo 7 fr. 43), the Thracian warriors who lived in these parts and fought on the side of the Trojans during the Trojan War (Homer *Iliad* 2. 844–850). It is characteristic of the Chians to have declared the mythical Maron, son of Euanthes, hero-founder of their colony. They venerated him until late antiquity and his cult was always especially important to the city.[513] Moreover, he was connected with the prominant deity of Abdera, Dionysus.[514] It seems, then, that the colonists settled in an existing city, which they occupied either by force or, more probably, with the acquiescence of its native inhabitants. The Chians may well have been drawn to these parts by the splendid local wine, especially

1993; Karadima[-Matsa] 1995. See also Leekley and Efstratiou 1980, 163–4. For the excavations and for full bibliography, see Loukopoulou *et al.* 2005, 335–8.

[508] Lazaridis 1972b, 10; Isaac 1986, 114.

[509] Isaac 1986, 113–4.

[510] Triantaphyllos 1987–90, 304. See also Isaac 1986, 112 and n. 215. The fact that the name of Maroneia was given to a metalliferous area of Laurion may indicate the presence of mines in this area. See Lazaridis 1972b, 28, 32.

[511] Bakalakis 1958, 97–8.

[512] One in the area of Maroneia (Triantaphyllos 1987–1990, 302–3; Pentazos 1971, 87–8; Lazaridis 1972b, 26) and the other on the shore of Makri (Triantaphyllos 1987–90, 308; Pantos 1974).

[513] Triantaphyllos 1985; Lazaridis 1972b, 32.

[514] Isaac 1986, 113 n. 226, 114 n. 228; Valtchinova 1997, 268–73. According to Euripides (*Cyclops* 141–143), he was a son of Dionysus.

since they themselves were connoisseurs of how to produce excellent wine.[515] At the time when they settled in Aegean Thrace, Chian wine had begun to flood the international markets. Their 'compatriot' Homer knew of and praised Ismarian wine, as did the slightly later Archilochos;[516] and this indicates that production had not yet begun of Thasian wine, another splendid wine in the ancient period.[517] The exchange of secrets for producing good wine between the Chians and the Kikones may also have conduced to their peaceful co-existence.[518] The question of where the first Ionian colonists settled at the beginning remains unanswered. Excavations in ancient Maroneia itself (Fig. 31) have not uncovered any material remains earlier than the 4th century B.C. However, on Ayios Yeoryios peak on Ismaros, directly to the east of Maroneia, there are impressive precolonial fortifications, with finds contemporary with Troy VII B and 'with stretches of an enclosure of Cyclopean masonry and a monumental building-palace, which are reminiscent of the Mycenaean acropolises' (Fig. 31).[519] Apart from the fortified enclosure of this *acropolis*, there are also two 'long' walls, which run from the *acropolis* to the sea, enclosing and protecting a considerable area.[520] This is very probably the Kikones' Maroneia, where the first Ionian colonists settled, for this area has also yielded finds of the historical period.[521] If this identification is correct,[522] then Ismara, the Kikones' other city, with the sanctuary of Apollo (*Odyssey* 9. 39–42, 196–201), must have been located on Kremastos peak, between the modern villages of Ergani and Xylagani, on the north-western slope of Ismaros, where there survives an impressive fortifying wall with buildings, some of them apsidal, whose first phase dates to the time of Troy VII B.[523] This is an identification which has already been proposed by the connoisseur of

[515] *Cf.* Isaac 1986, 114.

[516] See Salviat 1990. For Maron and Ismarian wine, see also Valtchinova 1997.

[517] *Cf.* Isaac 1986, 114.

[518] Triantaphyllos 1987–90, 312.

[519] *Cf.* Triantaphyllos 1987–90, 302.

[520] Triantaphyllos 1987–90, 302; Bakalakis 1958, 102–5; Lazaridis 1972b, figs. 33–34, 36; Isaac 1986, 112 and n. 220 (bibliography).

[521] Bakalakis (1958, 104–5) considers it 'likely that the Maroneians walled only the top of Ayios Yeoryios at first, and much later on, the even higher Ayios Athanassios, which is the 4th-century citadel'.

[522] The fortifications on Ayios Yeoryios are usually associated with the Kikonian city of Ismaros or Ismara. See Triantaphyllos 1987–90, 302; Isaac 1986, 112–3 n. 220.

[523] Triantaphyllos 1987–90, 299–302; Bakalakis 1958, 83; Pentazos 1971; 1973; Lazaridis 1972b, fig. 35.

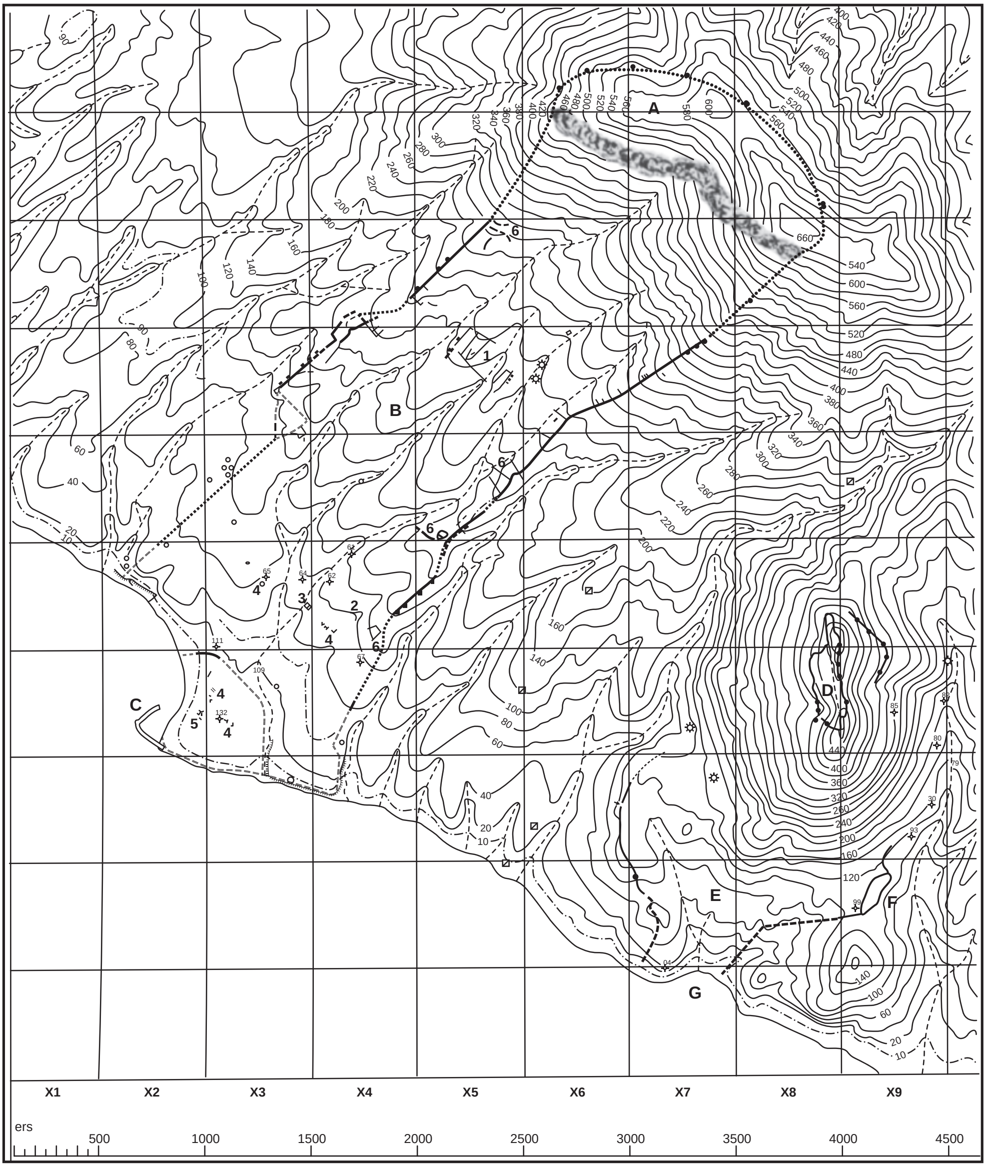

Fig. 31. Maroneia: plan of the ancient city and the nearby *acropolis* on Ayios Yeoryios (after Lazaridis 1972b, fig. 36).

the topography of Greek Thrace, G. Bakalakis.[524] In Ismara, according to tradition, there was the sanctuary of Maron (Strabo 7 fr. 44a), whose cult spread to other places, including Samothrace.[525] However, Maroneia itself and thus the Kikonian Maroneia must also have had a sanctuary of its eponymous hero. If the fragmentary architectural members of the Roman period, which have been found at Synaxis in the south-eastern foothills of Ayios Yeoryios, incorporated into the walls of an Early Christian basilica, do indeed come from a *heroon* of Maron, as has been proposed, then this *heroon* could have been transferred to this site from Kikonian Maroneia in the 2nd century A.D., presumably after the latter had been abandoned.[526] These identifications are further supported by the ancient written tradition, which places the Kikonian cities of Ismara and Maroneia nearby (Strabo 7 frs. 43, 44a). Apart, of course, from vines, the Maroneians' main sources of wealth must have been oil, timber, stockbreeding, fishing and various commercial activities that were assisted by the city's strategic location and its harbour.[527] At the end of the 6th century, they began to mint their own currency, with coins of small denomination at first, mainly to serve the needs of local trade, which in time came to cover a wide radius.[528] The earlier coins depict a galloping horse, which is probably a reference to the famed horses of Thrace. But most Maroneian coins depict grapes and Dionysus, the most important deity of the city. Maroneia must have exerted a considerable influence on the Thracians. The Odrysians, for instance, could not have produced their 5th-century B.C. coins without the influence of the Maroneians.[529] Maroneia was eventually contributing 10 talents to the treasury of the First Athenian League,[530] while in the 4th century B.C., the Maroneians were in a position to build one of the largest cities of the time in Greece proper, directly to the west of the old city, with walls whose total perimeter exceeded 10 km, enclosing an area of some 424 ha. They built the *acropolis* to the north, on Ayios Athanassios, the highest peak of Mt Ismaros; and they built

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[524] Bakalakis 1958, 97.

[525] Lazaridis 1972b, 32.

[526] Bakirtzis 1987, 455–6; 1990, 578–83; Bakirtzis and Chatzmichalis 1991, 95–8; Bakalakis 1991.

[527] Lazaridis 1972b, 7–8, 14–5, 27–30.

[528] For the early coins of Maroneia, see May 1965b, 27–30; A. West 1929, 55–60; Schönert-Geiss 1987. See also Isaac 1986, 116–22; Lazaridis 1972b, 29–31.

[529] A. West 1929, 121, 135. See also Isaac 1986, 119–20.

[530] Isaac 1986, 117–8.

an important, partly artificial, harbour to the south.[531] It was on this coastal part of the city that Byzantine Maroneia developed.[532]

We do not know the provenance of the settlers who established a colony at what is now Katsamakia (or Boubaya) south-east of Lake Bistonis and north-east of Porto Lagos lagoon, between Abdera and Maroneia. They must certainly have been Ionians too, judging by the finds from this area, the oldest of which date to the second half of the 6th century B.C. and display a clear Ionian influence. With the help of ancient written sources and archaeological finds, Bakalakis identified the city as the Thracian Dikaia (or Dikaiopolis). In order to be distinguished from the other cities of the same name, it was also referred to as Δίκαια παρ' Ἄβδηρα.[533] We have already mentioned the tradition that its eponymous hero was Dikaios, a son of Poseidon (Stephanus of Byzantium *s.v.* Dikaia).[534] Owing to the similarity between its coins, which depict the head of Heracles or a bull's head, and coins of Samos, some scholars believe that it may have been founded by Samians.[535] It should be remembered that the ancient written tradition confirms the presence of Samians in the North Aegean and the wider area, telling us, for instance, that Samothrace, Perinthus and Bisanthe on the Propontis were built by Samians;[536] while some scholars detect that Samos had relations even with Abdera in the first half of the 5th century B.C.[537] The depiction of Heracles on the coins of Dikaia was presumably due to the fact that that hero was active in the region. When, for instance, he was battling Diomedes, the king of the Bistonians, he opened up a crossing over Lake Bistonis by driving the lake water towards the

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[531] Lazaridis 1972b, 37, 39, figs. 36–37.

[532] Bakalakis 1958, 101–4.

[533] For Δίκαια παρ' Ἄβδηρα, see Bakalakis 1958, esp. 88–90; Lazaridis 1971c, 45–8; Isaac 1986, 109–11; D. Müller 1987, 47–8; Pantos 1985; Loukopoulou 2004b, 877–8; Loukopoulou *et al.* 2005, 127, 130. Bakalakis's identification is further supported by the fact that this area has yielded silver and bronze coins of the city, the latest of which date to the 4th century B.C.

[534] See p. 44 above.

[535] Lazaridis 1971c, 50. For reservations, see Isaac 1986, 109–10; May 1965a, 2. Others have drawn stylistic parallels between the coins of Abdera and those of Chios (see Bakalakis 1958, 91), while, as we have already said (see p. 80 above), some do not discount the possibility that Dikaia was a Thasian colony.

[536] For Samothrace, see p. 110 below. For Perinthus and Bisanthe, see Isaac 1986, 204–6 and 212–3 respectively; Loukopoulou and Laitar 2004, 919–21 and 914–5 respectively.

[537] Isaac 1986, 93.

sea.[538] We do not know when that colony was founded. It was probably contemporary with, or slightly later than, Abdera. Very little written information about it survives.[539] Abdera and Dikaia, which also had a harbour, controlled the entrance to the gulf of Porto Lagos and Lake Bistonis. However, the dominant power in the locality was Abdera and Dikaia may well have been under Abderan control at various times. After all, as we have already noted, in 425 B.C., the two cities jointly paid a large contribution into the treasury of the First Athenian League.[540] Of considerable importance for the city's history are its attractive silver octadrachms (which probably indicate that Dikaia too traded in silver), which reached as far away as Egypt and date to the second half of the 6th century B.C. onwards.[541] The first ones to be struck were based on the Thasian currency standard, but that of Maroneia was probably used later on. There can be no doubt that the lack of systematic excavations here prevents us from knowing more about the history of this colony, which, apart from its commercial activities, would also have engaged in farming. A few recent, mostly rescue, excavations have revealed part of an Archaic cemetery with cremations and inhumations in stone and terracotta sarcophagi, as well as house foundations and a stretch of Classical fortifications.[542]

With very few exceptions, it is difficult to identify the sites of the subsequent Greek colonies to the east of Maroneia as far as the mouth of the Hebrus. This is the case, for instance, with Orthagoria (or Orthagoreia), a city first mentioned by Strabo (7 fr. 47).[543] Written sources indicate that it was located immediately to the east of Maroneia and as far as the Σέρρειος άκρα, which we shall discuss shortly. If Pliny (*NH* 4. 42) is correct in his assertion that Orthagoria was the older

[538] Isaac 1986, 109–10 and n. 203.

[539] It has been gathered together by Bakalakis 1958, 89 n. 1. See also Loukopoulou *et al.* 2005, T90, T165, T197, T227, T230.

[540] See p. 98 above. Dikaia itself paid much smaller amounts, up to 3,000 drachmas. See Isaac 1986, 110; Terzi 2004, 85.

[541] For the mint of Dikaia, see May 1965a, 1–5. See also Isaac 1986, 110; Loukopoulou *et al.* 2005, 127 and n. 5.

[542] Triantaphyllos 1972; 1973.

[543] For this city, which has been identified variously with Drys, Zone, Mesembria and even Stagirus and Makri, see Lazaridis 1972b, 45–8; Isaac 1986, 123, 128 n. 21; Tsatsopoulou 1996, 922; Loukopoulou 2004b, 880; Chrysanthaki 2004b, 57–60; Loukopoulou *et al.* 2005, 128–9. See also the discussion by Robert 1940, esp. 86–90. Chrysanthaki (2004b, 57) locates Orthagoria on the site of Gatos or on the coast of the modern village of Petrota, which is directly to the east of the Σέρρειος άκρα.

name of Maroneia, then we may locate it at Kikonian Maroneia, on the fortified Ayios Yeoryios peak just to the east of 4th-century B.C. Maroneia. Kikonian Maroneia has not been systematically excavated; but it does seem very likely that it kept on being inhabited after Greek Maroneia was built.[544] So we may suppose that Orthagoria was the name given by the Greeks to Kikonian Maroneia in order to distinguish it from the newer and much larger Maroneia. However, if we do not accept this hypothesis, there is the, at least theoretical, possibility that Orthagoria was located at άκρα Μαρωνείας, a site which, according to D. Triantaphyllos, should be identified as the Σέρρειος άκρα of the sources.[545] The relevant passage in Strabo (7 fr. 47), μετά τήν Μαρώνειαν Ορθαγορία πόλις καί τά περί Σέρρειον, παράπλους τραχύς…, does not contradict this hypothesis. We do not know when or whence the first colonists came to Orthagoria. The earliest indication of its presence on the historical scene dates to after the mid-4th century B.C., when it struck coins with Macedonian influence apparent in their weight and style.[546] It may not be mere coincidence that at approximately the same time as Orthagoria started issuing its own currency, neighbouring Maroneia was taken by Philip II and its gold and silver coins ceased to circulate for a while.[547] Could Orthagoria have been founded by Philip, or at least with his support?

The Σέρρειος άκρα is usually identified as the promontory of Ayia Paraskevi in Makri.[548] However, the fact that the sources describe it as the most important promontory in the area suggests that it might be better identified as άκρα Μαρωνείας, as Triantaphyllos suggests,[549] which is undoubtedly the most important promontory in the whole of modern western Thrace. It occupies an important fortified site, which afforded control over the east-west coastal route through Aegean Thrace, and it is a large promontory, which is indeed dangerous ('τραχύς') to sail around. This identification is also supported by Pliny's account

[544] See, for example, Lazaridis 1972b, 34–5, 42.
[545] Triantaphyllos 1987–90, 303.
[546] Lazaridis 1972b, 49–50; For Orthagoria's coins, see Chrysanthaki 2004b, 49–56.
[547] Lazaridis 1972b, 11–2, 30–1.
[548] See, for example, D. Müller 1987, 98; Bakalakis 1961, 15; Lazaridis 1971d, 39; *ATL* 1, 518.
[549] Triantaphyllos 1987–90, 303. *Cf.* Tsatsopoulou 1996, 922–3; Parisaki 2000–03, 353–4; Loukopoulou *et al.* 2005, 131.

(*NH* 4. 42), which refers to the Σέρρειος ἄκρα as a mountain; for ἄκρα Μαρωνείας is in fact formed by the eastern extremity of Ismaros.

Samothrace and its Peraia

Identifying the location of the Σέρρειος ἄκρα is of great importance because this helps us to identify the rest of the Greek colonies further east, all of which, as far as the Hebrus, once belonged to the περαία των Σαμοθρακίων.[550] Their names are Drys, Mesembria, Zone, Sale, Tempyra and Charakoma.[551]

In the reliable tribute lists of the First Athenian League, Drys and Zone are defined as παρά Σέρρειον. Their location must therefore be sought near ἄκρα Μαρωνείας (= Σέρρειος ἄκρα) and necessarily just to the east of it. However, Herodotus (7. 108. 2) tells us that the westernmost city on the Peraia of Samothrace was Mesembria—actually this is the only information we have about Mesembria. The first ancient city to have been firmly located immediately to the east of ἄκρα Μαρωνείας occupies a coastal site near the modern village of Mesembria. Excavations here are uncovering an important ancient city, which many scholars identify as Herodotus' Mesembria (Fig. 32).[552] Nevertheless, the discovery of hundreds of coins of Zone makes it very likely that the city which is being excavated is not Mesembria but Zone;[553] an identification which is supported by the fact that the number of coins of Zone found outside this particular archaeological site is exceptionally small, which indicates that the coins of this city (which began to mint its own currency in the 4th century B.C.) did not circulate widely.[554] Once

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[550] For the Samothracian Peraia, see Lazaridis 1971d; Isaac 1986, 125–37. See also Tsatsopoulou 1987–90.

[551] See pp. 114–17 below.

[552] For Mesembria, see Isaac 1986, 128; D. Müller 1987, 73; Bakalakis 1961, 12–4; Loukopoulou 2004b, 880. For the excavations until 1977, see Leekley and Efstratiou 1980, 164. See also Vavritsas 1976; 1977; 1978; 1979; 1980; 1981; 1983; Tsatsopoulou 1987; 1988; 1989; 1990; 1991; 1992; 1995; 1996; 1997 Tsatsopoulou *et al.* 1998. See also Loukopoulou *et al.* 2005, 508–10, including all the relevant bibliography.

[553] For Zone, see Loukopoulou 2004b, 881–2; Loukopoulou *et al.* 2005, 505–8 including bibliography. See also n. 595 below.

[554] See Robert and Robert 1976, no. 464; 1977, no. 290; 1978, nos. 311–312; 1979, no. 282; 1980, no. 319; 1981, no. 326; 1982, no. 218; 1983, no. 266. Tsatsopoulou 1996, 920–1; 1997, 620–1; Loukopoulou *et al.* 2005, 506–8. For the coins of Zone, see Galani-Krikou 1996; 1997; 1997, 633 for areas, other than Zone itself, in which coins of Zone have been found. For Zone, see also Robert 1940.

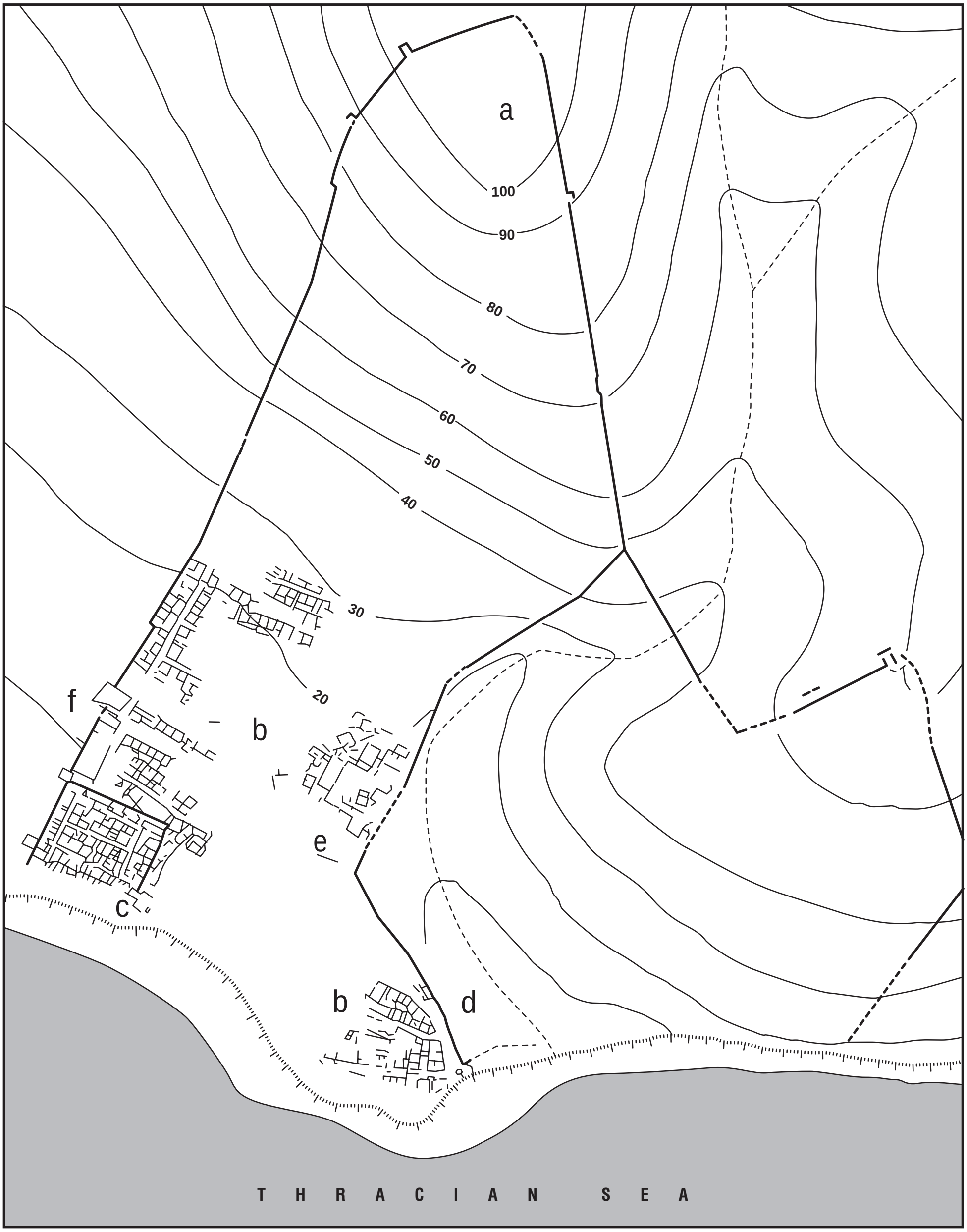

Fig. 32. Zone (Mesembria): plan of the ancient city (after Tsatsopoulou *et al.* 1998, 21, fig. 4).

we accept this identification (and if, of course, we accept Herodotus' assertion that Mesembria was at the western end of the Samothracian Peraia), then we must also accept that, between the ἄκρα Μαρωνείας and Zone, a distance of no more than 20 km as the crow flies, there were two more cities, Drys and Mesembria.[555] This seems very unlikely and at the same time it is not confirmed by the existing archaeological data, since antiquities have been found only at the site of Gatos.[556] The problem becomes less acute if we accept the view of some scholars who believe that Mesembria should be identified either with Zone[557] or with Drys.[558] In other words, it is not impossible that (the probably already existing) Mesembria was renamed at a certain time Zone or Drys.[559] Still, another explanation, mentioned by Loukopoulou, Parisaki, Psoma and Zournatzi seems to be more convincing. To be more precise, M. Zahrnt believes that Herodotus' reference to a city named Mesembria might have occurred due to a misunderstanding, on the part of the historian, of a locative adverb (μεσημβρία = south) which originally existed in the text of Hecataeus, probably the source used by Herodotus for the description of Xerxes' route through Thrace.[560] If this is the case, then it is obvious that no city of the name Mesembria ever existed in the Aegean Thrace.

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[555] According to Ps.-Skylax (*Periplous*, Thrace), Drys must have been to the west of Zone.

[556] Vavritsas 1967, 95; Lazaridis 1972b, 46. According to the aforementioned information provided by Ps.-Skylax (see previous note), this site could be identified as Drys. For Drys, which some scholars locate even to the east of Zone, for example on the coast near Dikella or even at Makri (see, for example, Isaac 1986, 129–30; Lazaridis 1971d, 39), see Loukopoulou *et al.* 2005, esp. 501–2 (including bibliography). The antiquities which have come to light even further to the west, on the coast of the village of Petrota should probably not be connected with any settlement, see Triantaphyllos 1978, 302–3.

[557] Triantaphyllos 1987–90, 308.

[558] Seure 1900, 152; Perdrizet 1909, 35; Meyer 1976 (and *RE* Suppl. XV 94–6. *s.v.* Drys); D. Müller 1987, 74. See also Isaac 1986, 129. Tsatsopoulou (1996, 922) identifies Mesembria with Orthagoria.

[559] Since both Drys and Zone are mentioned by Hecataeus, they must have been founded before the end of the 6th century B.C.

[560] Loukopoulou *et al.* 2005, 508 n. 2.

Samothrace

There is no ancient written evidence about when Samothrace was colonised.[561] All we have is the information, and thus from somewhat later writers, that it was colonised from Samos.[562] This has been disputed by some scholars, who believe that this tradition arose at a later date out of the similarity between the two islands' names. Like the names of other Aegean islands, Samos is believed to be a Carian name,[563] which, if it is true, confirms that these islands had been inhabited in an earlier period by Carians.[564] Archaeological data from Samothrace show that Ionian elements co-existed with Aeolian elements here[565] and the latter appear in fact to have been the strongest.[566] So it seems more likely that, of the first settlers who arrived on the island, most must have come from Aeolis, from the nearby Troad, for instance, or, more probably, from Lesbos. They would have been accompanied by Ionians from Samos. It is also possible that the Samians were the first to reach the island and were joined soon afterwards by Aeolians, who eventually predominated, owing to their proximity to Samothrace.[567] In any case, excavational data so far do not indicate any relation to Samos and no typical Ionian pottery has been found on the island.[568] On the contrary there is a remarkable presence of Aeolian pottery of the G 2–3 group, which proves, in the least, some sort of direct or indirect contact between Samothrace and the Aeolian world. Since this type of pottery dates mainly to the first half of the 7th century B.C., it could

[561] For Samothrace, see Lehmann and Lehmann 1973, chapters I, III; Lazaridis 1971d; D. Müller 1987, 93–5; Matsas and Bakirtzis 1998; Reger 2004, 769–72. Regarding the sanctuary of the Great Gods, ten volumes have been published to date covering the excavations conducted by the University of New York (see Lehmann and Lehmann 1958–; also Lewis 1958; Fraser 1960). See also Matsas 1984; Matsas *et al.* 1989; 1993; Karadima[-Matsa] 1995; K. Lehmann 1998 for the most important bibliography.

[562] Lewis 1958, 15–23; Lazaridis 1971d, 18; Graham 2002.

[563] Lazaridis 1971d, 18, 59; *IG* XII 8. 36.

[564] It is worth remembering that, according to Herodotus (2. 51), the first inhabitants of the island were Pelasgians; while Cadmus' connexion with the great sanctuary of Samothrace, as transmitted by the ancient literature, probably also indicates a Phoenician presence on the island. For the presence of the Phoenicians in the North Aegean, see Tiverios 2004.

[565] Lazaridis 1971d, 18–19, 35. *Cf.* Matsas and Bakirtzis 1998, 19.

[566] Fraser 1960, 3 and 25, nos. 5 and 33. *Cf.* also K. Lehmann 1998, 19.

[567] K. Lehmann 1998, 19; According to Lazaridis (1971d, 18) the first colonists arrived on Samothrace at the beginning of the 7th century B.C. On the other hand, Graham (2002) believes that the first colonists of the island were Samians, who arrived here in the first half of the 6th century B.C.

[568] See Ilieva 2005, 349.

be contemporary with precolonial Greek activities on the island.[569] The fact, however, that it has also been found in the ancient city of Samothrace itself and thus in an area where the sanctuary of Athena (the tutelary goddess of the city) is presumed to have stood,[570] might mean that this pottery is contemporary with the first Greek colonists, who, in that case, must have reached the island no later than the middle of the 7th century B.C.[571] As for the exact time of the arrival of the first colonists on Samothrace, much light may be thrown by the excavations of a sanctuary (dedicated to the Great Mother or Artemis?) which has been uncovered on the site of Mandal' Panayia, to the north of the village of Profitis Ilias, and seems to have been in use for a long period, from the 8th century B.C. to the 2nd century A.D.[572] The undertaking of systematic excavations in the city of Samothrace itself will provide, of course, significant information on that matter.

Samothrace occupied a very important location, on the maritime routes which linked Asia with Europe and the Aegean islands with Thrace. It was therefore inhabited from an early period, as is attested by traditions and by the prehistoric antiquities which have been found on the site of Mikro Vouni, on the south-western coast of the island.[573] The settlement which has been uncovered here dates to the Neolithic period (end of the 6th millennium B.C.) but seems to have maintained its importance also during the Early and Middle Bronze Age, to around 1700 B.C. Among the finds dating to the latter chronology we should mention some Minoan ones, so far unique in the northern Aegean.[574] But while this settlement should be connected with the Pelasgians of the written sources, perhaps Carians, another settlement in the area of Brychos, at Chora,[575] the earliest phase of which dates to the Early Bronze Age (11th century B.C.), is probably related to the Thracian tribes who, according to written tradition, inhabited the island.[576] Samothrace had always been a stopping-place for sailors, merchants

[569] Ilieva 2005, 348–9. For this group of pottery, see Tiverios 2006.

[570] K. Lehmann 1998, 173–6; Matsas and Bakirtzis 1998, 29.

[571] Regarding the question of when the first Greeks arrived on Samothrace, see n. 567 above.

[572] Matsas *et al.* 1993; Matsas and Bakirtzis 1998, 103.

[573] For the prehistory of the island, see Matsas 1984; K. Lehmann 1998, 165–8; Matsas *et al.* 1989; 1993; Matsas and Bakirtzis 1998, 97, 101–4.

[574] Matsas 1991; 1995.

[575] See Matsas *et al.* 1989; K. Lehmann 1998, 169–71; Matsas and Bakirtzis 1998, 97.

[576] See also n. 578 below.

and travellers, and Homer (*Iliad* 13. 10–14) describes Poseidon sitting on its highest peak, watching the Trojan War. The first colonists settled on the island's north-western coast on a fortified site which also afforded them rapid access to the Thracian coast opposite, water and the possibility of establishing a suitable harbour.[577] They encountered Thracians, specifically Saians,[578] though we do not know whether their arrival was violently resisted by the islanders. However, the fact that the Greeks accepted and fostered the pre-Hellenic mystic cult which they found here, immediately to the south-west of their main settlement, and even preserved the local language for its rituals,[579] makes it more likely that there was largely peaceful co-existence between the local people and the colonists.[580] The latter identified Axieros, the great local goddess, with their own Demeter, and the rest of the native gods, such as Axiokeros, Axiokersa, the Kabeiroi and Kadmilos, with Pluto, Persephone, the Dioskouroi and Hermes respectively.[581] Another possible indication of the Greeks' co-existence with the islanders is the fact that the excavation of the shrine located the earliest Greek finds together with local products.[582] The Greeks, who settled here with the help of the colonies they had founded on the Thracian coast, soon prospered. Apart from its cemeteries,[583] the city of Samothrace has not yet been investigated by archaeologists (Fig. 33). However, its surviving walls at Paliapoli (Palaiopolis), the earliest phase of which probably dates to the 6th century B.C., are impressively large and solidly constructed.[584] In the same century, they also minted silver coins, on which they depicted, *inter alia*, their tutelary goddess, Athena,[585] whose cult they had prob-

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[577] Lazaridis 1971d, 77. The island also had another harbour, the Demetrian harbour. See Lazaridis 1971d, 77–8.

[578] To them the island owes its other names: Saos, Saonnesos and Saokis. For the evidence of the relevent ancient sources, see Lewis 1958, 15–23. *Cf.* Graham 2002, 248–9.

[579] For this language, see K. Lehmann 1955; Bonfante 1955. *Cf.* Graham 2002, 249–50.

[580] See Ilieva 2007.

[581] For the cult of the Great Gods of Samothrace, see Rubensohn 1892; Hemberg 1950, 49–52. See also K. Lehmann 1998, 29–31; Burkert 2002, with bibliography at 62–3.

[582] K. Lehmann 1998, 18–9. A peaceful co-existence is probably also indicated by the finds of the sanctuary at Mandal' Panayia, see n. 572 above.

[583] Dusenbery 1998. For limited excavations within the city of Samothrace, see K. Lehmann 1998, 173–5; Matsas and Bakirtzis 1998, 23–6.

[584] Lazaridis 1971d, 19, 93 n. 56 and esp. 80–2, fig. 34. *Cf.* Matsas and Bakirtzis 1998, 23–6.

[585] Schwabacher 1938; Lazaridis 1971d, 47–8; Schönert-Geiss 1996.

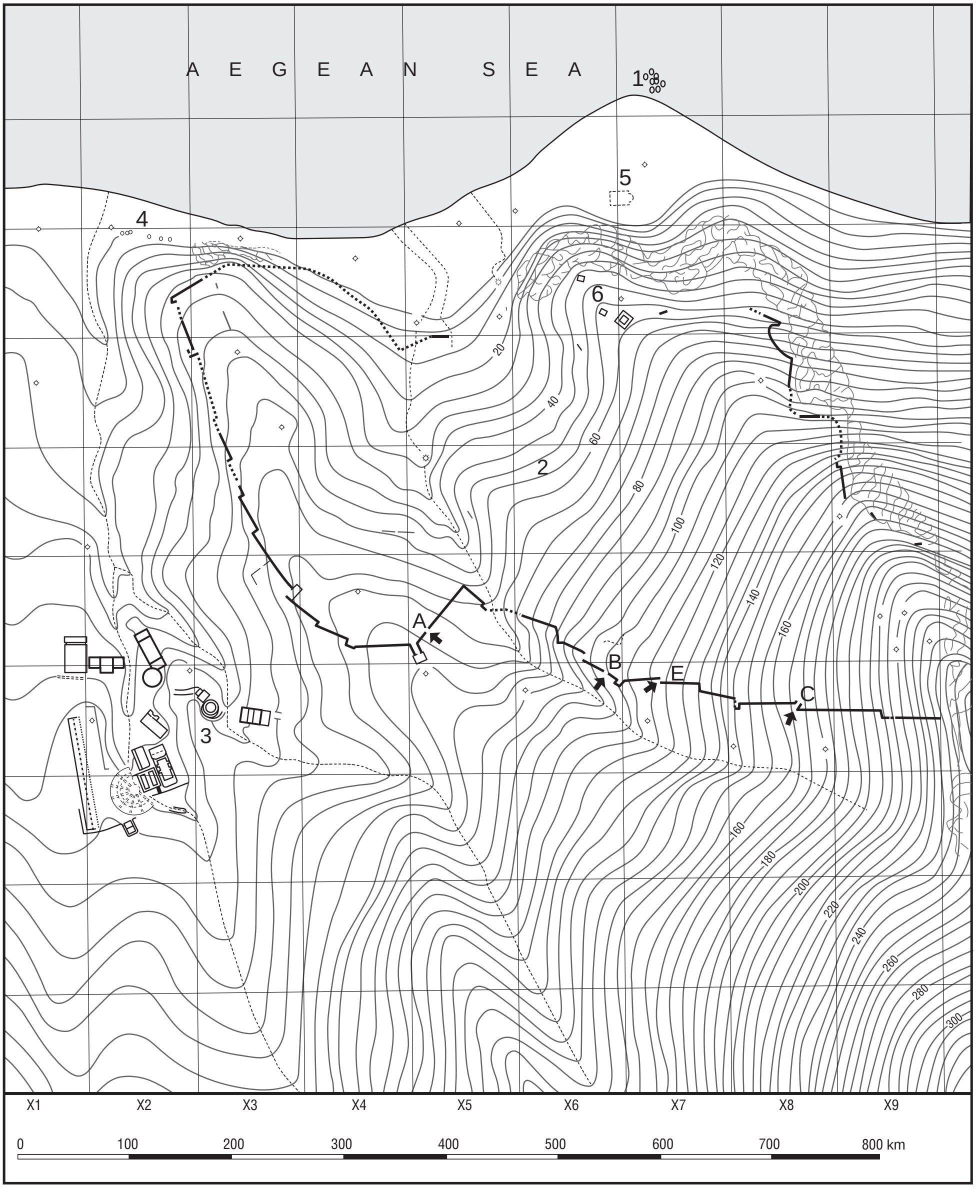

Fig. 33. Samothrace: plan of the ancient city and the sanctuary of the Great Gods (after Lazaridis 1971d, fig. 34).

ably brought from their homeland.[586] Scholars have already pointed out that Athena was the tutelary deity of many Aeolian cities.[587] In the 5th century, there was a marked decline in the importance of Samothrace and writers refer almost exclusively to the sanctuary. Nonetheless, it should be noted that, presumably because of its colonies, it was at one time paying the considerable sum of six talents into the treasury of the First Athenian League, though in 425/4 B.C. this was reduced to two talents.[588] As for the sanctuary of the Great Gods, according to the excavators' latest views, none of its buildings seems to date in the Archaic period.[589]

The Samothracian Peraia

The barren island soon obliged its first colonists to look for fertile land on the mainland opposite. Samothrace had only one small plain in the west and a narrow strip of fertile land along its north coast. The rest of the island is mountainous, suitable only for stockbreeding and forest development, though we must not, of course, forget the marine resources.[590] So, in order to secure the agricultural produce they needed, the colonists were very soon obliged to cross over to the Peraia. In the end, like Thasos, Samothrace served the Greeks as a bridgehead from which to 'conquer' the rich Thracian Peraia. However, the distance between Samothrace and the mainland is not as short as that which separates Thasos from its own Peraia. As a result, it was not so easy to hold on to the Samothracian Peraia, which included *teichea, polichnia, poleis, komes* and *emporia*,[591] especially when their metropolis was not a strong power. So the relations between all these settlements and their mother city must frequently have been strained. Thus, for instance, in the tribute lists of the First Athenian League in the 5th century B.C., three of these Samothracian colonies—Drys, Zone and Sale—were

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[586] For the probable site of her sanctuary within the city of Samothrace, where the city's honorary inscriptions were erected, see n. 570 above. See also *IG* XII 8. 153, 156, 158; Fraser 1960, 37, no. 7; Lazaridis 1971d, 62–3.

[587] Lehmann 1998, 19.

[588] Lazaridis 1971d, 20, 41.

[589] Lehmann 1998, 52–4; 56–8; Matsas and Bakirtzis 1998, 39–42. *Cf.* Ilieva 2005, 345–6.

[590] Lazaridis 1971d, 2, 15, 44–5.

[591] Isaac 1986, 127–8, 135–6; Lazaridis 1971d, 37–8, 56.

paying tribute as independent cities.[592] Of course, none of these Samothracian colonies developed into a large city or a great power, any more than did the colonies of Thasos. In the 4th century B.C., the Samothracian Peraia, or part of it, was dedicated to the sanctuary of the Great Gods on Samothrace.[593]

The ancient written tradition supplies only general information about when the Samothracian Peraia was established, a region which consisted of a coastal area from Mt Ismaros to the River Hebrus and was bounded to the north by the foothills of Mt Zone. So we have to rely on archaeological investigations, which are, however, limited in extent. The Samothracian Peraia, which was characterised by agriculture, trade and stockbreeding, must have been established before the end of the 6th century B.C. and probably in its first half, or even in the 7th century, for otherwise the area would have been seized by other colonial powers.[594] Still, we are not obliged to accept that all the settlements within it were established concurrently. The earliest known Hellenic finds from Zone,[595] the only Samothracian colony to have been systematically excavated, date to the 6th century B.C. There are no written references to, or archaeological evidence of, clashes between the colonists and the local people. To the contrary, the fact that on Samothrace itself the Greeks embraced the pre-Hellenic mystic cult of the Great Gods, retaining the local language for it, and the fact that the excavations at Zone have uncovered imported pottery of the 6th, 5th and 4th centuries together with handmade local wares, show that, for the most part, the colonists must have co-existed peacefully with the Thracians.[596]

As we have said, the ancient walled city which is being excavated some 20 km to the west of Alexandroupoli, in the foothills of Mt Zone, must be Zone itself (Fig. 32).[597] It is a well planned city with streets intersecting at right angles, with public and private spaces and

[592] Zone paid two talents, Drys (Mesembria) one and Sale half a talent (3,000 drachmas). See Isaac 1986, 130. *Cf.* Lazaridis 1971d, 41–2.

[593] McCredie 1968, 220–3. See also Robert and Robert 1969, 495; Lazaridis 1971d, 42.

[594] *Cf.* Isaac 1986, 125–6; Lazaridis 1971d, 37. For bibliography for Samothracian Peraia, see also n. 550 above.

[595] For Zone, see pp. 107–09 above, and n. 553 above for a bibliography. See also Tsatsopoulou 1997; D. Müller 1987, 118–9; Schönert-Geiss 1992.

[596] Tsatsopoulou 1996, 922; 1997, 618–9. *Cf.* Ilieva 2007.

[597] See pp. 107–09 above.

with a harbour, in which Xerxes' fleet lay at anchor (Herodotus 7. 59. 2–3). Of the finds dating to the Archaic period, specifically to the 6th century B.C., mention must be made of a sanctuary of Apollo.[598] His temple, on a north-south axis, was the principal building in a larger complex with a central courtyard. Finds here included quantities of ceramics, among which wares imported from Attica, while many of the sherds preserve dedicatory inscriptions to Apollo, with some letter types being reminiscent of the Aeolian dialect.[599] Of the other finds from this important sanctuary, special mention must be made of some marble kouroi, which are not frequently found in northern Greece. Parts of the fortifications probably belong to the 6th century B.C. as well, while excavations to date have produced indications of a pre-existing Thracian settlement on the site.[600]

We have already mentioned Drys; and as for Sale, the Roman *itineraria* place it 10–11 km from Trajanopolis,[601] a Roman city whose location is known, enabling us to locate Sale firmly in the area of modern Alexandroupoli.[602] Furthermore, antiquities have also been found here. Known from the 5th century B.C. from ancient writers and inscriptions, Sale must have been the principal port in the Samothracian Peraia. Xerxes' fleet anchored here during the campaign against southern Greece (Herodotus 7. 59). And this is also the provenance of one of the two Roman inscriptions marking the boundaries of the Peraia which was dedicated to the Great Gods of Samothrace.[603]

Tempyra, which Strabo (7 fr. 47) refers to as a *polichnion*, may be located to the west of the mouth of the Hebrus, possibly in the area of Trajanopolis.[604] It was in 1868, halfway between Trajanopolis and the spring of the village of Roumtzouki, upon a rock to the east of it,

[598] Tsatsopoulou 196, 919; 1997, 617–8. *Cf.* Schmidt-Dounas 2004, 138–9.

[599] This supports the view that the Greeks who colonised Samothrace must have been mainly Aeolians. *Cf.* Tsatsopoulou 1997, 618.

[600] Vavritsas 1988, 80. *Cf.* Lazaridis 1971d, 34.

[601] Bakalakis 1961, 17; Loukopoulou *et al.* 2005, 531–4. It is located 16 km along the Alexandroupoli–Orestiada road, at Loutra near the village of Loutro.

[602] For Sale, see Bakalakis 1961, 16–7; Isaac 1986, 131, 135; D. Müller 1987, 91–2; Lazaridis 1971d, 39–40; Loukopoulou 2004b, 880; Loukopoulou *et al.* 2005, 129, 132. See also Skarlatidou 1984a, 57. For the existence of antiquities in Alexandroupoli, see Loukopoulou *et al.* 2005, 547–50. Some scholars locate Sale a little further west, in the area of Makri: Mottas 1989, 88, 95; Loukopoulou *et al.* 2005, 132, 565 (with bibliography).

[603] Loukopoulou *et al.* 2005, 551–2, no. E448.

[604] For Tempyra, see Lazaridis 1971d, 38, 40; Isaac 1986, 132–3; Bakalakis 1961, 17. For objections to this identification, see Pantos 1983, 173; Mottas 1989, 94

that Dumont read the second known inscription marking the boundaries of the 'sacred land' of the Peraia dedicated to the sanctuary of the Great Gods of Samothrace.[605] The alluvial deposits carried down by the nearby Hebrus must have pushed the sea back since the ancient period, so the Trajanopolis area must have originally been on the coast. Tempyra may have changed its name to Trajanopolis in Trajan's time or shortly afterwards. It was probably one of the Samothracians' later 'acquisitions' in their Peraia. Charakoma, lastly, must have been the easternmost town in the Samothracian Peraia.[606] The word *charakoma* means a military camp. We know that just before the Graeco–Persian wars in the Late Archaic period, the Persians established a large camp at Doriscus,[607] which is identified with a site with antiquities 21 km east of Alexandroupoli, near the modern village of Saraya. An interesting find from this area is an inscription which has been published by Bakalakis.[608] The site of the Samothracian *polisma* must probably be sought at, or near, Doriscus and it probably took its name from the Persian camp; in which case, it must have been founded after 480 B.C. In fact, it may not have been founded by the Samothracians at all, but incorporated into the sacred land, possibly together with Tempyra, in the Hellenistic period,[609] as a *polisma* in the area dedicated to the sanctuary of the Great Gods. Owing to the alluvial deposits in the Hebrus delta, these parts too have been distanced from the sea, though in antiquity they would have been on the coast. As Herodotus tells us (7. 59):

> The territory of Doriscus is in Thrace, a wide plain by the sea, and through it runs a great river, the Hebrus; here had been built that royal fortress which is called Doriscus, and a Persian guard had been posted there by Darius ever since the time of his march against Scythia. It seemed therefore to Xerxes to be a fit place for him to array and number his host, and he did so.

n. 56. Recently, Tsatsopoulou-Kaloudi (2005, 38) located Tempyra in the area of Alexandroupoli.

[605] Bakalakis 1961, 16; Loukopoulou *et al.* 2005, 539, no. E434.

[606] For Charakoma, see Lazaridis 1961, 40; Isaac 1986, 132–3; Loukopoulou 2004b, 871.

[607] For Doriscus, see Bakalakis 1961, 17–20; 1991; Isaac 1986, 137–40; D. Müller 1987, 50–2; Loukopoulou *et al.* 2005, 554–7.

[608] Bakalakis 1961, 18–9; Loukopoulou *et al.* 2005, 557–9, no. E451, with reservations, perhaps exaggerated, concerning the provenance of the inscription. For the possible presence here of a *heroon*, see Bakalakis 1991.

[609] Habicht posits a Macedonian Charakoma. See Isaac 1986, 133 n. 55.

At no point in Herodotus' account are we given to understand that Doriscus was a *polis* in his time.[610] It was a military stronghold, whose importance lay in the fact that it occupied a strategic site where major east-west and north-south routes intersected and it also controlled passage across the Hebrus. All the same, it cannot have had a noteworthy harbour, since it was Aenos that served to this purpose.[611] Thus Darius and Xerxes selected Doriscus only as a base for their land army. The Samothracian Peraia must have further included other settlements (*komai*), *emporia* or stopping-places whose names the ancient written tradition has not preserved. There must have been one of these, for instance, about 4.5 km west of Makri in the area of the village of Dikella,[612] as also at Makri itself. Excavations here have shown that this was not some notable settlement, but rather a stopping-place, an *emporion*.[613]

Aeolian and Ionian Colonisation in the North-Eastern Part of Aegean Thrace

Aeolians

Excavations in the coastal cities east of the Hebrus as far as Elaious at the southernmost tip of the Chersonese have been very limited and so most of our information about Greek colonisation in these parts is based mainly on the ancient written tradition. Aeolians and Ionians also colonised the area of Aegean Thrace to the east of the Hebrus, as was probably the case with Samothrace; except that here it is certain that the former arrived first, while the latter infiltrated the spaces that were left. The fact that it was Aeolians who first managed to settle in the north-eastern Aegean must have been largely due to their proximity to the region. It was Aeolians who founded Aenos, on the east bank of the Hebrus delta, which became the most important city in the

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610 Furthermore, only Stephanus of Byzantium describes Doriscus as a *polis*. Ps.-Skylax calls it a *teichos*. See Isaac 1986, 139.

611 Isaac 1986, 138.

612 Some scholars locate Drys here. See Lazaridis 1971d, 39, 100 n. 174; Isaac 1986, 133.

613 Efstratiou and Kallintzi 1994, esp. 72–5. Zone and the Σέρρειος ἄκρα were usually located here (see Efstratiou and Kallintzi 1994, esp. 71–4, including relevant bibliography). For a bibliography relating to the recent excavations here, which have also uncovered an important Neolithic settlement of the 6th millennium B.C., see Efstratiou and Kallintzi 1994, 91–2 n. 12. For Makri, see also Loukopoulou *et al.* 2005, 564–5.

area, as well as one of the most notable in the entire North Aegean.[614] The first Aeolians to arrive here were probably from Alopeconnesus, a colony of Lesbos in the Chersonese. The ancient literature tells us that more colonists came along later on, from Mytilene and from Cumae in Asia Minor. We do not know when these events took place, though it was probably in the second half of the 7th century B.C. For that matter, we do not know exactly when Alopeconnesus itself was founded. Aenos is known to Homer (*Iliad* 4. 519–520); and there was also an obviously later tradition that it was founded by Aeneas.[615] The first Greeks to settle at Aenos were not its first inhabitants. According to the ancient literature, its original name was Apsinthos (Stephanus of Byzantium *s.v.* Aenos), presumably after the Thracian tribe of the Apsinthians, who lived east of the Hebrus. So the Aeolians must have encountered Apsinthian Thracians here and probably clashed with them, for this tribe was known for its prowess in war.[616] Another name for Aenos has also been handed down to us, again suggestive of connexions with Thracians. It is Poltymbria and, as is known, the word *bria* in the Thracian language meant 'city' (Strabo 7. 6. 1[319]).[617] But the fact that the site was already occupied when the first Aeolians arrived is also confirmed by the presence of a large prehistoric settlement in the area, which was located by S. Casson.[618]

A considerable part in the development of Aenos was played by its splendid location, which, apart from being naturally fortified, was also a major commercial crossroads. It had two harbours, certainly two of the most important ports in the north-eastern Aegean, at the mouth of the Hebrus, which was navigable. Remains of the harbour facilities were visible at the beginning of the 20th century.[619] Because of the considerable alluvial deposits laid down by the river, the modern town is no longer by the sea. Without a doubt, the robust economic development of Aenos owed a lot to the Hebrus and its tributaries, which linked the

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614 For Aenos, see Isaac 1986, 140–57. See also May 1950; D. Müller 1997, 773–5 including bibliography. *Cf.* Düll 1997; Veligianni-Terzi 2004, 46–9; Loukopoulou 2004b, 875–8.

615 For all this information, see Isaac 1986, 147–8.

616 Isaac 1986, 146–7.

617 The cult of the Thracian god Rhesos was also popular here. See Isaac 1986, 147, 157. For the cult of Rhesos, see also Isaac 1986, 55–7.

618 Isaac 1986, 147. For the presence of a habitation centre here already in the Neolithic period, see Başaran 2000, 157.

619 Isaac 1986, 140–1.

city with the Thracian hinterland, with Pistiros, for instance (near the village Vetren), via its tributaries (the Maritsa and the Tundzha), and with the Greek colonies on the Black Sea, such as Pyrgos, Apollonia and Mesembria, via the tributary Istranca Daglari.[620] This privileged site attracted the interest of other colonial powers of the Archaic period. We have already mentioned that Thasos was interested in the city.[621] The fact that Aenos has been inhabited continuously right up to the present day, and what is more with the same name (Enez), means that many remnants of the past have disappeared. Because of this, and because very little archaeological investigation has been carried out,[622] we do not know as much as we should like about this important city. Comparatively recent excavations yielded important Archaic Aeolian capitals[623] and interesting Chian pottery, which was reportedly not from Chios itself, but manufactured by an 'itinerant' Chian workshop, which was probably based somewhere in northern Greece. As we have already said, similar pottery has also been found in Thasos or in Neapolis.[624] Aenos, whose principal deity was Hermes,[625] was also known in antiquity for its abundant fishing, various agricultural products and the slave trade.[626] It also expanded into the surrounding area, where it built the τείχη Αινίων towards Cardia.[627] Another indication of its importance is the beautiful silver coins which it began minting at the beginning of the 5th century B.C. and which circulated widely,[628] as also the fact that, at one time, it paid as much as 12 talents into the treasury of the First Athenian League.[629]

Apart from in Aenos, the Aeolians from Lesbos, Tenedos and northwest Asia Minor also settled, probably in the second half of the 7th century, in the Chersonese,[630] where they founded Alopeconnesus and

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[620] Isaac 1986, 143–4.
[621] See p. 80 above and n. 393.
[622] For a bibliography relating to excavations at Aenos, see Loukopoulou 1989, 38 n. 2, and A. Lemos 2000, 379 n. 20. See also Başaran 2000, with bibliography at n. 2. For more recent bibliography, as well as Thracian pottery and a capstone relief of a Thracian horseman from Aenos, see Tsetskhladze 2007, 180 n. 43.
[623] Başaran 2000.
[624] See p. 78 above, and A. Lemos 2000, 379 n. 20.
[625] Isaac 1986, 156–7.
[626] Isaac 1986, 142–3 and n. 101, 145.
[627] Isaac 1986, 158.
[628] May 1950. See also Isaac 1986, 149–51.
[629] Isaac 1986, 150.
[630] For Chersonese, see D. Müller 1997, 802–4 (with bibliography).

thus on the advice of the Delphic Oracle.[631] The colonists here must have come mainly from Lesbos and Aeolian Cumae. Aeolians from Mytilene also managed to take the southern tip of the Chersonese, which was important for control of shipping in the Dardanelles and of local trade more generally, and founded Elaious there.[632] And for even more effective control of the entrance to the Straits, they also probably founded Sigeum on the coast of Troas opposite, at the entrance to the Dardanelles.[633] We shall come back to Elaious, where there was a sanctuary of Protesilaos,[634] and Sigeum later.

Ionians and Athenians

Apart from Aeolians, there were also Ionians in the north-eastern Aegean, though they occupied relatively few sites and no strategic ones. Cardia, more or less at the head of the Melas Gulf, is mentioned as being a colony of the Milesians and Clazomenians.[635] Some of the *emporia* in the area of the gulf, such as Cobrys and Cypasis, were connected with this Ionian colony.[636] Milesians are said to have founded other colonies in the area, such as Limnae,[637] probably south of Alopeconnesus.

However, the Athenians too took a particular interest in the north-east Aegean, though a somewhat tardy one, for they did not engage in colonial activities until the end of the 7th century B.C.[638] In Solon's time, being aware of the importance of gaining control over the entrance to the Hellespont (the strategic points around which had already been occupied mainly by Aeolians), they made vigorous efforts to settle in the area. Written sources mention clashes between the Athenians and

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[631] For its founding, its location not far from the village of Kucuk Kemikli near Suvla Bay, the archaeological finds and the history of Alopeconnesus more generally, see Isaac 1986, 189–91 (including bibliography). *Cf.* Loukopoulou 2004c, 904.

[632] For Elaious, see Isaac 1986, 192–4; D. Müller 1987, 816–8 (with bibliography); Loukopoulou 2004c, 906.

[633] For Sigeum, see Isaac 1986, 162–6; D. Müller 1987, 932–4 (with bibliography); Mitchell 2004, 1014.

[634] Isaac 1986, 193.

[635] For Cardia and its probable site at modern Bakla Burnu, see Isaac 1986, 187–8; D. Müller 1987, 852–4 (with bibliography); Loukopoulou 2004c, 907.

[636] Isaac 1986, 187.

[637] For its conjectured site on Suvla Bay, probably near the village of Karnabik, see Isaac 1986, 189. According to written evidence, it is more likely that it was located to the east of Alopeconnesus, see Loukopoulou 2004c, 908.

[638] For the Athenians' early colonies, see Ehrenberg 1939.

the Mytilenians for possession of Sigeum.[639] The former, led by the Olympic champion Phrynon, managed to expel the Mytilenians from here, but not permanently. One participant in the fighting was the lyric poet Alcaeus of Lesbos. He then lost his weapons and the Athenians dedicated them to their tutelary goddess. However, the Mytilenians soon returned to Sigeum, led by Pittacus, and in an 'heroic' single combat Pittacus, whose father was a Thracian, slew Phrynon. The fighting ceased temporarily and the Athenians took Sigeum with the intervention of Periander of Corinth. In an inscription of the second quarter of the 6th century B.C. from Sigeum, the Attic dialect is clearly apparent.[640] Nevertheless, the Lesbians returned to the city, only to be driven away in around 530 B.C. by Peisistratos, who sent his son Hegesistratos to Sigeum.[641]

At more or less the same time as they reached Sigeum, the Athenians also settled in Elaious,[642] which must have been, as we have said before, an Aeolian foundation. However, it is also mentioned as an Athenian colony, first established by one Phorboon or Phorbas, who is unknown in any other context. This tradition is probably a later figment invented by the Athenians in order to support and justify Athenian occupation of the place.[643] Written sources referring to Elaious may also indicate the presence of Teians here (Ps. Skymnos 706). If this information is correct,[644] then they probably settled there in around the mid-6th century B.C., when the Persian occupation of Ionia prompted many Ionians to go in search of new homes elsewhere. The earliest finds located by excavations in the city's cemetery during the First World War date to the second half of the 7th century B.C., while the earliest Attic finds

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[639] Isaac 1986, 162–6 (including bibliography).

[640] Jeffery 1961, 72, 366–7, 371, pl. 71.3–4. M. Guarducci dates the inscription to 550/40 B.C. See Richter 1961, 165–8 (in appendix with epigraphical notes by M. Guarducci).

[641] Viviers 1987b. Significantly, the Athenians were seeking to legitimise their presence at Sigeum as early as the first half of the 5th century B.C. by asserting that it had been theirs since the time of the Trojan War! See Isaac 1986, 163.

[642] See n. 632 above. The ancient city is at the village of Eski Hisarlik in the eastern part of Morto Bay.

[643] *Cf.* n. 641 above. Some scholars wonder whether Phrynon, who, as we have already said, was active in the Athenian occupation of Sigeum, also played a leading part in the Athenian colonisation of Elaious. See Loukopoulou 1989, 68; Isaac 1986, 163, 193. For the colonisation of Elaious, see also Viviers 1985.

[644] The τηϊκῆν αποικίαν of the text is usually corrected as αττικῆν αποικίαν.

date to around the mid-6th century B.C.[645] The finds also indicate that a pottery workshop was manufacturing Atticising wares in Elaious at least during the Late Archaic period.[646]

We have already mentioned Peisistratos' activities both in the Thermaic Gulf and in the Pangaion area in around the mid-6th century B.C., and at Sigeum a little later. In around 550 B.C., when Peisistratos was in power, Miltiades of the Philaidai, son of Cypselus, another Olympic champion, settled in the Chersonese with any Athenians who wished to join him.[647] It was the local Thracian Dologians who gave them the opportunity, having invited the Athenians to help them resist the Apsinthians. The Dologians had sought the advice of the Delphic Oracle in this connexion and the Oracle had urged them to invite Miltiades, Peisistratos' political rival, to be their leader. The Oracle was known for its unfriendliness towards Peisistratos. All the same, Peisistratos probably took a favourable view of the Dologians' proposition; because a dangerous rival would thus be removed from Attica and at the same time the Athenians would gain a foothold in an important location outside the Athenian domain. Miltiades protected the Chersonese from the assaults of the Apsinthians by building a wall from Cardia (which he took) on the Aegean to Paktye, which he himself founded, on the Hellespont. And apart from Paktye, he also founded other cities here.[648] After the death of Miltiades, whom the Chersonesians honoured as their hero-founder,[649] the Athenian presence here continued under his nephews, Stesagoras first, followed by the younger Miltiades, both sons of Cimon.[650] The Persians temporarily ended the Athenian presence in the area at the end of the 6th century B.C., in the time of Darius.[651] The Athenians returned, however, in 466 B.C.,[652] while from the beginning of the 5th century they began to play a leading rôle on the large

[645] See Isaac 1986, 193. For the excavations, see Isaac 1986, 192 n. 196; Loukopoulou 1989, 68 n. 6.

[646] Boardman 1980, 265.

[647] Isaac 1986, 163–5; Loukopoulou 1989, 69–71; Veligianni-Terzi 2004, 33–6.

[648] Isaac 1986, 166–70; Loukopoulou 1989, 71–3; Veligianni-Terzi 2004, 34–5 and n. 69 (with bibliography). For Paktye, see D. Müller 1997, 895–6; Loukopoulou 2004c, 909.

[649] For Miltiades as the hero-founder of the Chersonese, see Pavlopoulou 1994, 119–22.

[650] Isaac 1986, 171–5; Loukopoulou 1989, 78–83.

[651] Isaac 1986, 175–6; Loukopoulou 1989, 84–90. For the Persians in Thrace, see also Zahrnt 1997a.

[652] Isaac 1986, 176–7.

islands in the area, Lemnos[653] and Imbros,[654] in order to better control maritime communications in the North Aegean and, of course, in the Straits (Herodotus 6. 41. 2–4; 7. 137–140).

Epilogue

The factors which prompted Greek colonisation in the North Aegean were the same as those which prompted the phenomenon of Greek colonisation in general. So we shall not concern ourselves with this subject here, for numerous studies have already been devoted to it. Both the ancient written tradition and the archaeological finds indicate that the first Greeks settled in the North Aegean immediately after the Trojan War. We are led to this conclusion not so much by the discovery in this geographical region of Mycenaean pottery, both imported and local, and other Mycenaean artefacts, such as swords; nor even by the discovery here of 'Mycenaean' chamber tombs; nor by the fact that at least some scholars detect traces of Mycenaean settlements in local habitation centres; nor by the information to this effect in ancient written sources, albeit for the most part later ones.[655] What persuades us that the Greeks probably settled in these parts at such an early date is above all the discovery near Mende of a purely Greek sanctuary, the first phase of which dates back to the Late Mycenaean period.[656] It is precisely this find which forces us to break out of the straitjacket of dogmatic views in this discipline of ours and re-adjust our interpretation of the considerable body evidence outlined above. Indeed, the Mycenaean Greeks may well have been familiar with these parts from an even earlier period, before they settled here.[657]

On the basis of the evidence to date, the first Greeks must have settled in Chalcidice and possibly in areas of the Thermaic Gulf after the Trojan War. Consequently, the foundation of the first Greek settlements here coincides or is more or less contemporary with the

[653] For Lemnos, see p. 51 and n. 241 above.

[654] For Imbros, see Reger 2004, 742–3.

[655] See pp. 11 and n. 55, 19 above.

[656] See p. 13 above.

[657] It is worth remembering that we also have Minoan finds from Samothrace. See p. 111 above. Moreover, according to written tradition, Radamanthys gave Maroneia to Euanthes, Maron's father (see *FGrHist* B3, 468 fr. 79). And, as we have already mentioned, there was a cult of Maron on Samothrace, see p. 103 and n. 525 above.

first Greek colonisation, during which, as we know, populations were shifting about in nations and in which a leading part was played by the Ionians.[658] And, of course, the Euboeans were also Ionians. East of the Strymon there is no archaeological evidence of any Greek settlement immediately after the Trojan War. It is strange that there are no confirmed Mycenaean finds from this area, even though Homer knows it better than the region west of the Strymon. That we know of no Mycenaean finds here could be a matter of chance, since such finds have come to light in the interior of Thrace, in modern Bulgaria; but perhaps the same cannot be said of the fact that no early Greek settlement has been located in the area. It may be that the Greeks tried to settle in these parts, but failed owing to local resistance, as certain myths suggest.[659] The Greeks of the first migration would have found Paionians here, the related to each other Mygdonians and Phrygians, as well as Thracians; while those of the second migration would have found mainly Thracian tribes, along with Macedonians, Paionians, Phoenicians and probably Pelasgians.[660]

The second Greek colonisation, as we know, took place in two phases. In the first phase (from the 8th to the first half of the 7th century B.C.), the metropoleis by and large had aristocratic régimes and the colonies established in this period were more agricultural in character. In the second phase (after 650 B.C.), when the aristocratic régimes were tottering, the colonies that were established were often also based on trade, since farming had ceased to be the Greeks' almost exclusive occupation. At this time, many of the earlier colonies too added trade to their agricultural activities.

As is well known, the Euboeans played a leading rôle also in the second Greek colonisation. And this, as one would expect, is reflected in northern Greece, not only because Chalcidice and the Thermaic Gulf happen to be situated very close to Euboea itself, but also because the Euboeans had been familiar with these areas, as we have already said, since an earlier age. It is not wrong to assert that all the Euboean colonies in these parts must have been established before the end of the 8th century B.C., *i.e.* before the outbreak of the so-called Lelantine

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[658] It is very likely that the Greeks frequently co-existed with the local population in these areas.

[659] See pp. 32, 43–44, 99 above.

[660] *Cf.* Danov 1988; Lazova 1991. For Macedonians, see also Poulaki-Pandermali 1997.

War, which ended the Euboeans' omnipotence. The Euboeans of the second migration did not settle east of Chalcidice, probably because they too were unable to overcome the resistance of the local population. After the Euboeans, in the first half of the 7th century B.C., Ionians from Paros, Chios, Andros, Miletus, Clazomenae and possibly Samos and Naxos, as well as Aeolians (who confined themselves to the north-eastern Aegean) were active in the North Aegean, necessarily east of Chalcidice. Graham's view that the Greeks settled in the area after the mid-7th century B.C., their late arrival being due to the supposed dominance of the Phoenicians in the North Aegean before 650 B.C., is not supported either by the ancient literature or by the archaeological evidence.[661] There was indeed a Phoenician presence here, but on isolated sites, and in no case can we talk about widespread Phoenician dominance. From the end of the 7th century B.C. and during the 6th, Corinthians, Athenians, Milesians and Teians were active in the North Aegean, occupying mostly vacant areas, or places which had already been taken by others; and the Persians, of course, were active there too;[662] while, probably at the beginning of the 5th century B.C., Pelasgians from Lemnos settled in Chalcidice, mainly on the Athos Peninsula.[663]

We know that people from more than one places frequently participated in colonial ventures and this is confirmed in northern Greece. There are the words of Archilochos, for instance, Πανελλήνων οϊζύς ές Θάσον συνέδραμεν, while, as we have said, the Athenians who built Amphipolis were in the minority.[664] This explains better how such cities as Eretria, Chalcis or Miletus, for instance, managed to found so many colonies in such a short time. Of those who settled in the North Aegean, the majority were Ionians. Which is precisely why the works of art in the region, and the culture generally, were predominantly Ionian in character for a long time.[665] Examples include the great Ionic marble temples of the Archaic period,[666] the painted clay sarcophagi,[667] or pieces of sculpture, such as a grave stele from Nea Kallikratia in Chalcidice, which dates to *ca.* 440 B.C. and shares distinctive similari-

[661] See pp. 75–76 above.
[662] Zahrnt 1997a.
[663] See p. 51 above.
[664] See p. 72 above.
[665] *Cf.* Andronikos 1987–90, esp. 33.
[666] See pp. 20–21, 31, 82 above; Schmidt-Dounas 2004, esp. 134.
[667] See pp. 56, 96 above.

ties with Parian works of the same kind.[668] It is also worth noting the presence of the Aeolian element here;[669] and the Dorian element is also apparent, though to a lesser degree.[670]

The Greeks were attracted by the fertile soil, the abundant minerals, mainly west of the Nestos,[671] the rich forestal, stockbreeding and fishing resources, the plentiful human resources too, which, apart from anything else, kept them well supplied with slaves, and the existence of suitable sites for commercial exchange with the Thracian interior. At first, the Greeks confined themselves to the islands and a strip along the coast opposite; but later on, with mainly the Thasians-Parians taking the lead, they gradually advanced further inland, while at the same time they expanded their commercial ventures and other kinds of economic activity by establishing new *emporia*.[672] The development of their commercial activities quickly led to the appearance of mintage. Already in the second half of the 6th century B.C., a number of Greek colonies in the region were minting artistically splendid coins. Some of these circulated widely, reaching very distant places.[673] Because some of these colonies struck large denomination coins, it has been argued that they also exported precious metals and thus silver.

The available historical and archaeological evidence shows that the colonists settled sometimes peacefully, sometimes after overcoming some weak resistance by the local people and sometimes after violent and bloody clashes. But, by and large, as time went by, the rivalry between the locals and the Greeks subsided. The Thracians did not consider farming an honourable occupation, nor did they like to live by the sea, a location which gave the Greeks their motive power. So the Thracians lived mainly in the interior, with very few of them on the coast and islands (*cf.* Appian 4. 13. 102). This enabled the Greeks to consolidate their position in these parts, even when the locals resisted them strongly, and to engage in various kinds of activity. The ancient literature provides very scanty information about the numbers and the social standing of those who took part in the colonial ventures. However, we do know that

[668] Kostoglou-Despini 1979. *Cf.* Akamatis 1987, esp. 20–3.
[669] See, for example, Vokotopoulou 1990b, esp. 85–6, and p. 37 above.
[670] See p. 43 above.
[671] East of the Nestos, the ancient sources mention gold only in the Hebrus (Pliny *NH* 33. 66). For other mines in the area, see Triantaphyllos 1987–90, 304.
[672] See pp. 79–91 above.
[673] *Cf.* Liampi 1993.

1,000 men took part in a Parian mission to northern Greece;[674] and 1,000 Athenians, from the economically weaker classes of the *zeugitai* and the *thetai*, participated in the foundation of Brea in the 5th century B.C.[675] There were periods when the Greeks in the North Aegean came under the dominion of the local tribes. For instance, in the second half of the 5th century B.C., many Greek colonies must have been brought under the powerful rule of the Thracian Odrysians.[676] But even then, the locals do not seem to have hindered the Greeks' activities in vital areas of the economy and they tended to use the colonists as middlemen for exchanging and promoting their products.

It was from the Greek settlements on the islands and shores of the North Aegean that the Greeks conducted their cultural, linguistic and economic infiltration into the interior, a process which left indelible traces not only on the local population, but also on the Greeks themselves.[677] The Greek language even passed into the court of the Thracian rulers and is also found on the coins which they minted as early as the Late Archaic period and which are inconceivable without the presence of the Greeks. The coins of the Bisaltians, for instance, must have been made by Greek engravers; while those of the Odrysians are clearly influenced by coins of Thasos or Maroneia.[678] By the same token, the Greeks were influenced by the Thracians, as is attested, for instance, by their adoption of Thracian names. This was quite natural, since intermarriage between the settlers and the local people would have been common practice. We must not forget that in most cases the first groups of colonists were exclusively male, though there had been a few occasions when colonial missions to the North Aegean also included women and children.[679] So even prominent Greek leaders who were active in these areas—including Miltiades, son of Cimon, and many others[680]—married local women. The Greeks must also have learnt a great deal from the Thracians in terms of equestrian skills. Cities such as Abdera, for instance, had a cavalry of some distinction as early as

[674] See, for example, Graham 1978 (2001), 206 n. 235.
[675] See pp. 33–34 above.
[676] See, for example, Isaac 1986, 96–9; Veligianni-Terzi 2004, esp. 126–8, 134–7.
[677] See Danov 1975. *Cf.* Fol 1991; 1997.
[678] See pp. 79, 103 above.
[679] One such case must have been the Teian colonisation of Abdera. See pp. 91–92 above.
[680] See, for example, Isaac 1986, 33, 99, 102.

the 5th century B.C.[681] The Thracian cavalry was renowned,[682] as is implicit in the myths about the man-eating horses of Diomedes and the splendid horses of Rhesos.

The good relations between the Greeks[683] and the local people are also apparent at the level of religion and worship. We have already mentioned local cults which the Greek colonists in these parts accepted and tried to adapt to their own religious beliefs. This happened, for instance, with the mystic cult of the Great Gods on Samothrace, the cult of Parthenos in Neapolis, the cult of Rhesos, who is sometimes identified with the widely depicted Thracian Horseman, the cult of the Nymphs and of Dionysus. In Athens itself, we have the official introduction of the cults of various Thracian deities, such as Artemis Bendis, for instance.[684] And Greek mythology has many Thracian heroes, including Orpheus, Musaios, Thamyris, Boreas, Phyneus, Lycurgus and a number of others, who are also portrayed in works of ancient Greek art.[685]

Of the numerous Greek colonies in the North Aegean, some stood out, not that much as military powers, but as economic and cultural forces. Indeed, they played a considerable part in Hellenising the region and in disseminating Greek culture throughout much of the interior. Let us not forget that the poets Archilochos, Anacreon, Alcaeus, Euripides and Pindar, the historian Thucydides, the philosophers Democritus and Aristotle, the physician Hippocrates, the artists Aglaophon, Polygnotos, Zeuxis and Panphilus were active in northern Greece, to mention only a few great names.

The recent excavations in many parts of the North Aegean have added a great deal to what we know about Greek colonisation of this region. There is no doubt that, as they continue, they will put a number of hypotheses to the test, locate new archaeological sites, confirm the precise locations of colonies or other settlements whose existence we know of only from the written sources, and in general they will add considerably to what we already know.

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681 See, for example, Isaac 1986, 85–6.
682 *Cf.* Ilieva 2007.
683 For Thracian equestrian, see also Porožanov 1997.
684 See Deubner 1932, 219–20; Gočeva 1974; Nilsson 1960, 55–8.
685 See Tsiafaki 1998; Desbals 1997.

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GREEK COLONISATION IN THE ADRIATIC[1]

Pierre Cabanes

The 'Ionian Gulf' naturally presents itself as a means of access from southern to Central Europe, despite the Alpine arc that makes communication between the Upper Danube and the Po plain very difficult. The Adriatic Sea (Fig. 1) has also played an important rôle in relations between East and West, Greece and Italy. It has served, by turns, as a limit or border between the known world and the mysterious world beyond, and as a pass between two very proximate shores. This dual function was not just apparent in the ancient period; it has been a constant throughout the history of the neighbouring countries.

The Age of Myths

The first contact between the Greek world and the two shores of the Adriatic Sea has been the subject of many legends, transmitted by various Greek and Latin authors. Their accounts, some transcribed in a later period, can occasionally be examined in the light of archaeological evidence, and latterly of epigraphic, numismatic or toponymic sources, without necessarily taking the legend themselves, which are mostly made up of epic poetry, for historical fact. These legends were often reworked, embellished and altered where necessary. It is thus, for the most part, impossible to place the reported events in time and space, and this also applies to the peoples or descriptions of places cited.

The blessed countries of the Hyperboreans were situated in the north, although the actual maritime or terrestrial route leading there is unknown to us.[2] Apollonius of Rhodes (4. 614) approaches Pindar

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[1] For summaries of recent research into the ancient Adriatic, see *Recherches* 1987; 1988; 1993; 1997. See also generally the contributors to Cabanes 1987; 1993b; 1999; Garašanin 1988b; and the exhibition catalogues *Piceni* 1991; *Pharos* 1995; Pugliese Carratelli 1996.

[2] Pindar *Pythian Odes* 10, 29–36, 44–48: 'neither by sea nor land could you find the marvellous road to the feast of the Hyperboreans'; Hesiod *Theogony* 274–275; Aeschylus, *Prometheus Vinctus* 790–815; finally, see Coppola 1991.

Fig. 1. Map of the Adriatic showing sites of Greek colonisation.

in his account of a Celtic tradition attributing amber tears to Apollo, who was exiled by Zeus and settled with the Hyperboreans in the Upper Po valley, even though he did not believe this to be so himself. Herodotus (4. 32–36) re-examines the Hyperboreans and cites Delian accounts on the offerings which were brought to the Scythians, then transported along the Adriatic coasts and from there to the south, 'the Dodonians were the first of the Greeks to receive them', following an itinerary leading from the northern Adriatic towards Dodona, on a route that brings the amber route to mind.[3]

According to Aeschylus (*Prometheus Vinctus* 800), Prometheus, while explaining to Io the errors of her ways, also provides an explanation for the name of the Ionian Gulf, which in antiquity referred to the Adriatic and Ionian Seas. This etymology is not supported unanimously. Appian (*Bella Civilia* 2. 39) cites a tradition which considers Ionius to be noble Illyrian: Ionius, son of Dyrrhachus and grandson of king Epidamnus, is mistakenly killed by Heracles, who throws his body into the sea so that it may bear his name. An Archaic dedication (*CIGIME* I.1, no. 1) which accompanies the representation of a hero walking to the right with a raised club, confirms the early colonial cult of Heracles in the city of Epidamnus-Dyrrhachium.

F. Vian[4] has collected a considerable number of legendary accounts dealing with the Adriatic:

> First, it helps to be reminded that, for the Greeks, the edges of the Adriatic were a kind of Finisterre, where the country of the beyond began. Thesprotia was a kingdom of the dead, with its Cocytus, its lake and its river Acheron: it is where Theseus and Pirithous were taken prisoner for having kidnapped the daughter of the king of the Thesproti, in retaliation for the expedition to Hell to abduct Persephone; it is where Geryon had lived before being transported beyond the Ocean to Erytheia; where Odysseus had to go after sacrificing to Hades, Persephone and Tiresias; and where he would remain until the day he return to Ithaca to meet his death. Further north, Corcyra has been connected with Scheria, the land of the Homeric Phaeacians, who were transporters of souls or intermediaries between the world beyond and the world of the living; and even

[3] R.L. Beaumont (1936, 198–9), rejects this itinerary, and believes that the offerings from the sea must have been unloaded in Apollonia or Oricus, assuming that these Greek colonies already existed. The author prefers to situate the Hyperboreans in Epirus, based on *scholia* A to the *Iliad* (2. 750 and 16. 233) where Dodona is described as the 'place of the Hyperboreans'. This indication corroborates the idea that these north-west regions of Greece were already at the limits of the world of the living.

[4] Vian 1963, 124–33.

> further north, in Illyria, or the islands extending along the Illyrian coast, Diomedes settled after his death, thereby obtaining immortality in the Country of the Blest, which had been denied to his father. It was also in Illyria, near the country of the Encheleans, that Baton, Amphiaraus' charioteer, settled after his master's disappearance (Polybius, in Stephanus of Byzantium *s.v.* Harpyia).[5]

Some of these themes are important to the prehistory of the Adriatic. The case of Geryon reveals the progressive retreat towards the northern limit between the known world and the world beyond: in Hecataeus of Miletus (*FGrHist* I F 26), Ambracia is presented as the country in which Geryon reigns, where Heracles steals the oxen, even when Ps.-Skylax (§ 26) places the said oxen in the rich pastures of Kestrine, to the north of the River Thyamis. Of course, we cannot propose a chronological classification of the legends dealing with the Adriatic Sea, or accord them any historical value, but we can maintain the rôle of the Adriatic Sea as a means of communication, particularly in the north-south (or the inverse) sense. Many accounts provide evidence of this, starting with the return of Jason and the Argonauts, which no doubt predates that of the *nostoi* or the returns from the Trojan War, made up of Achaeans as well as Trojans.

The return of the Argonauts received a literary form in Book 4 of Apollonius of Rhodes: the Argonauts returned from Colchis with the Golden Fleece—stolen with the help of Medea, daughter of king Aeëtes—by going up the Istros (Danube), which once linked the Pontus Euxinus to the north Adriatic. The description of the voyage taken by the Argonauts and the pursuing Colchians along the coast between Istria and the Acroceraunian mountains, provides us with much information: on emerging from the Istros estuary onto the Adriatic Sea, the navigators encounter an archipelago surrounding the two Brygean islands, extending to Issa (Vis). Opposite, the mainland is inhabited by Bryges, then Hylleans who settle under Hyllus, son of Heracles (in the Iader-Zadar region); next they encounter Black Corcyra and Melita, and on the mainland the Encheleans, the Illyrian river (the Mouths of Kotor) and the tomb of Cadmus and Harmonia, close to which the Colchians settle. Near the island of Sazan, which guards the entrance to the Gulf of Vlorë, Zeus banishes the Argonauts north to the Po delta, before bringing them back to Drepane-Corcyra. After the union

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[5] Author's translation. Thus this tradition stresses the ties between Boeotia and Illyria.

of Jason and Medea, the Colchians are allowed to remain on the island among the Phaeacians, until the Corinthian colonisation of the island by the Bacchiads; 'they thus went along the coast situated opposite the island (*peraia*); from there, they emigrated to the Ceraunian mountains, inhabited by the Amantes, to the Nestians and Oricus'. Clearly, this account concerning the Colchians can be compared to the text by Plutarch (*Quaestiones Graecae* 11. 293 ab) which mentions an Eretrian colonisation at Corcyra predating that of the Corinthians.

Alongside the legend of the Argonauts we can place many traditions, such as that of Heracles (even though this tradition deals relatively little with the Adriatic Sea). We have already referred to the possible localisation of Geryon at Ambracia and in Kestrine, as well as the colony founded by his son Hyllus near Zadar, in Dalmatia; we can also trace the legend of Heracles in the Sallentine Peninsula: Strabo (6. 3. 8) explains that the fetid smell of a fountain's water originates from the decomposition of corpses belonging to the Leuternian giants driven out by Heracles from the Phlegyan Plains. Moreover, Stephanus of Byzantium (*s.v.* Brentesion) proposes the eponym of the town to be Brentos, son of Heracles.

The various peoples of Asia Minor and the Balkans have often been the subject of study: the Bryges had ties with the Phrygians, who supposedly came from the Balkans to settle in Anatolia (Herodotus 7. 73); the Dardani, who inhabited the present Kosovo region, carry the name of the inhabitants of the Troad; the Liburni are described as being *gens Asiatica* by Solinus (2. 51) at the beginning of the 3rd century A.D. The kinship ties between the Illyrians from the eastern coast of the Adriatic and the populations of Messapia and Iapygia allow us to speak sometimes of an Illyrian colonisation of the western shore, even though we have not yet been able to provide any evidence of links between the Illyrian and Messapic languages. Mycenaean presence, coming from the south, was felt in Epirus, particularly in the *tholos* tomb of Parga-Kiperi,[6] and it is strongly felt in the contribution of Mycenaean weapons and ceramics. Such products are also found on the other shore of the Adriatic, around the Gulf of Taranto and in the Puglia region.

The legend of Cadmus and Harmonia is certainly the most widespread through the Balkans. It provides evidence of contact between

[6] *Cf.* Poursat 1987.

these two neighbouring worlds, even before the *nostoi.* Apollodorus (3. 5. 4) recounts the adventures of Cadmus, king of Thebes, and his wife Harmonia,[7] daughter of Ares and Aphrodite. This author of the 1st century A.D. cites some of his sources: Homer, Pherecydes of Athens and Hellanicus; Hesiod (*Opera et Dies* 162) already knew Thebes as the land of Cadmus, and in the *Theogony* (937, 975–978) he recalls Cadmus' marriage to Harmonia and lists their children. The cruel misfortunes that befall their children forced them, after the death of their grandson Pentheus, to leave Thebes for the country of the Encheleans (Apollodorus 3. 4. 2; 3. 5. 4; see also Herodotus 5. 61):

> But Cadmus and Harmonia quitted Thebes and went to the Encheleans. As the latter were being attacked by the Illyrians, the god declared by an oracle that they would get the better of the Illyrians if they had Cadmus and Harmonia as their leaders. They believed him, and made them their leaders against the Illyrians, and got the better of them. And Cadmus reigned over the Illyrians, and a son Illyrius was born to him. But afterwards he was, along with Harmonia, turned into a serpent and sent away by Zeus to the Elysian Fields (Apollodorus 3. 5. 4).[8]

According to Stephanus of Byzantium (*s.v.* Bouthoe), Cadmus founded Bouthoe (Budva), whose name is said to come from the cattle carrying the corpses of Harmonia and Cadmus to Illyria; according to the *Etymologicum Magnum*, the name comes from the Greek term for oregano (*boutos*).[9] This legend may correspond to the explanation of urbanisation in the Illyrian regions by princes from the Aegean world, some even proposing a Phoenician tradition (see Herodotus 2. 49; 4. 147; 5. 57). Nonnus of Panopolis[10] makes frequent reference to the last voyage of Cadmus and Harmonia to the Illyrian coast. When Dionysus returns to Thebes, the couple get ready to leave (song 44), and finally leave (song 46, 364–367). Cadmus' origin is an interesting point in the legend. Euripides, at the start of the *Phoenissae*, recalls that Cadmus had come to Phoenicia from Thebes; in *Bacchae* (1359), he returns to the drama of Cadmus and his family. Should this expedition to the Encheleans be regarded as fragile evidence of Phoenician pre-colonisation in Illyria,

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[7] See Šašel Kos 1993.

[8] Illyrius is also presented as the son of Cadmus and Harmonia in the *scholia* of verse 1. 243 of Virgil's *Aeneid*, in Stephanus of Byzantium *s.v.* Illyria, and by Eustathius.

[9] The references by Greek and Latin authors are collected by O. Crusius in *ALGRM* 2.1, 824–93; see also Beaumont 1936, appendix I, 196–7.

[10] *Cf.* Chuvin 1991, 20–22.

in the same way that the Phoenicians visited Pithekoussai in the 8th century B.C.? The Phoenician tradition is still present in the epigram of Christodoros (*Anthologia Palatina* 7. 697), edited towards A.D. 500 and dedicated to Joannes of Epidamnus, prefect of Illyria under emperor Anastasius I (491–518). This prefect's ancestors had apparently come from Lychnis, 'which had been founded by the Phoenician Cadmus'.

If the earlier legends (about the Argonauts and the stay of Cadmus and Harmonia in Illyria) deal mainly with the eastern Adriatic shore, the same cannot be said of accounts concerning the *nostoi*, that is, the return of participants of the Trojan War (Achaeans or Trojans) who circulate and settle around the Adriatic Sea or, further south, on the shores of the Ionian Sea. Already, in northern Apulia, a local custom was thought to perpetuate the memory of the firing of the vessels by Trojan captives, while the town of Luceria contained a sanctuary to Athena Ilias, according to Strabo (6. 1. 14), and the Daunian women devoted a cult to Cassandra close to Elpia and a town called Dardanos. Antenor, who acted as arbiter between his Trojan compatriots and the Achaeans, reached the northern Adriatic 'the very heart of the kingdom of the Liburni' (*Aeneid* 1. 242–249), where he founded a new Troy (Stephanus of Byzantium *s.v.* Troia) which soon took the name Patavium (Padua). According to another tradition, Antenor set off to colonise the island of Black Corcyra, where a cult developed around him. Diomedes, on his return to Argos, was driven out by his unfaithful wife and fled to Italy to king Daunus, who got rid of him through trickery (according to the 7th-century B.C. poet Mimnermus). Timaeus of Tauromenium and Lycus of Rhegion provide another version: Diomedes, thanks to Glaucus' golden shield (*Iliad* 6. 234–236), rid the Phaeacians of the Colchis dragon, guardian of the Golden Fleece. Lycophron gives a more detailed version of the same tradition: Diomedes was expelled by those seeking vengeance for Aphrodite, whom he had injured after striking Aeneas, her son (*Iliad* 5 334–340). He escaped towards Italy, where he founded Argyrippa, in the country of the Daunians. Having come to the aid of the king of that country, Daunus, who failed to give him what he had been promised, he curses and renders fertile the country Daunus seizes. But Daunus ends up triumphant and Diomedes' companions are transformed into birds. The last episode dealt with by the author of the *Alexandra* contains the victory of the hero over the dragon of the island of the Phaeacians, and the cult to him after this exploit on the shores of the 'Ionian Gulf'. Several traditions (Strabo 5. 1. 8–9; 6. 3. 9; Antonius Liberalis § 37; Justinus 12. 2. 7–11);

Appian *Bella Civilia* 2. 20; Plutarch *Romulus* 2. 2)[11] expand the rôle of Diomedes and his companions: in the end, archaeology draws attention to the islands of Vela and Mala Palagruža, between Issa and Mt Gargano, where a sanctuary dedicated to Diomedes existed from the beginning of the 6th century, and sherds bearing the name Diomedes have been found.

The best-known *nostoi* include Odysseus, Andromache and Helenus, and one can add the visit of Aeneas and his companions to their new Troy, at Bouthrotos, before reaching Latium. Odysseus' voyage to king Alkinoos and the island of the Phaeacians precedes the return to Ithaca. Odysseus also went to the continent to consult the oracle of the dead. Andromache, together with Antenor, provides the best example of the settlement of the 'Ionian Gulf' by Trojans who escaped the massacre. Euripides, in his *Andromache* (1243–1252), refers to Hector's widow being exiled to the Molossians. Even earlier, in the epic cycle,[12] Pyrrhus-Neoptolemus travels by land to the Molossians, accompanied by the Trojan Helenus. The latter, who is the son of Priam, had also escaped the massacre and is presented as the king of the Chaonians[13] (*Aeneid* 3. 335); the same poem recounts the unexpected meeting of Aeneas with his companions (3. 291–507), as does Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Antiquititates Romanae* 1. 51). In the vicinity of Bouthrotos, the tradition of a Trojan presence lasted for a long time: Varro (2. 2. 1) draws attention to a pastoral region in Epirus named Pergamis, and an inscription from Passaron mentions the *ethnos* of the Pergamioi,[14] while Dionysius of Halicarnassus (1. 51) identifies a hill named Troy, close to Bouthrotos, where Aeneas and his companions are believed to have set up camp.

It is difficult to extract any precise data on the early history of the Adriatic's from such numerous and various legends, transmitted before the Greek Archaic period and later often reshaped, transformed and deformed. The 'Ionian Gulf' certainly appears as a route penetrating the northern regions, which are rendered very mysterious by their

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[11] Pliny (*NH* 3. 20. 5; 3. 141) points out the *promunturium Diomedis* at Cape Ploca, between Šibenik and Trogir.

[12] See Séveryns 1928, 383.

[13] Genealogies, sometimes contradictory, help to explain the name of the *ethne* in that region (Pausanias 1. 11. 1–2 contradicts Euripides).

[14] Inscription published by D. Évangélidis, *Epeirotica Chronica* 10 (1935), 261–3, corrected by L. Robert (1940); see Cabanes 1976, 561–2, no. 35.

mountains but especially by their climate, vegetation and, without doubt, the human communities inhabiting them and the products that they bartered. Cadmus and Harmonia established links between Boeotia and Illyria, and the end of the Trojan War would have encouraged the discovery of this interior sea, as Achaeans and Trojans arrived in search of new lands. This period of legends in the Adriatic Sea is known to us almost exclusively through Greek and, subsequently, Latin literary sources. Therefore, the history of the regions visited by the Greek and Trojan heroes and the experience of the peoples who inhabited these regions remains almost entirely unknown to us. A Liburnian 'thalassocracy' has sometimes been suggested from very limited information about the situation before Corinthian colonisation: Strabo (6. 2. 3) mentions the presence of Liburni in Corcyra before the arrival of Chersicrates, who is presumed to have driven them out. Appian (*Bella Civilia* 2. 39) relates how the town (or site) of Epidamnus-Dyrrhachium was successively in the possession of Bryges, Taulanti and Liburni, whom he describes as Illyrians. The latter were then driven out by Corcyrans aided by Taulanti. Indeed, Pliny (*NH* 3. 112) indicates that the oldest inhabitants of the Italian coast between Rimini and Ancona were the Siculi and Liburni, who are said to have preceded the Umbrians, who were replaced by the Etruscans, and these in turn by the Gauls. Finally, the *Aeneid* (1. 242–249) confirms the existence of a kingdom of the Liburni, which Antenor entered on his return from Troy, on his way to found Padua. It was no doubt during the second half of the 2nd millennium that the Liburni were thus able to control Corcyra, Epidamnus and the Italian coast opposite their own coast of northern Dalmatia, and to impose themselves as masters of the 'Ionian Gulf', when epic legends which had been preserved by the Greek and Latin authors were circulating. This sea is not entirely unknown once the Greek (and Phoenician) colonisation, particularly to the west, takes off.

The Different Stages of Greek Colonisation

Euboean Colonisation

The oldest tradition attributes the first settlements in Corcyra and later Oricus to the Euboeans of Eretria, towards the end of the second third of the 8th century B.C. The brief presence of Eretrians in Corcyra is

attested by Plutarch (*Quaestiones Graecae* 11. 293),[15] who mentions their expulsion by the Corinthians under Charicrates (*sic*) and their settlement in Methone, on the coast of Pieria in Macedonia. Many modern scholars reject this Eretrian colonisation in Corcyra because of the absence of archaeological evidence.[16] Actually, the Eretrian presence may indeed have existed in parts of Corcyra that are yet to undergo systematic excavation.[17] Strabo (6. 2. 4)[18] adds that Chersicrates, when he settled in Corcyra, had found the Liburni there, which is evidence of an Illyrian presence on the island even before the settlement of the Eretrians. Stephannus of Byzantium (*s.v.* Amantai; see also Ps.-Skymnos 442–443) mentions Oricus and Corcyra in connexion with Abantes and Amantia, and describes the founding of this city by the Abantes, who originally came from Euboea, on their return from the Trojan War. But was there any contact between the Euboeans established in Amantia and those who would have been found in Corcyra? A *scholium* of Apollonius of Rhodes[19] can be interpreted as maintaining the existence of a Euboean bridgehead (a *peraia*) facing Corcyra, which would correspond to the region of the mouth of the Thyamis and the Bouthrotos Peninsula; in the latter case, the Euboeans of Amantia and those of this Corcyran *peraia* would have been situated very close to each other indeed, even shoulder to shoulder.

The case of Oricus is more straightforward: its position corresponds to a very judicious choice on the part of its founders. The limestone hill is situated at the edge of Vlorë Bay and is so well protected from westerly and southerly winds by the Acroceraunian mountains that, from antiquity to the present, this zone has seen continuous use as a naval base: from its first settlement, to Roman Oricum, then Pasha Liman (the name which this deep water anchorage received during Turkish occupation and has kept to this day), and then as a Soviet submarine base. The site forms an island which is separated from the edge of the bay by what Caesar (*Bellum Civile* 3. 34. 2) referred to as 'the interior door'. This lagoon, deep enough to have sheltered Caesar's

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[15] He calls the Corinthian *oikist* Charicrates instead of Chersicrates.

[16] It is the case of Will 1955, 330 n. 6; and recently Morgan and Arafat 1995.

[17] This is the opinion of I. Malkin (1994).

[18] On the Liburni, see Appian *Bella Civilia* 2. 39.

[19] *Schol.* Apollonius of Rhodes 4. 1175: the text is ambiguous, it may mean that the Euboeans inhabited the territory situated opposite Corcyra, or, but this is more doubtful, that they inhabited the territory of Corcyra situated opposite (that is, Epirus or the continent).

ships, links with the gulf through two channels, one on each side of the island; on the western side, Caesar sank a ship across the water to provide protection for his fleet against Pompeian incursions. The hill is criss-crossed with steps engraved directly out of the rock, the only visible monument being a small theatre built during the 1st century A.D.; Albano-Soviet excavations of 1958–60 uncovered archaeological layers there dating back to the 6th century B.C.[20] The status of Oricus is described in different ways by the ancient authors: Hecataeus of Miletus, according to Stephanus of Byzantium (*s.v.* Oricus), describes Oricus as a mere port (*limen*); Herodotus (9. 93) uses the same term, whereas later, in Apollodorus, it becomes a *polis*.

Corinthian Colonisation

The first Corinthian colonial settlement in this region was that of Corcyra, founded by the Bacchiad Chersicrates,[21] while Archias continued his voyage to Syracuse (733 B.C.). The new colonists clashed with the Eretrians and the Liburni, who were either driven out or subjected. The city was built on the peninsula which extends to the south of the present city (Palaiopolis), where the temple of Artemis was built in the beginning of the 6th century, its western pediment adorned with the formidable Gorgon and preserved in the archaeological museum of Corfu. The island's position was invaluable to the Corinthians, who wished to maintain close ties with Syracuse, as it provided an ideal stopover for ships coming from Corinth through the gulf bearing the same name, and continuing towards Magna Graecia and Sicily. However, according to Herodotus (3. 49), 'ever since the island was colonised [the Corcyrans and Corinthians] have been at feud with each other, for all their kinship'. Thucydides (1. 13. 4) confirms this statement by recalling the oldest naval battle known, between Corinthians and Corcyrans in 664 B.C., two generations after the founding of the colony.

Yet, hostilities between Corcyra and Corinth were not without respite after the battle of 664 B.C., as shown by their collaboration in founding the colonies of Epidamnus-Dyrrhachium towards 627 B.C. and Illyrian Apollonia around 600 B.C. A century later, in 491 B.C., the

[20] Blavatski and Islami 1960, 89–91; Budina 1964.

[21] Besides Strabo (6. 2. 24), see also *Schol.* Apollonius of Rhodes 4. 1212, which attributes the departure of the Bacchiads Archias and Chersicrates to the anger of the gods at the death of Acteon and the suicide of Melissus.

Syracusans, defeated by Hippocrates, tyrant of Gela, benefited from Corinthian and Corcyran mediation, which only relinquished Camarina (Herodotus 7. 154; Diodorus 10 fr. 28) to Hippocrates. To be sure, during the invasion of Greece by Xerxes in 480 B.C., the Corcyrans did not seem to be in any hurry to contribute ships to the Greek coalition (Herodotus 7. 168): they equipped 60 triremes, but made them anchor in the waters of Pylos and Tainarum, waiting to see which way the war would turn—a prudent attitude which was adopted by a majority of Greek states.

The hostility between Corcyra and Corinth resurfaced in connexion with Epidamnus on the eve of the Peloponnesian War. To focus, for the moment, on the situation in Corcyra, it is clear that there was a serious social crisis in the city. The violent opposition between democrats and aristocrats was further aggravated by the war between Corcyrans and Corinthians from 435 B.C. Athenian intervention in favour of Corcyra gave an international dimension to the conflict. The civil war, lasting from 427 to 410 B.C., was accompanied by a series of massacres: Diodorus estimates the number of victims during the crisis years of 427–425 B.C. alone at 1500. At the end of the century, Corcyra was ruined for good and would never regain the economic mastery it had enjoyed over north-western Greece and over trade along the Ionian gulf. The *peraia* was quickly lost to the Corcyran city and became part of the territory of the Epirote *ethne* (Chaonians to the north, Thesprotians in Kestrine), until the Molossian territory began to extend towards the coast, in 372 B.C.

Two important cities were founded by the Corcyrans, with the help of their metropolis Corinth, during the last quarter of the 7th century: Epidamnus-Dyrrhachium and Illyrian Apollonia (Figs. 2–3). The former owes its existence[22] to a contingent of colonists, who arrived mostly from Corcyra, although the *oikist* was a Bacchiad from Corinth, Phalius, son of Eratoclides. The town was built on the slopes of a hill dominating a substantial port, isolated from the mainland by a lagoon. The colony's double name poses a problem (*CIGIME* I.1, 19–23): although the name Epidamnus was more commonly used among the Greek authors, the coinage of the town only used the abbreviations for the

[22] The foundation of Epidamnus-Dyrrhachium is known to Thucydides (1. 24–26), Skymnos (435–439), Strabo (8. 3. 32) and Eusebius of Caesarea *Chronicles* 2. 88–89 (Armenian version, ed. A. Schoene).

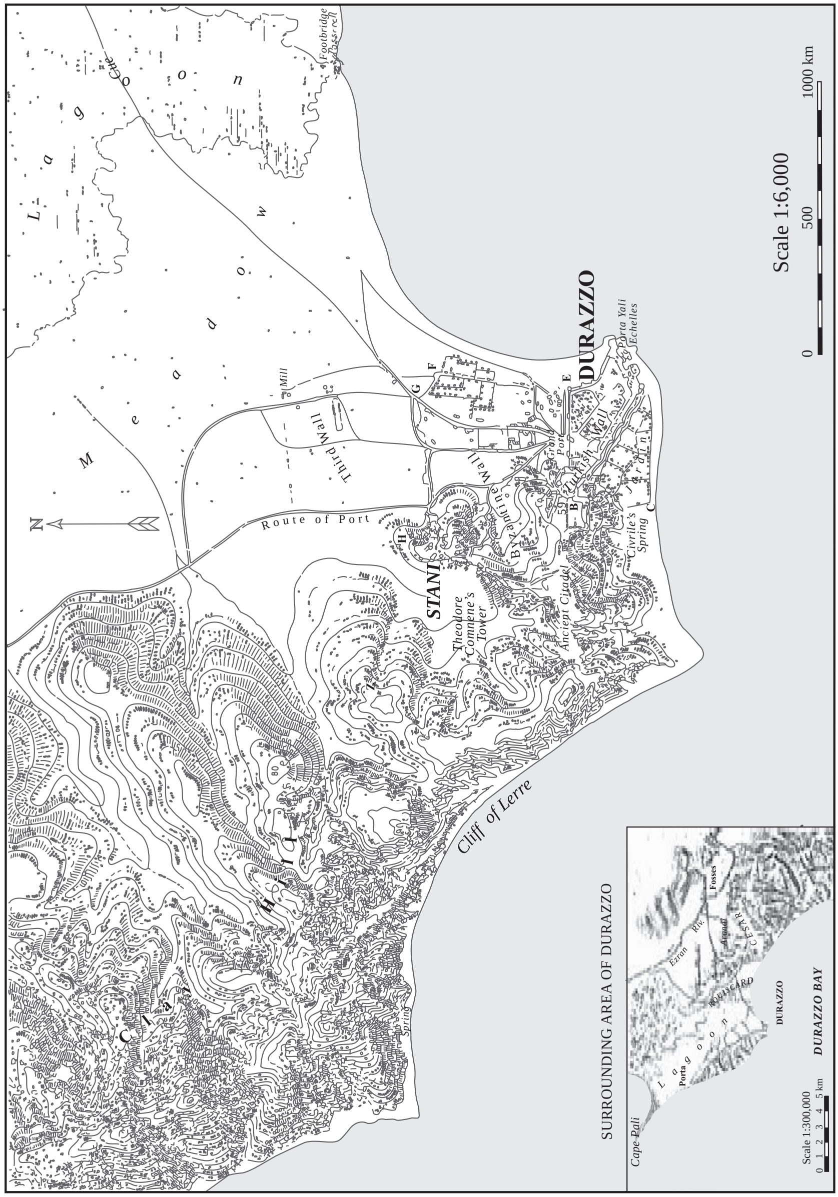

Fig. 2. Plan of Durrës/Durazzo/Epidamnus-Dyrrhachium (after L.A. Heuzey and H. Daumet, *Mission archéologique de Macédoine* [Paris 1878]).

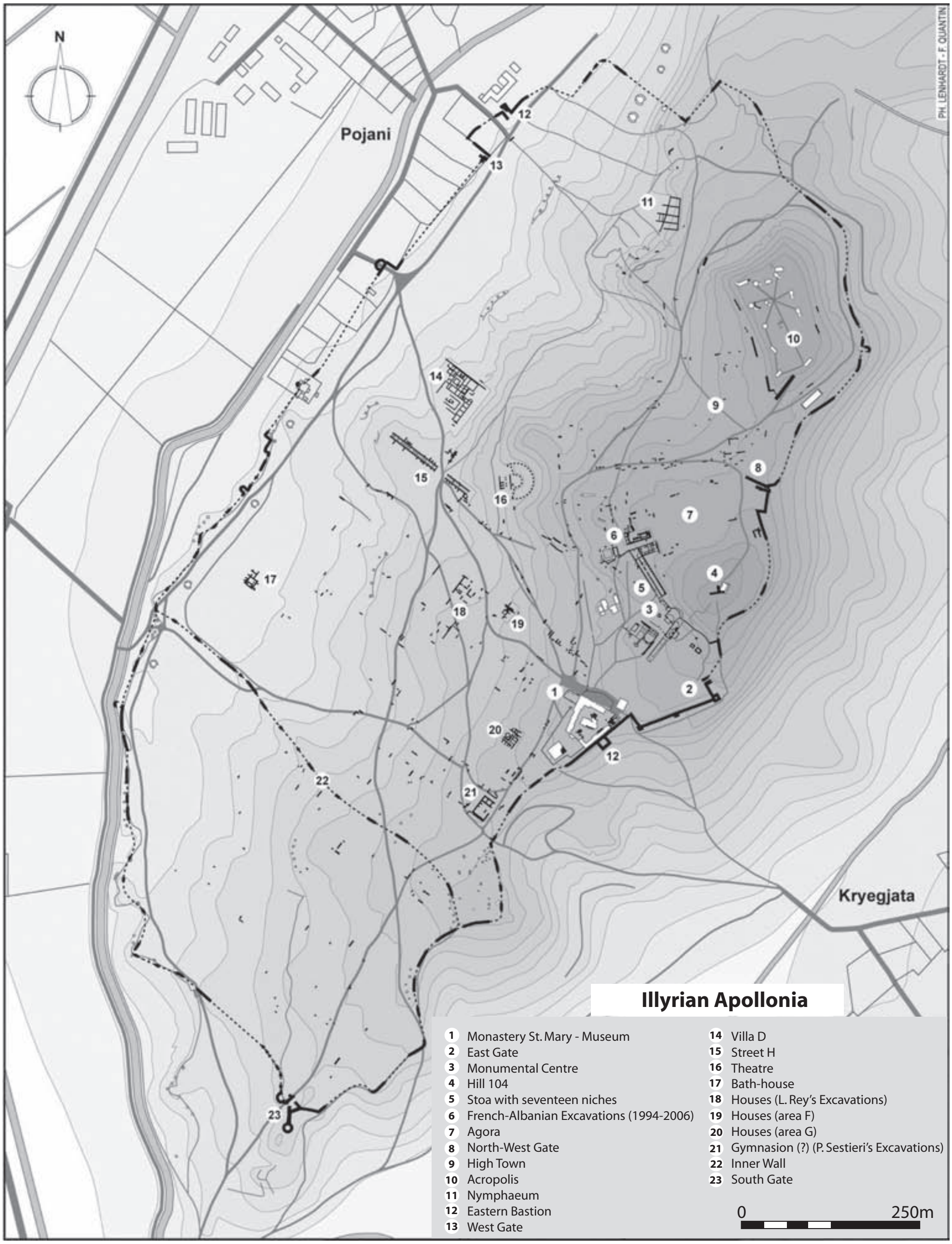

Fig. 3. Plan of Illyrian Apollonia.

name Dyrrhachium, a name which it bore until the Roman period, and it is impossible to distinguish two different locations. The location of Apollonia is another problem. It was founded[23] by the Corcyrans and a troop of 200 Corinthians[24] led by the *oikist* Gylax (from whom we obtain the name for Gylaceia, which it bore originally and even survives in the toponymy in the 2nd century A.D.).[25] The town was built on the upper hills of the Mallakastra, dominating over a vast low plain some 10 km in length. It had a favourable position as a river-port, at a time when the River Aoos (Vjosa) entered the sea some 15 km further north than it does today, passing close to the southern gate of the town.

Why were these two settlements founded by Corinth and Corcyra, in association? The desire to control the maritime routes in the Straits of Otranto may be excluded, since the position of the two ports is too northern. The desire to control maritime routes towards the northern Adriatic was certainly more important. Dominant winds, as well as sea currents and the possibilities of finding a coastal shelter, had always forced seamen to navigate along the eastern coast before reaching (from the Dalmatian and Zadar islands) the trading posts of Adria and Spina in the Po plain. In these conditions, Apollonia and Epidamnus-Dyrrhachium could serve as transit stops on this coastal navigation route, before the Mouths of Kotor, Ragusa, Black Corcyra, Salonae, Issa and Pharos. But it seems that these new Corcyro-Corinthian colonial settlements were mainly interested in securing for themselves the mastery of all routes linking the Adriatic coast to the interior, across the valley of the Genusus (Shkumbi), or, secondarily, across other valleys such as that of the Erzen for Epidamnus, and of the Seman (formerly Apsos) or the Aoos (Vjosa) for Apollonia. The Shkumbin route would become known as the Via Egnatia during the period of Roman settlement in the 2nd century B.C., although it was used much earlier. Corinth sought to assume control of this trans-Balkan route, as shown in the extreme

[23] The foundation of Apollonia is known to us through Plutarch *On God's Slowness to Punish* 552 E; Skymnos 439–440; Strabo 7. 5. 8; 8. 3. 32; Pausanias 5. 22. 4; Thucydides 1. 26; Cassius Dio 41. 45; and Stephanus of Byzantium *s.v.* Apollonia and Gylakeia.

[24] Stephanus of Byzantium (*s.v.* Apollonia) is the only one to provide this important detail on the contingent supplied by the Corinthians.

[25] On Gylax and Gylakeia, see Malkin 1985, especially p. 123 (where the author defines Gylax as a servant of the tyrant Periander). The memory of *oikists* was well preserved in Apollonia, as shown by the mention of Gylakeion pedion in inscription no. 213 of the Corpus of the city, which dates from the 2nd century A.D.; it is true that Apollo became official *oikist*, but Gylax was not totally effaced from memory.

east by the almost contemporary foundation of the colony of Potidaea in 600 B.C. The Albanian-Macedonian border region, in the vicinity of Lake Ohrid, was known in antiquity for its rich silver mines; the growth of rich princely families, marked by contacts with the Aegean world, is clearly demonstrated in the gold masks of Trebenishte (6th century B.C.) and the golden masks found by P. Kuzman in Ohrid in October 2002.[26] The name of Damastion[27] was associated in the 4th century B.C. with good quality silver minting. Corinth was able to mint fine silver coins from very early on, but it could not extract the silver essential for this from its own territory. Finally, it serves to recall that Strabo (7. 7. 8) reports that the king of the Lyncestians was a member of the Bacchiad family from Corinth, which might lead one to believe that the mines were exploited for profit by this Greek metropolis before money was minted in the city of Damastion.

In the course of the 6th century, the two colonies appear to have had a similar level of prosperity, but the cause seems to be different in each case. Epidamnus-Dyrrhachium profited from its commercial activities, whereas Apollonia appears to have been a city blessed with good land and led by an aristocracy of property owners, descendants of the first colonists who reserved the right to exercise power. The success of the two cities is perceptible throughout the century, as in Herodotus' account (6. 127) of the preparations for the marriage of Agariste, daughter of Cleisthenes, tyrant of Sicyon, in 572: Amphimnestos, son of Epistrophos, from Epidamnus, was among the 13 Greek suitors admitted to compete for her hand; less than two generations after the foundation of the colony, this citizen of Epidamnus was selected from among the best Greeks (which constituted a source of pride for his city, even though he was not fortunate enough to be elected in the end). Pausanias (6. 10. 6–7) recounts the victory of Cleosthenes, son of Pontis, from Epidamnus, in the quadriga race at the Olympic Games of 516 B.C. The monument described by Pausanias is the first offering to Olympia on such a scale, with the representation of a chariot, four horses, charioteer and owner. It displays the wealth of certain families from Epidamnus who not only could afford to rear race horses but also had sufficient wealth to erect a monument to this at the Olympia

[26] Proeva 2003; 2005.

[27] The precise location is provided by Romić and Ujes 1996. The study carried out by a mining geologist and by an archaeologist concludes that the most likely location was the basin of Metohija and Kosovo.

sanctuary, merely a century after the foundation of the city. In the same period, the citizens of Epidamnus constructed a Doric-style Treasury at Olympia, on the terrace above the Metroon, which confirms that the city was among the richest of the Greek world. Thucydides (1. 24. 3) was struck by the power and demographic importance of the city, which he describes as 'a great power and very populated' (*dynamis megalè kai polyanthrôpos*).

The city of the Apollonians was less talked about. Pausanias (6. 14. 13) describes a group of statues, also at Olympia, depicting victors of the Olympic games, among whom he cites Meneptolemus of Apollonia, who had won the stadium race in the children's category in the years 504–500 B.C. In other words, the city was very well integrated into the Greek world. It was prosperous owing in particular to its herds, such as those guarded, rather badly it must be said, by Evenius, father of the seer Deiphobus (see Herodotus 9. 93–95).

The population of the two cities increased towards 575 B.C. as a consequence of new migrants from Dyspontium, in Elis, which was destroyed and whose inhabitants, as indicated by Strabo (8. 3. 32), emigrated mostly to Epidamnus and Apollonia. These new colonists would certainly not have enjoyed the same privileges as the descendants of the first colonists, particularly to Apollonia where, as indicated by Aristotle (*Politica* 4. 4 5), *timai* (honours, but also responsibilities) were reserved for citizens of noble birth, the descendants of the first colonists.

In about 450 B.C., Apollonia expanded towards the south, in the course of a war against the Abantes (or Amantes), the descendants of the Euboean colonists who had settled in Thronium (Pausanias 5. 22. 2–4), which should be located on the archaeological site of Treport on the coast, north-west of Aulon (Vlorë), and not in Amantia situated in Ploça village, south of the Aoos valley in the Vlorë hinterland. This victorious campaign gave the Apollonians control of fertile land in the Shushica valley, and it was commemorated by the offering of a monument to Olympia, described in detail by Pausanias. Part of the inscription was recovered by German excavations;[28] it reads:

> We have been dedicated in memory of Apollonia, founded by Phoibus with the long hair on the shores of the Ionian Sea; after taking the extremities of the land of Abantis with the help of the gods, they erected this monument with tithes from the booty taken from Thronium.

[28] Kunze 1956, 149–53 (*SEG* 15, 251); Hansen 1983, no. 390; *CIGIME* I.2, no. 303.

The monument itself, as Pausanias saw it, was arranged in a semicircle with Zeus at its centre, surrounded by Eos, Thetis and, at each side, five Trojan and five Achaean heroes facing each other: Achilles and Memnon, Odysseus and Helenus, Menelaus and Paris, Diomedes and Aeneas, and Ajax and Deiphobus. Apollo and the gods protecting the Trojans support the Trojan heroes placed to the right of Zeus, while the Achaean heroes, on the wrong side in relation to Zeus, achieve victory once again for Achilles against Memnon; but the revenge of Apollo, who strengthens Paris' arm, is not far off. The same preference for the Trojan camp is represented in Delphi, on the east frieze of the Siphnian Treasury, in the assembly of the gods dating from 525 B.C.[29] Thus, Apollonia joins the Trojan tradition developed in Epirus, and in Bouthrotos especially around Andromache and Helenus, who were visited by Aeneas through the mouth of Thetis, in response to the wish, indicated by Euripides (*Andromache* 1243–1252), that the dynasty of the Aeacids in Molossia should at the same time be the lineage of Peleus, of Thetis and of Troy. Two new inscriptions, found in 2006 near the archaeological site of Apollonia, reveal for the first time a dedication to Thetis and one to Achilles. The mother and the son seem to have been worshipped in this city. Yet both inscriptions were found outside the city walls and date from the second half of the 4th century/beginning of the 3rd century B.C., at the earliest.

Epidamnus-Dyrrhachium, a port city more oriented towards trade than Apollonia, was very prosperous for about two centuries after its foundation. This wealth was largely a result of trade with the hinterland. Plutarch (*Quaestiones Graecae* 29) describes the function of the *poletes* (seller), the magistrate responsible for ensuring trade between the citizens and their Illyrian neighbours: chosen each year from 'among the citizens deemed deserving by the Epidamnians, he visited the Barbarians, provided a market and gave all citizens the opportunity to sell'. He was truly an intermediary between the city and the indigenous world. In the end, precautions did not prevent Illyrian intervention in affairs of the city, as related by Thucydides who describes the pretexts for the Peloponnesian War: in 435 B.C. the city was torn by a terrible

[29] On this interpretation, see Cabanes 1993. Malkin (2001, 191–4) rejects this interpretation. According to him, after the Graeco-Persian Wars, the Trojans were identified with the Persians and could not therefore have been honoured in Olympia. Yet it seems difficult to imagine that Apollo, the founder of the city of Apollonia, could give up protecting his Trojan friends.

civil war between the popular party and the aristocratic party, the latter seeking the help of the neighbouring Taulanti. The social crisis led to the intervention of the two metropoleis, Corcyra and Corinth, the former supporting the aristocrats, who went to Corcyra to seek out the tombs of their ancestors, in this way emphasising the kinship ties that unite them with the Corcyrans (Thucydides 1. 24–26).[30] At the end of the naval battle between the fleets of the two metropoleis, Athens took sides with the Corcyrans, who were victorious and took the city of Epidamnus, driving out the *demos*. One can imagine the retribution that would have been inflicted on the leaders of the defeated democratic party. The massacres in Corcyra in 425 and 410 B.C. must have affected the situation in Epidamnus. Yet, although the aristocrats were defeated in Corcyra, and it is not inconceivable that Epidamnus experienced a similar reversal, no ancient author refers to the situation in Epidamnus during these dark years. The city would never again experience a prosperity equal to that of the 6th century and the first half of the 5th century B.C. In this war, Apollonia was clearly on the side of Corinth, for it was by the land route linking Ambracia to Apollonia that Corinthian reinforcements were taken to Epidamnus, besieged by the Corcyrans. But the city itself does not seem to have suffered from the ruin of Epidamnus or Corcyra.

Greek Colonisation Further North

North of Epidamnus, the Greeks were not absent from Adriatic shores. Herodotus (1. 163: the Phocaeans 'discovered the Adriatic, Tyrrhenia, Iberia and Tartessos') attributes the first explorations of the Adriatic to the Phocaeans, although these have not left any clear archaeological traces. R.L. Beaumont[31] believed that they favoured the tin route through Spain, to the detriment of the route leading to the northern Adriatic. The Rhodians were able to settle on islands close to the Italian coast north of Mt Gargano in the beginning of the 6th century; one of these Rhodians, Elpias, is the eponym of the settlement referred to as Elpia by Stephanus of Byzantium (*s.v.* Elpia) or Salpia by Vitruvius (1. 4. 12), in Daunia. On the Dalmatian coast, Epidaurum bears a very

[30] On the subject of Epidamnus, prelude to the Peloponnesian War, see Thucydides 1. 24–55.
[31] Beaumont 1936, 172.

Greek name, which may indicate a settlement of Greek traders from the 6th century onwards. Further north, the Cnidians settled on the island of Korčula, referred to as Black Corcyra (Strabo 7. 5. 5; Skymnos 421; Pliny *NH* 3. 152). The name given to the island may be evidence of the good relations that existed between people from Corcyra and the Cnidians, who came upon an island covered with dark pine forests. The actual site of the Cnidian foundation has not yet been determined. It is likely that there was nothing left at the time of the new colonisation by Issa at Lombarda, in the 4th century B.C.

Other Greeks ventured into the north of the Adriatic, especially to the outlet of the Po plain. The Thessalian endeavour at Ravenna (Strabo 5. 1. 7) bowed before Etruscan opposition towards 530 B.C. The Aeginetans traded in Umbria (Strabo 8. 6. 16) at the end of the 6th century, and in 510 B.C., Spina was founded to the south of the Po delta. The ceramic material that has been recovered is mostly Athenian, and the very numerous tombs excavated in Spina have provided a significant quantity of mainly Attic vases with Greek or Etruscan inscriptions. However, we cannot identify a single metropolis; it seems that we are dealing with an *emporion* rather than an *apoikia*, even though Strabo (5. 1. 7), regarding its Treasury in Delphi, describes it as a Greek *polis*. The population that settled there was largely Etruscan, not just Greek. Although trade flourished during the 5th century, the *emporion* saw a decline in activity in the 4th century B.C., no doubt due to the disappearance of a strong Etruscan community in the hinterland and of the Gaul settlement in the Po valley.

Further north, the Adria settlement experienced the same curve of prosperity: it began importing towards 530 B.C., peaked around 500–480 B.C., and declined from 460 B.C. In this *emporion*, Etruscans and Greeks lived as neighbours without any difficulty. Adria, a channel- and not a sea-port, was better situated for the tin trade than Spina, which, nevertheless, had the advantage of easy communication with Felsina (Bologna), an important Etruscan centre. The Athenians came to reprovision themselves with grain at Adria.

Finally, mention must be made of the Syracusans who were exiled in the period of Dionysius and who founded the colony of Ancona, according to Strabo (5. 4. 2); so, at around the same time as the emergence of Dionysian settlements on the eastern Adriatic shore. Ancona had the only good natural port on the Italian coast between the Po valley and the Gargano. Ancona and Numana were the arrival points

on the trans-Adriatic route, coming from Zadar. Starting from Ravenna, moving northwards, ships circulated in the shelter provided by the off-shore bars and spits up to Adria, and later Aquileia, by means of an uninterrupted system of channels linking the branches of the delta. The colonies of Ancona and Adria are sometimes, mistakenly of course, regarded as parts of the Syracusan empire in the Adriatic.[32]

Greek Colonisation in the 4th Century B.C.

Many colonies emerged on the Dalmatian and Albanian coast, the earliest perhaps dating far back in time: Nymphaeum, mentioned by Apollonius of Rhodes (4. 574), present Shëngjin, a little north of the mouth of the Drin and the future city of Lissus (Lezhë), may have existed since the 5th century B.C. The foundation of Issa (on the present island of Vis) followed that of Spina and Adria, but preceded Lissus and Pharos, although we cannot establish a precise chronology for this new city. Ps.-Skymnos (413–414) attributes the foundation of Issa to Syracuse. Issa is also mentioned together with Pharos and Black Corcyra by Ps.-Skylax (§ 23). Subsequently, Issa controlled its own *peraia* on the neighbouring mainland as well as secondary settlements: Tragurium, cited by Strabo (7. 5. 5), and Epetium, mentioned by Polybius (32. 9), founded in the third or perhaps only at the start of the 2nd century B.C. A large, very fragmentary inscription, found at Lombarda on the island of Korčula and dated from the end of the 4th or beginning of the 3rd century B.C., allows us to maintain that the territory controlled by Issa extended to at least part of Black Corcyra, and to examine the organisation of the new foundation, whose citizens were divided among the three Dorian tribes: Dymanes, Hylleis and Pamphyloi. Here we are dealing with a convention between the peoples of Issa and two persons, Pyllos and his son Dazos, who were considered to be Illyrian dynasts.[33] P.M. Fraser shows how many names featured in the list of 245 Issans are typical of Sicily or South Italy, which must be evidence of links between Issa and Syracuse. To his

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[32] See Braccesi 1977, 220–6. This empire of Dionysius in the northern Adriatic is rejected, with reason it seems, by B. Amat-Sabbatini (n.d.).

[33] The inscription published by J. Brunšmid (1898, 2–14) (*Syll.*³ 141), only gives the first 17 lines of the inscription, without going over the list of names) has provoked many recent articles: Rendić-Miočević 1966; 1983; Kirigin 1990; Masson 1990; Fraser 1993; Lombardo 1993. In spring 2001, new fragments of the inscriptions were found.

credit, M. Lombardo highlights the exiguity of the plots attributed to the new colonists, and draws the conclusion that we cannot be dealing with a normal agrarian colonisation, but rather with a military settlement intended to control coastal navigation and the shores close to the mouth of the Naron-Neretva.

Scholars often speak of a Syracusan empire in the Adriatic, founded by Dionysius the Elder towards 385 B.C.[34] The excellent study by G. Woodhead,[35] based on the passage in Diodorus (15. 13) regarding Dionysius' activities in the Adriatic and Epirus in 385, allows us to distinguish three categories of information:

1. Accounts of positive action: first, an alliance with the Illyrians through the intermediary of Alcetas, exiled king of the Molossians; second, the assistance given to the Parians in founding the colony of Pharos. A third point noted by Diodorus indicates that Dionysius himself had founded a colony at Lissus, to serve as a base for his future action in the Adriatic.
2. Notes on particular intentions or resolutions: here, we are in the realm of hypotheses regarding Dionysius' projects to found other colonies in the region.
3. Suggestions on the ideas behind Dionysius' ventures: the objective seems to have been to facilitate the crossing of the Straits of Otranto. and to establish safe ports for Syracusan seamen, so that they could disembark unexpectedly in Epirus, with considerable force, and pillage the Delphos sanctuary.

Far from an elaborate plot of imperial policy in the Adriatic, Dionysius seems to have been primarily interested in controlling the situation in Epirus with the help of Alcetas and the Illyrians, armed as hoplites by the Syracusans. In this way, he hoped to make the eastern shore of the Adriatic safer and to fight piracy. The foundation of the Lissus colony is presented by Diodorus as actual event, but subsequently, Lissus is no longer connected with Syracuse. The recovery of the ramparts of

[34] See, on this point, Braccesi 1977, 185–246, in particular p. 205, where the author perceives well the sense of the expression *impero siracusano in Adriatico*; B. Amat-Sabbatini (n.d.) has since shown the weakness of literary evidence attesting the presence of Syracusans in Adria: the *Etymologicum Magnum* (*s.v.* Adria), whose text is corrupt, and the *scholia* of Lycophron.

[35] Woodhead 1970.

Lissus by Albanian archaeologists has led them to a date of towards the end of the 4th century B.C., long before the port of Lissus became the Macedonian outlet to the Adriatic in the period of Philip V in 213 B.C. If, therefore, one accepts the veracity of Diodorus' text regarding Syracusan settlement in Lissus in 385 B.C., or a little earlier, it is very probable that this colony had a short life. The site was subsequently occupied by Illyrian populations from the interior, who built a town surrounded by ramparts facing the low valley of the Drin and towards the sea—as if its builders had wanted to defend themselves against possible invaders from the sea. Yet the position of the town and its surroundings prevented any defence against attacks from the interior, as Dionysius should have known. Therefore, we must cease to regard the Lissus enclosure as a creation of the tyrant of Syracuse, but rather see it as the work of a local population who feared an invasion from the sea. The enclosure is dominated by a fortress, the Acrolissus, built on a mountain which is 413 m high.

It could not have been from Lissus, as suggested by Diodorus (15. 14. 2), that Dionysius came in aid of the colonists from Paros who wanted to settle in Pharos; the island of Issa could have been used as a base for a Syracusan squadron which intervened when the Parians were threatened by the Illyrians in Pharos. In the same period, according to Diodorus (15. 13. 3; 15. 14. 1–2), the Parians founded a colony, Pharos, on the present island of Hvar,[36] at the end of a ria, the location of which suggests that these seamen from the Cyclades had an excellent knowledge of the Dalmatian islands. Shortly afterwards, the local populations of Hvar island called for help to the Illyrians from the neighbouring mainland (the region close to Split), who arrived, 10,000 strong, on small boats and take on the Greek colonists. The governor (*eparchos*), established by Dionysius at Issa (not Lissus, which was too distant), then vigorously intervened with triremes, destroying the small Illyrian boats. Relations between Paros and Pharos were still very much alive to the end of the 3rd century or beginning of the 2nd century B.C., as shown by the fine inscription published by L. Robert.[37]

The foundation of Numana, south of Ancona, is more difficult to explain. The only testimony from antiquity is provided by Pliny the Elder (*NH* 3. 3), who speaks of a Siculan settlement: *Numana a Siculis*

[36] See the fine catalogue *Pharos* 1995.
[37] Robert 1960, 505–11; and *Bulletin épigraphique* 1963, no. 129.

condita, ab iisdem colonia Ancona adposita promuntorio Cunero. But how should we interpret the term *Siculi*? Should we consider *Siculi* to be Syracusans and maintain that the exiles of Syracuse simultaneously founded Ancona and Numana? Or should we be thinking of a much older foundation, in the second half of the 2nd millennium B.C., which perhaps Pliny (*NH* 3. 112) contemplates when he points out that the oldest inhabitants of the Adriatic coast between Rimini and Ancona were the Siculi and the Liburni: *Siculi et Liburni plurima eius tractus tenuere . . . Umbri eos expulere, hos Etruria, Hanc Galli*? It is hard to see why the Syracusans would have thought it necessary to found two settlements so close to each other at the beginning of the 4th century B.C. It is more likely that the settlements were independent of each other and that Numana owed nothing to Syracusan exiles hostile to Dionysius the Elder.

During the time of Dionysius' military operations on the eastern Adriatic shore, the Po plain and the western Adriatic coasts were disrupted by the Gallic invasion, which broke up the urban fabric established by the Etruscans. It would be a century before Rome defeated the Senans and found its first colony in Celtic country, on the Adriatic coast, at Sena (Senigallia), north of Ancona.

Athenian Expansion

The fragments of a stele found at Piraeus (*IG* II^2 1629) reveal a decree in which the Athenians grant ships to a citizen named Miltiades, in 325–324 B.C., so as to establish an *apoikia* in the Adriatic. His rôle is to ensure maritime traffic and the provision of cereals by setting up a naval base capable of responding to attacks by Tyrrhenian pirates, who could only have been Etruscans. The expedition did not depart in the end, no doubt because of events unfolding in Greece at the time, soon to be aggravated by the death of Alexander the Great and the Lamian War that followed. The Athenian interest in the procurement of wheat is not surprising at a time when Greece was the victim of serious food shortages, no doubt related to the rerouting of the delivery of wheat from the Black Sea, which no longer arrived at the port of Piraeus. The idea of turning towards other markets would have occurred to the citizens, who had not forgotten the rôle played by the Padane region a century earlier: in 331–330 B.C., Lycurgus (*Against Leocatres* 26), reproaches Leocrates, who lived in Megara as a metic, for buying wheat in Epirus from queen Cleopatra and transporting it to Leucadia and Corinth—instead of supplying Piraeus, as had been

the law for Athenians during the course of the 5th century. Among the lost discourses of Attic orators of the same period, we find a *Discourse on the Tyrrhenians* by Dinarchus (fr. 9) and another by Hyperides. The destination of the expedition planned by the Athenians is unknown, but the text of the decree clearly indicates that its purpose was to create a naval base, and not an agricultural colony in a region of good cereal cultivation: some scholars incline towards a site south of the Adriatic (L. Braccesi), while others favour the Po delta, so as to strengthen Spina (B. Amat-Sabattini). But it is impossible to choose between the two, given the inscription's silence on the subject and the abandonment of the expedition project. It could very well have been that a base was created on the Apulian coast, without going north of Gargano, and up to Ancona or the Po plain.

The Greek Colonies of the Adriatic in the Hellenistic Period

After 323 B.C., the great colonies of Epidamnus-Dyrrhachium and Apollonia experienced many vicissitudes, which left them only short periods of independence, notably the intervention of Cassandra, who clashed with the Illyrian king Glaukias, according to Diodorus (19. 67. 5–7) and Polyaenus (4. 11. 4). Although the Macedonian seized the two cities in 314 B.C., his garrison established in Apollonia was in turn besieged and driven out by Glaukias and the Corcyrans, who went on to do the same in Epidamnus (Diodorus 19. 70. 7; 19. 8. 1). In 312 B.C., Apollonia resisted another attack by Cassandra (Diodorus 19. 89. 1–2) and the two cities came under the protection of the Illyrian king. This marked the end of Macedonian presence on the Adriatic shores for almost a century, until the attempts by Philip V against Apollonia from 216 B.C. and his success in Lissus in 213 B.C., which result in a Macedonian settlement on the south-east Adriatic coast.

The accession of Pyrrhus to the throne of the Aeacids in Epirus, in 297 B.C., led to a conflict with the Illyrian kingdom of Glaukias. The northern border of Great Epirus is difficult to trace, due to a lack of precise evidence: according to Appian (*Illyrike* 7), towards 231 B.C., 'Agron was king in that part of Illyria situated on the Ionian gulf which Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, and his successors, once possessed', which supports the statement that Pyrrhus' kingdom extended across a large part of southern Illyria, certainly to Apollonia, perhaps Epidamnus-Dyrrhachium, unless the border was created along the River Shkumbi; a fragment from Cassius Dio (fr. 40. 3) also shows the submission of

the Illyrian dynasts to Pyrrhus. Indeed the coinage of king Monounios raises a question about the status of the two cities; its staters borrowed from the traditional types from Dyrrhachium and Apollonia. On the obverse: a cow stands to the right, its head turned to lick its suckling calf, often there is a boar's head above the cow; on the reverse: a floral motif, perhaps symbolises the gardens of Alkinoos, the ethnic ΔΥΡΑ or ΔΥΡ, sometimes a spearhead and club, and the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΩΕΣ ΜΟΝΟΥΝΙΟΥ. Should we presume that, *ca.* 280 B.C., Monounios' kingdom extended to Apollonia? It should at least be pointed out that the unique tetradrachm preserved in the Cabinet des médailles in Paris, which is of a Macedonian type (with, on the obverse, the head of Alexander with the lion-skin of Heracles; on the reverse, Zeus seated holding an eagle and a sceptre with the same legend as king Monounios) should not be taken as evidence of the conquest of Macedonia by Monounios, but only as a mark of his ambition to be included in the lineage of the *diadochi*, on the occasion of his conflict with Ptolemy Ceraunus, as evoked by Pompeius Trogus (Prologue to book 24). O. Picard[38] has clearly shown that the adoption of certain types of coinage does not necessarily imply a military conquest. Monounios could have minted such coins to facilitate his kingdom's trade, without actually possessing the port cities. After the death of Pyrrhus in 272 B.C., Monounios' successor, Mytilos, may have done the same, without necessarily having had possession of the city of Epidamnus-Dyrrhachium.

Valerius Maximus (6. 6. 5) mentions an Apollonian embassy to Rome, which was disrupted by two young senators who insulted the ambassadors, and were handed over to the Apollonians before they were accompanied to Brundisium by one of the quaestors. M. Holleaux[39] is right to establish a link between this embassy and the occupation of Brundisium by the Romans towards 266 B.C.; the Apollonians wanted to establish good neighbourly relations with the new masters of the western Adriatic coast. The city of Epidamnus-Dyrrhachium may have acted similarly, without this ever having been recorded for posterity. Yet this embassy does not necessarily mean that the city of Apollonia had total independence in relation to the Epirote kingdom.

Roman intervention, in 229–228 B.C., in the first Illyrian War, affected markedly the situation in the Adriatic. The disappearance

[38] Picard 1986.
[39] Holleaux 1921, 1–5.

of the Aeacid dynasty in Epirus and the rise of the dynasty of the Ardian kings in Illyria, were accompanied by a growth of the Illyrian fleet and increased maritime piracy in the Adriatic Sea. The latter has been the subject of much discussion, wrongly no doubt, or at least dated too early; for M. Holleaux: 'Il resort des indications de Polybe (2, 5, 1–2) que les incursions constamment répétées des Illyriens sur les côtes du Péloponnèse, en Élide et en Messénie, sont bien antérieures à l'année 230, date de leur aggression contre Phoiniké.'[40] In 1928, the same author goes back in time precisely to the start of Illyrian piracy in the Adriatic. Recalling the intervention of Dionysius of Syracuse in 385 B.C., which only had a temporary affect, he adds: 'the Adriatic was given over to the Illyrians, as in the past, and piracy remained an endemic evil'.[41] R.L. Beaumont[42] attributes the organisation of the first powerful Illyrian fleet to Agron, following Polybius (2. 2. 4), and believes that piracy had no disruptive effect on life in the Greek foundations on the Dalmatian coasts. H.J. Dell[43] has made a very useful clarification: by stressing, first, the importance of piracy in the Adriatic Sea, perhaps the work of Iapygians and Peucetians but above all Etruscans, and demonstrating that the literary texts that mention the Illyrian raids (Pausanias 4. 35. 5–7; Plutarch *Vitae Agis et Cleomenes* 31; Polybius 2. 5, 8. 1–4) may very well be referring to close events of the years 231–230 B.C. He concludes, moderately, that

> ...the Illyrians did not engage in serious high-seas piracy in the Adriatic considerably before 231 B.C. Nevertheless, the nature of the evidence is such that it is impossible to say that there was absolutely no piracy at all along the Illyrian coast.[44]

Furthermore, there is also a marked silence on the topic in the epigraphic texts.[45]

Two literary traditions can be distinguished concerning the origin of Roman intervention in Illyria in 229 B.C. Polybius (2. 2–12), no doubt influenced by a Roman tradition, which may well be of Fabius

[40] Holleaux 1921, 22 n. 1.

[41] Holleaux 1952, 80. Will (1979, 351) reviews and emphasises Holleaux's position: 'Les tribus littorales illyriennes, dont la piraterie était l'industrie nationale, avaient de tout temps été le fléau de l'Adriatique'. Braccesi (1977, 78–80, 193–6) favours active Illyrian piracy in the 4th century.

[42] Beaumont 1936, 161.

[43] Dell 1967, 344–58.

[44] Dell 1967, 358.

[45] *Cf.* Cabanes 1983; Forti, 1983.

Pictor, attributes the launch of the first Illyrian War to acts of violence by the Illyrians and their queen, Teuta, towards Roman traders. The other tradition, represented by Appian (*Illyrike* 7–8) and Cassius Dio (fr. 49 = Zonaras 8. 19) touches on Issa's request for protection from Rome to resist Illyrian attacks. G. Walser[46] has tried to rehabilitate the tradition that inspired Appian and Cassius Dio and which Holleaux has so bluntly dismissed. From a perspective of the study of the Greek colonies in the Adriatic Sea, the two traditions complement each other: Polybius stresses the presence of *emporoi italikoi* in Chaonia, in the Onchesmus and Phoenice region, while the tradition of Appian and Cassius Dio establishes links between Issa and the other Adriatic shore. A detailed study of the pottery of Issa will certainly provide more precise conclusions than those we are able to draw at the moment;[47] it is quite clear that the imports of Apulian vases from Paestum and Gnathia are evidence of trade between South Italy and Issa, while, on that island, the fabrication of imitation Apulian vases from the 3rd century attest to artistic currents throughout the Adriatic. There is no evidence of a political agreement between Rome and the city of Issa before 230 B.C., but the frequent trade between the two shores may explain why, faced with a serious threat from the continent, the people of Issa should have turned to Rome, just like, according to Polybius, the great cities of Corcyra, Epidamnus-Dyrrhachium and Apollonia, which thus became *dediticii*.

Nothing was ever the same after the massive Roman intervention on the Adriatic shores. However, the Romans secured their landing zone at Oricus, Apollonia, Epidamnus-Dyrrhachium, as well as Corcyra; they kept an eye on the situation in Issa and intervened whenever a new threat appeared, as in 219 B.C., when Demetrios of Pharos resumed troubling voyages of the *lemboi* to the south of Lissus. The case of Pharos is less clear and experts cannot agree on a dating for the great Pharos inscription: Robert[48] believes that the Pharos catastrophe can be dated in the 2nd century B.C., at a time of serious crisis in Pharos, when the city left the Roman alliance (perhaps under the reign of Genthius, the unfortunate ally of Perseus in the third Macedonian War), whereas Braccesi[49] believes that the destruction of Pharos occurred in

[46] Walser 1954.
[47] *Cf.* Cabanes 1983; Forti 1983.
[48] Robert 1960.
[49] Braccesi 1977, 326–8.

219 B.C., at the end of the second Illyrian War. It is remarkable to see how the colony turns to its distant metropolis, Paros, for aid and assistance, a fine illustration of the solid ties between the Greek cities and their colonial settlements in the Adriatic Sea. Finally, one should add that recent excavations on the site of Salonae, as well as Narona, allow us to uncover Hellenistic levels from the 2nd century B.C., which attest the progression of the Greek presence, at the very moment that Rome became the sole power in the region.

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THE GREEKS IN LIBYA

Michel Austin

Introduction

It was probably inevitable that in their period of expansion the Greeks should be attracted sooner or later to the fertile parts of Libya—the parts that were known to the Romans later as Cyrenaica,[1] in modern times the Jabal al Akhdar or 'Green Mountain' (see Fig. 1), where the high terraced plateau is fertilised by rainfall more abundant than elsewhere in Libya as well as by numerous springs.[2] The eastern part of the Libyan coast is a natural extension of the Aegean world, within easy reach of Crete: it is not a long sea journey between the two (two days and two nights, according to Strabo 10. 4. 5). It was here that, in the account in Herodotus (4. 151), the earliest settlers from Thera first arrived, guided by a Cretan fisher with local knowledge of the coast.[3] With territory that was, by Greek standards, both extensive and fertile, the land had much to offer. It was not, of course, a vacuum waiting to be filled, but had long been occupied by a multiplicity of tribes, known chiefly from their relations with the Egyptians in previous centuries. The Greeks referred to them collectively as 'Libyans', a name probably derived by them from Egyptian usage, perhaps indirectly via the Phoenicians.[4] The Libyan tribes practised agriculture as well as animal rearing, but they lacked collective organisation and were nomads: both of these would

[1] Though frequently used the term Cyrenaica is anachronistic for this period and is avoided here; apart from Diodorus Siculus (40. 4. 1), who cites an inscription set up by Pompey in the late 60s B.C. to celebrate his achievements, it does not appear before the Augustan period (see, for example, Pliny *NH* 2. 115; 5. 28, 31, 33, 38; 6. 209, 212). Herodotus uses the term Cyrenaea (4. 199. 1) but only to refer to the territory of Cyrene herself. The word is used in a general sense by Greek sources from the 4th century onwards, for example *SEG* 23. 189 col. I l.16 (see Laronde 1987, 161–2; *ca.* 330); Aristotle *Historia Animalium* V 30 p. 556b; Theophrastus *Historia Plantarum* 4. 3. 1, 4; 5. 3. 7; see further Zimmerman 1999, 1 and n. 2.

[2] Johnson 1973, 1–28; Laronde 1987, 15–7 with figs. 1–3.

[3] It was no accident that the Romans assigned the government of Crete and Cyrenaica to a single proconsul.

[4] Zimmerman 1999, 7–21.

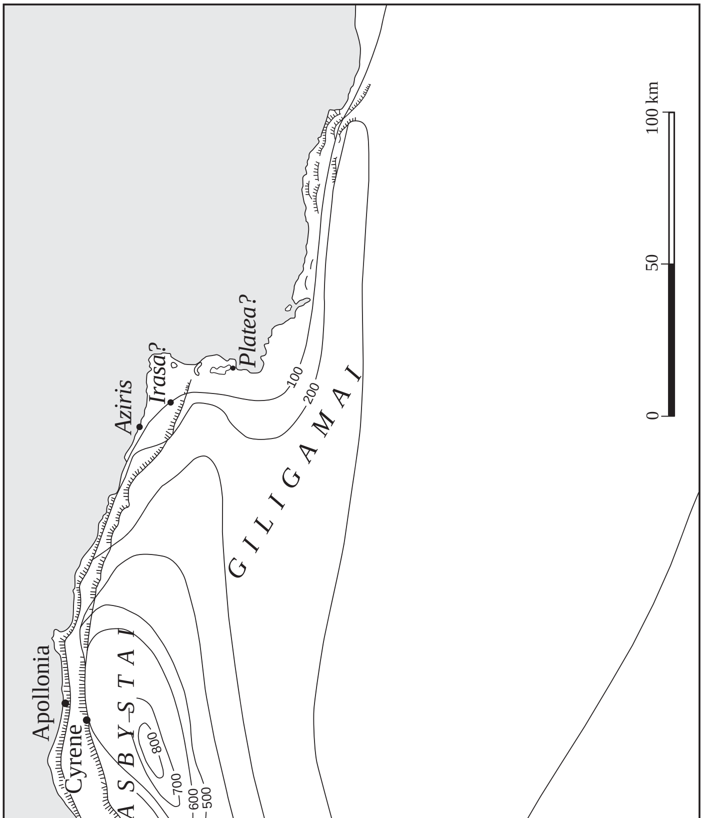

Fig. 1. Greek Libya.

probably facilitate the implantation of a settled population of Greek agriculturists. And no more in Libya than elsewhere was the presence of indigenous peoples a deterrent to Greek enterprise and settlement, often at their expense.

Sources

The Greek settlement of Libya, or at least of Cyrene, which became much the largest and most prosperous Greek foundation there, holds a conspicuous place in modern discussions of the expansion of the Greek world in this period (see the bibliography). The reason for this is that the foundation of Cyrene has the benefit of unusually abundant Greek literary sources,[5] above all the narrative of Herodotus in Book 4, where the writer uses the occasion of a Persian expedition to Libya in *ca.* 514 B.C. organised by Aryandes the satrap of Egypt as an opportunity to introduce an extensive digression, the *Libykoi logoi*—first on the story of the settlement of the island of Thera from Sparta (4. 145–149), then that of the settlement of Cyrene from Thera, for which he gives two versions, one from Thera (4. 150–153, 157–158) the other from Cyrene (4. 154–156): no other Greek foundation is related in such detail in extant sources, and no other individual founder receives as much attention in literary sources as does Battos. There follows (4. 159–167) an outline of one of the most unusual features in the history of Cyrene: the establishment of a dynasty of rulers, the Battiads, descended from the founder Battos. Herodotus relates their history down to Arkesilas III, whose mother Pheretime provoked the Persian intervention. To the narrative of the history of the Greeks in Libya is then added a descriptive section on the Libyan tribes who occupied large parts of the continent of Libya, from the borders of Egypt in the east to the Pillars of Heracles in the west (4. 168–199). Herodotus concludes his digression with an account of the Persian expedition to Libya and its outcome (4. 200–205).[6]

Other written sources add further sidelights to Herodotus' narrative. Three of Pindar's *Pythian Odes*, the earliest available literary evidence,

[5] For a recent survey, see Miller 1997, especially 32–5, 96–114, 152–73, 207–14, 261–4.

[6] See generally Corcella and Medaglia 1993.

celebrate victories of athletes from Cyrene in competitions at Delphi in honour of Apollo. *Pythian* 9 is in praise of a victory in the race in armour by one Telesicrates in 474, and gives an account of the mythical foundation of Cyrene (the marriage in Libya of Apollo with the nymph Cyrene, who gave her name to the Greek city). The ode does not mention Thera explicitly, and strikingly makes no reference at all to the Battiad rulers, still in power in Cyrene at the time of writing. By contrast the other two odes, *Pythian* 4 and 5, occasioned by the victory in the four-horse chariot race in 462 of Arkesilas IV, the last ruler in the dynasty, centre on the rôle of Battos in the foundation of Cyrene and the rule of his descendants there. Much of the fourth *Pythian* is devoted to the connexion that the Battiads claimed with the Argonauts and their entitlement to Libya through a gift of the god Triton prophesied by Medea.

In addition, an inscribed decree of the 4th century B.C. from Cyrene (*ML* 5) records the decision by Cyrene to confirm the availability of citizen rights to Therans who settle in Cyrene. It reproduces what is ostensibly the original decree of Thera on the foundation of Cyrene, though whether this text can be taken as an original of the 7th century B.C. or is to a greater or lesser extent the product of later writing and modes of thought is an open question.[7] Post-Classical sources from Greek Libya show the continuing interest in the beginnings of Cyrene—the 3rd-century B.C. writer Menecles of Barca (unusually, a source of non-Cyrenaean origin) gives an alternative version of the foundation of Cyrene which pointedly contradicts Herodotus (*FGrHist* 270 F6), and Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo* celebrates the foundation of his native city Cyrene from Thera (65–96),[8] giving a prominent rôle to the god Apollo, as do all previous sources.

Without these abundant written sources, and above all the account of Herodotus, a continuous story could not be attempted and little would be known of the history of the Battiad dynasty and the development of Cyrene under them. But there are obvious disadvantages. The written sources are not contemporary but only start in the 5th century B.C., several generations after. It cannot be assumed that later generations had an historical interest in maintaining an uncontaminated record

[7] In favour of authenticity: Graham 1960 (2001); Jeffery 1961. Against: Dusanic 1978. See also Miller 1997, 110–4.

[8] S. White 1999.

of the past. Rather, accounts that are often referred to as 'traditions' may really reflect the needs and interests of those who related them at the time: they may thus have undergone constant modification and selection in the process. The written sources are also one-sided: they give primarily a Greek, not a Libyan perspective. Moreover, they focus almost solely on Cyrene and reflect, directly or indirectly, Cyrenaean points of view, to the almost complete exclusion of the other Greek cities of Libya (Tauchira, Barca, Euesperides). Though less important than Cyrene, they had more of a history than can be divined for the literary sources.[9]

In general Herodotus' account is very condensed; on a number of points he presupposes prior knowledge on the part of his audience and leaves much to the imagination of the reader.[10] But there are in any case fundamental problems of interpretation—how far can literary texts such as those available for Cyrene be used for historical purposes? There is no agreed line of approach. Many writers assume that the literary sources can be regarded as to some extent realistic accounts, from which a 'historical kernel' may be extracted once fictitious accretions have been removed.[11] Others are more sceptical and point to distorting factors and the limited scope for verification.[12] Others still pursue a completely different type of analysis, and question the possibility of deducing historical information from the literary sources, even Herodotus: they provide not literal accounts of events that happened but stereotypes, or poetic constructs, or symbolic narratives that tell us how the Greeks thought about the foundation of settlements abroad, but not what actually happened.[13] It may well be that intensive discussion of these questions has not resulted in an increase of knowledge. Certainties seem to be in inverse proportion to the abundance of modern writing. The following account does not attempt a detailed reconstruction of events, which would in any case be little more than an extended paraphrase of Herodotus' narrative, but will proceed thematically.

Archaeology on its side cannot of course be a substitute for literary narratives: it cannot tell a story, give reality to persons and their actions,

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[9] Osborne 1996, 8–17.

[10] On Herodotus' omissions, see generally Vannicelli 1993, 123–48.

[11] Among many others, see Chamoux 1953, 92–159; Leschhorn 1984, 60–72; Jähne 1988; Cawkwell 1992, 290–2; Walter 1993, 137–49.

[12] Davies 1984, 92–5; Osborne 1996, 8–17. See also Osborne 1998, 255–6.

[13] In various ways Dougherty 1993, notably 103–19 on *Pythian* 5, and 136–56 on *Pythian* 9; Calame 1990, and more fully in Calame 1996; Ogden 1996, 53–9.

or suggest motivations. It is also, like the written evidence, one-sided in that most of what it has revealed so far concerns the material culture of the Greeks in Libya, not of the native Libyans. But it does provide some general control over at least the most basic elements in Herodotus' account.[14] It has also pointed to limitations in Herodotus' version of events by showing, among other things, that Greek expansion within Libya started earlier than Herodotus seems to imply, and that it was not limited to Cyrene.

The Foundation of Cyrene

The Arrival of the Greeks

It seems that the settlement of Greeks in Libya was a relatively late process in the expansion of the Greek world, around the last third of the 7th century B.C. (a more precise chronology is perhaps illusory).[15] Greeks from Euboea and the islands had already been active in the Levant for over a century and half before this. The Greek settlement of Sicily and southern Italy had also started more than a century earlier. And Greeks from Asia Minor and the offshore islands had been coming to Egypt a full generation before there is any proof of Greek activity in Libya.[16]

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[14] Thus Davies 1984, 92–5. The following account follows the established archaeological chronology for the Archaic period (see, for example, Boardman 1984; Cook 1989; Shear 1993), as against the lower chronology advocated by E.D. Francis and M. Vickers (for example, Vickers 1986; see too Vickers and Gill 1986 for Euesperides).

[15] Chamoux 1953, 70–91, 120–4 for a discussion of the chronology; Boardman 1966 for the archaeological evidence. Eusebius' *Chronicle* gave three different dates for the foundation of Cyrene (1336, 761, 631 B.C.); it is not clear that any of these can claim authority.

[16] A few points may be mentioned here:

(a) The earliest certain mentions of Libya in Greek literature are in connexion with the wanderings of Menelaus in *Odyssey* 4. 81–89 (see too 14. 295); it is not clear what historical significance, if any, should be attached to these, nor how much Greek knowledge of Libya should be postulated before the start of the process of foundation—Theophrastus (*Historia Plantarum* 6. 3. 3) reports a Cyrenean claim that the silphium plant became known '7 years' before the foundation of Cyrene. On Menelaus in Libya, see Malkin 1994, 48–57; see in general Zimmerman 1999, 181–7.

(b) Possible Bronze Age connexions of the Aegean world with Libya, though not intrinsically implausible, lack archaeological support, and may not in any case be

Origins of the Settlers

The rôle of Thera in the original foundation could not easily be deduced from the archaeological evidence alone, though it is not incompatible with it. In particular, the script used in the earliest examples of writing from Cyrene shows similarities with Archaic texts from Thera.[17] But the Theran origin of Cyrene was widely believed at Thera, Cyrene and in the rest of the Greek world; it was repeated as a fact by many writers over a long period of time, from Pindar to Callimachus and beyond, and it may be taken as historically true. Thera, however, was only a starting point, and a number of parts of the Greek world either participated in the initial foundation or in its subsequent expansion, and maintained links with Cyrene subsequently. Behind Thera lies an ancient Spartan connexion which continued into the historical period. The Spartan claim to Libya was much advertised over a long period of time, as shown by the unsuccessful attempt by Dorieus, half-brother of king Cleomenes, to found a settlement at Kinyps not far from Lepcis Magna, in the sphere of Carthaginian influence, at some time around 512 B.C. (Herodotus 5. 42).[18] The Spartan Olympic victor Chionis was reported to have participated in the enterprise of Battos to 'found Cyrene and to reduce the neighbouring Libyans' (Pausanias 3. 14. 3). The evidence of Laconian vases from a number of Greek Libyan sites (Cyrene, Tauchira, Euesperides) reflects in some way the continued connexion.[19] There were also links with the Peloponnese, shown in the cult of Zeus Lykaios, of Arcadian origin, in the appeal to the arbitrator Demonax of Mantineia in the reign of Battos III,

relevant to the settlement by Greeks centuries later. For a sceptical view, see Boardman 1968.

(c) After the Greeks had settled in Libya, they (and especially the Battiad dynasty) projected their connexions with Libya back to their heroic period, as shown by the elaboration of the story of the links of the Argonauts with Libya in Pindar *Pythian Odes* 4. 9–261 (Herodotus only alludes to this: 4. 145. 2–3, 5; 4. 150. 2; 4. 179). While these stories may have helped to establish the legitimacy of the Greek claim to Libya and the status of the Battiad dynasty, it is not clear what historical information can be extracted from them.

[17] Jeffery 1990, 319–20; Dobias-Lalou 1970.

[18] See generally Nafissi 1985; Schaus 1985; Malkin 1994, 46–58 (Menelaus and Libya), 73–4 (Sparta and Thera), 143–58 and 169–91 (Sparta and Libya), and 192–203 (Dorieus and Kinyps). On Dorieus see also Miller 1997, 122–8.

[19] Cyrene: Stucchi 1965, 37–40. Tauchira: Boardman and Hayes 1966, 12, 14–5, 81–95, 116–7; 1973, 4–5, 39–41. Euesperides: Vickers and Gill 1986, 99–100; Buzaian and Lloyd 1996, 150; Wilson *et al.* 2006, 148.

and his reorganisation of the tribes at Cyrene, one of which included Peloponnesians (Herodotus 4. 161).[20] The island world of the Aegean was represented from the start. Both versions of the foundation of Cyrene in Herodotus gave a rôle to Crete, whether in the story of the Cretan fisher in the Theran version (4. 151–153) or that of the semi-Cretan origin of Battos in the Cyrenaean version (4. 154). Samos was also involved from the beginning in the person of the merchant Colaeus who reportedly assisted the first band of settlers (Herodotus 4. 152), and links were maintained thereafter (see Herodotus 4. 162–163, concerning Arkesilas III). Lindos claimed later to have participated in the foundation (Lindian Temple Chronicle, *FGrHist* 240 F10). One of the three reorganised tribes of Demonax was assigned to islanders. Archaeologically these Aegean connexions are reflected in the finds of pottery from the island region at the major Greek Libyan sites, including an unusual amount of Cretan material as well as the more common East Greek and Rhodian wares.[21] Thus apart from the Samian connexion, Greek Libya was an area of predominantly Dorian activity, using the Doric dialect, as shown by inscriptions and legends on the coins that Cyrene started to issue in the first half of the 6th century B.C.[22] One may remark here on the apparent absence of any direct Phoenician involvement in Greek Libya, despite the reported Phoenician connexion of Thera[23] and the well attested Phoenician links with Crete.[24] Equally there is no known intervention by Carthage in Greek affairs in this period except in response to the attempted settlement of the Spartan Dorieus at Kinyps further west (Herodotus 5. 42).

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[20] The details of the tribal reorganisation of Demonax are unclear. See Chamoux 1953, 221–4; N. Jones 1987, 217–8; Hölkeskamp 1993.

[21] Cyrene: Stucchi 1965, 37–44, 60–1 (general); Bacchielli 1981, 34 (Cretan). Tauchira: Boardman and Hayes 1966, 12, 14–5, 19–20 (general), 41–57 (Rhodian), 57–63 (Chian), 64–73 (East Greek or Island), 73–8 (Cycladic), 78–80 (Cretan); see also 135–41 (cooking pots and amphorae), 152–5 (lamps). Supplements in Boardman and Hayes 1973, 3–6 (general), 16–20 (Rhodian), 20–4 and 28–34 (East Greek), 24–8 (Chian), 34–6 (Cycladic), 36–8 and 73 (Cretan, confirmed by clay analysis). Euesperides: Vickers and Gill 1986, 97–100; Buzaian and Lloyd 1996, 150; J. Lloyd *et al.* 1998, 158–63; Wilson *et al.* 1999, 160–1; and see n. 55 below.

[22] Robinson 1927.

[23] Malkin 1994, 89–95.

[24] Boardman 1994, 142–4, commenting (p. 144) on the lack of Phoenician material at Tauchira. In the story of Odysseus' wanderings the Phoenician was supposed to be taking Odysseus for sale to Libya via Crete (*Odyssey* 14. 295). For some suggested Phoenician influences in Greek Libya, see Murray 1993, 121. Note the two 6th-century Western Phoenician plates from Euesperides (Wilson *et al.* 2006, 150–1, 155).

The Rôle of Apollo

Modern accounts stress the rôle of the human agents in the foundation, and their possible motives, but all ancient accounts, from Pindar and Herodotus to Callimachus and beyond, were unanimous in giving primacy to Apollo at Delphi. Plausible or not, it was widely believed.[25] Allegedly the god initiated and promoted the settlement from the start, instructing and directing the ignorant and frequently reluctant settlers (for example, Pindar *Pythian Odes* 4. 4–8; Herodotus 4. 150–151, 155–156; *ML* 5, ll. 7–11, 24–25; Menecles of Barca *FGrHist* 270 F6). Subsequently the god is presented as being consulted by the Greeks in Libya and giving advice through oracles on the proper course of action (Herodotus 4. 159, 163–164). The Battiad dynasty went out of its way to promote Apollo, associate itself with him, and cultivate a reputation of piety (especially Pindar *Pythian Odes* 5). The cult of Apollo at Cyrene was very prominent,[26] and Cyrene maintained numerous links with Delphi, illustrated notably by the regular participation by athletes from Cyrene in the Pythian Games in honour of Apollo (Pindar *Pythian Odes* 4, 5 and 9).

Motives for the Foundation

The account of Herodotus has inevitably received much scrutiny in the search for clues it may give to the motives of Thera in sending out the settlement, and what light it may thus cast on the whole process of Greek expansion.[27] This presupposes that Herodotus' narrative with all its circumstantial details can be taken as a reliable recollection of what may have happened. Striking elements in the account are notably (apart from the alleged rôle of Apollo) the drought which afflicted Thera and induced them to send out a band of settlers, the small size of the party of men sent out (contained in just two penteconters),[28] the element of compulsion used by Thera against the reluctant settlers, and

[25] Miller 1997: 88–95 on the rôle of Apollo in general; 96–114 on the oracles of Apollo connected with the foundation of Cyrene.

[26] Chamoux 1953, 301–11; Brackertz 1976, 6, 145–9.

[27] See, for example, Chamoux 1953, 92–114; Cawkwell 1992, 290–2; Murray 1993, 117–23; Miller 1997, 32–5.

[28] Herodotus (4. 147–148) gives a similar detail concerning the initial settlement of Thera from Sparta (a small band of men on three 30-oared ships). This can hardly be treated as a historical recollection.

the tentative beginnings of the new community which initially avoided settling on the mainland of Libya and took several years before reaching the final site at Cyrene (below). All these details may seem realistic, but that is no ultimate guarantee of their truth.

The Greek Settlements in Libya

Herodotus' account of Greek Libya is notable for its topographical vagueness, whether through lack of direct knowledge on his part, or because he assumed his readers were already familiar with the places mentioned. He gives a general reference to the terraced structure of the Libyan plateau with its staggered harvests (4. 199), but otherwise does not provide any detailed topographical information for particular sites, with the exception of the temporary settlement at Aziris which preceded the foundation of Cyrene (4. 157). Concerning Cyrene he only gives a passing allusion late in his narrative to the hill where the great temple of Zeus was located (4. 203). He mentions casually Tauchira (4. 171) and Euesperides (4. 171, 198, 204), as though they were known to his readers and in no need of explanation. When mentioning the foundation of Barca in the time of Arkesilas II he describes it vaguely as being merely 'in another part of Libya' (4. 160). Among other literary sources of the Classical period only Pindar provides some topographical detail about Cyrene: he mentions the path followed by processions in honour of Apollo, the tomb of Battos the founder at the edge of the *agora* where he received a cult, and the tombs of the other Battiads in front of the palace (*Pythian Odes* 5. 89–95).[29]

The general progression of Greek settlement was from east to west (see Fig. 1). The first contact made by the early settlers was (reportedly) not on the mainland but through the offshore island of Platea—an obvious security precaution. Platea has not been securely located and identifications have fluctuated, though it is to be sought somewhere in the Gulf of Bomba.[30] The settlers then moved to Aziris, described by

[29] Chamoux 1953, 176–7, 185; Malkin 1987, 204–7, 214–6. See also Pindar *Pythian Odes* 4. 7–8 on the site of Cyrene, 'a well-charioted city on a gleaming white hill'.

[30] Chamoux 1953, 116–7; Boardman 1966, 150–1; Laronde 1987, 222–5, who suggests it was at the tip of Cape Bomba but is now joined to the mainland by a sand bank (whence the location on Map 38 in Talbert 2000). Testimonia on Platea in Purcaro Pagano 1976, 344–5.

Herodotus as 'opposite the island of Platea, enclosed on both sides by beautiful wooded hills, and watered on one side by a river' (4. 157), but the location given is misleading. The site has now been identified as at the mouth of the Wadi el Chalig on the coast, some 100 km to the east of Cyrene, and to the west of the probable location of Platea. Pottery finds of Protocorinthian, Island, Cretan and East Greek wares dating from not later than the 630s B.C. attest to Greek settlement there at a period that fits the story of the foundation of Cyrene.[31] After a stay there of (reportedly) six years the settlers eventually moved to their final location at Cyrene to the west. Herodotus' account (4. 158) presents the move as having been instigated by the Libyans who wanted to divert the attention of the Greeks from a better site at Irasa.[32] Whatever the rôle and motives ascribed to the Libyans, the move could equally well have been the result of exploration on the part of the Greeks themselves, and there was certainly nothing haphazard about the site that was eventually chosen.

Cyrene

Cyrene was on the edge of a well-watered plateau, 'where there was a hole in the sky' (Herodotus 4. 158), *i.e.* where there was abundant rainfall, more abundant in practice than elsewhere on the Libyan plateau, though here as in the rest of the Libyan plateau there was considerable variation in the incidence of rainfall.[33] The site was unusual from a Greek point of view in being inland, and thus presupposing a regular outlet to the sea, and through it to the outside world.[34] The harbour of Cyrene, some 12.5 km away to the north-east, was known much later as Apollonia. It receives few mentions in sources of the Classical period which only refer to it briefly and anonymously. Apollonia became eventually a *polis* that was independent of Cyrene, but that

[31] Boardman 1966, 150–3—against the earlier identification of Chamoux 1953, 117–20, who placed it much further east and nearer the Gulf of Bomba (now modified in Chamoux 1989, 66). Testimonia on Aziris in Purcaro Pagano 1976, 330.

[32] The location of Irasa has been placed at Errazen, but this is east of the present location of Aziris, not in the direction of Cyrene to the west as would be expected from the context (Irasa is also mentioned in Pindar *Pythian Odes* 9. 107 as the place where Alexidamos, the ancestor of Telesicrates in whose honour the ode was composed, married the daughter of the Libyan king Antaeus).

[33] Johnson 1973, 10–6.

[34] Some literary testimonia on Cyrene in Purcara Pagano 1976, 339. On the routes of approach to Cyrene, see Stucchi 1985, 67–86.

was a late development, and in the Archaic and Classical periods the harbour was evidently closely controlled by Cyrene and had no independent existence (hence the paucity of references to it). Archaeological evidence suggests that the site was occupied from *ca.* 600 B.C., soon after Cyrene herself.[35]

The site of Cyrene was built on a large hill with two peaks in the west and in the east at 620 m, with strong natural defences to the south (the Wadi Bel Gadir) and to the north (the Wadi Bu Turkia) (see Fig. 2). The suburban approaches to the city from the north were used as a necropolis, and cemeteries were located on the other sides of the city as well.[36] The four main areas were the acropolis on the western peak, the civic centre of the *agora* slightly below the acropolis to the southeast, the terrace where the holy spring of Apollo and the temple of the god were located, to the north-northeast of the acropolis and on a lower level than the *agora*, and the eastern peak where was to be found the sanctuary of Zeus Lykaios (Herodotus [4. 203. 2] implies that at the time of the Persian expedition to Libya of *ca.* 514 it was outside the city perimeter). The site of Cyrene has been extensively excavated, though little survives of the early period of Greek settlement and most remains date from later times, from the 4th century B.C. to the Roman period. Whether the acropolis was ever used as a residence by the Battiads is unclear,[37] and no public buildings were constructed on it.[38] A paved street led down from it via the area of the *agora* to the terrace of the sanctuary of Apollo.[39] The *agora* was extensively developed in Classical and later times,[40] but little is known of it in the early period. One early sanctuary, dating from the last quarter of the 7th century, was consecrated to the god Opheles (Ephialtes).[41] Battos the founder is known to have had a *heroon* in the *agora* where he received a cult (Pindar *Pythian Odes* 5. 93–95), but its precise location is disputed.[42] The same

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[35] Boardman 1966, 152–3; Laronde 1996 for the later site; testimonia on Apollonia in Purcara Pagano 1976, 327–8.

[36] Chamoux 1953, 287–300; Cassels 1955; Goodchild 1971, 165–71.

[37] See Hansen and Fischer-Hansen 1994, 26–7 against Chamoux 1953, 260, *cf.* 217 and 310.

[38] Goodchild 1971, 104–8.

[39] Bacchielli 1990, 7–12.

[40] Goodchild 1971, 91–103 with fig. 7.

[41] Stucchi 1965, 33–48.

[42] Chamoux 1953, 285–7; Stucchi 1965, 58–65, 111–4, 139–43; Goodchild 1971, 94–6, 98; Bacchielli 1985, 10–12; 1990, 13–9; Laronde 1987, 171–5; Malkin 1987, 214–6.

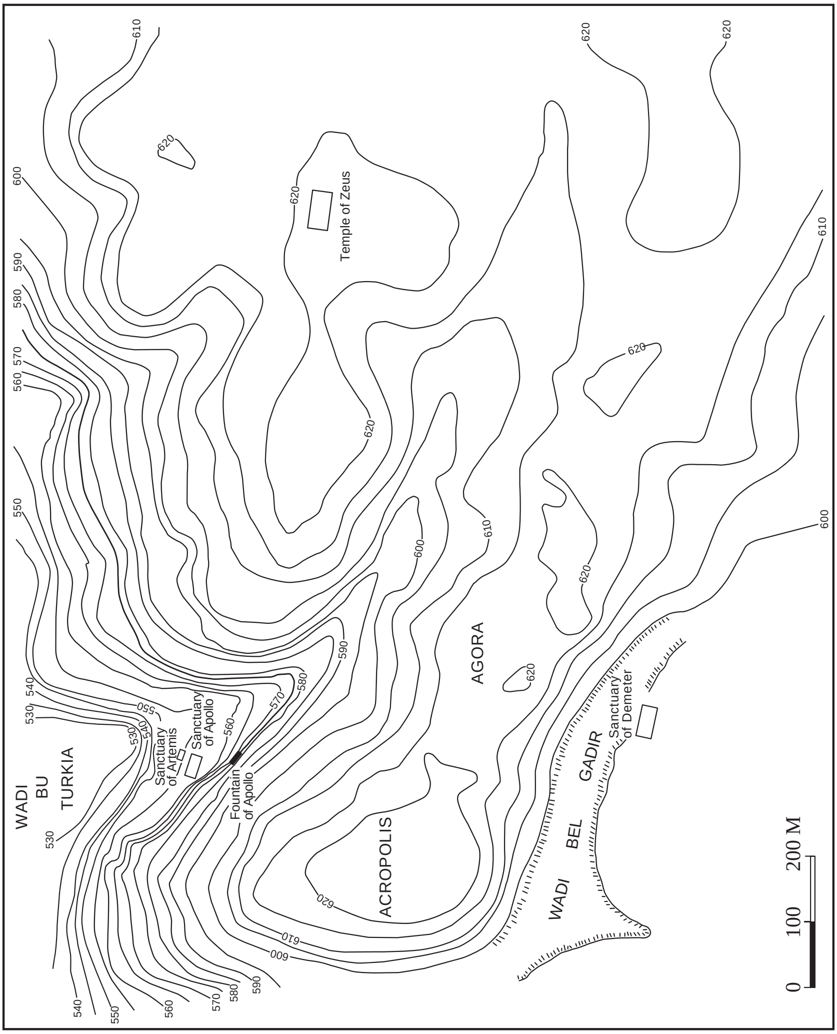

Fig. 2. The site of Cyrene.

applies to sanctuaries of Apollo and Demeter, and to any other early public buildings there may have been (Herodotus [4. 165. 1] presents Pheretime, mother of Arkesilas III, as sitting in the *boule*, which may be a reference to the *gerousia* which Cyrene probably had from an early date on the analogy of Sparta). Opposite the *agora*, on a terraced site across the Wadi Bel Gadir and in an isolated position outside the city altogether, a sanctuary of Demeter and Kore was established early in the 6th century B.C.; it had a continuous history till Roman times, as shown by numerous votive offerings.[43] There was also a sanctuary of Demeter in the *agora*, though its identification is disputed.[44] The terrace below the acropolis was chosen from the start as the main sanctuary for Apollo and Artemis. A temple to Apollo was built there in the 6th century and attributed to Battos the founder (Pindar *Pythian Odes* 5. 89; Callimachus *Hymn to Apollo* 75–79; *SEG* 9. 189).[45] In front of the temple a monumental altar was built, and the sacred spring near the sanctuary was dedicated to the god.[46] Artemis, brother of Apollo, was closely associated with him from the start; her sanctuary was immediately to the north of the temple of Apollo and parallel to it, and an altar was built in front of the temple in the 6th century B.C.[47] On top of the eastern hill, away from and above the area of the sanctuary of Apollo, a monumental temple of Zeus Lykaios, made of local limestone, was built at some time in the late 6th or the early 5th century B.C. It was the largest Greek temple in Libya, comparable in size to the Parthenon at Athens and the temple of Zeus at Olympia.[48]

The area of Greek settlement grew considerably in time to extend far beyond that of the site of Cyrene herself, and Cyrene showed through her subsequent history a continuous tendency to expand that could perhaps not have been predicted from her apparently modest beginnings. Herodotus alleges (4. 159) that for a period of two generations under the first two rulers, Battos and his son Arkesilas I, the number

[43] D. White 1981; 1984–1993.

[44] Chamoux 1953, 265–7; Goodchild 1971, 97–8, 156; Bacchielli 1981, 27–34, 37–39; 1990, 21–31; D. White 1984, 23 n. 2; 1985, 93 nn. 4–5; Laronde 1987, 174.

[45] Chamoux 1953, 203 and pls. XIV–XVI; Goodchild 1971, 116–9; Stucchi 1975, 16–9.

[46] Chamoux 1953, 308–9; Goodchild 1971, 116; Stucchi 1975, 29, 58–9. On its 4th-century rebuilding, see Laronde 1987, 110–3.

[47] Chamoux 1953, 311–20 with pls. XVII–XVIII; Goodchild 1971, 127–8; Stucchi 1975, 8–9, 48–9, 58.

[48] Chamoux 1953, 320–41 with pls. XIX, XXVII–XXVIII; Goodchild 1971, 149–55; Stucchi 1975, 19–20, 23–9.

of settlers at Cyrene remained the same as it was at the start. This is intrinsically implausible, and is undermined by archaeological evidence from other sites in Libya, which suggests that the Greeks started to explore the land to the west of Cyrene from an early date and establish new settlements along the coast—at Tauchira, perhaps also at Tolmeita, and somewhat later at Euesperides (see Fig. 1). The date of the earliest Greek settlement at Barca remains uncertain.

Tauchira

Tauchira lies on the coast, about 130 km away from Cyrene (see Fig. 3). There is very little literary evidence for it in the Archaic and Classical periods: Herodotus (4. 171) takes its existence for granted, but without providing details. It was reportedly founded by Cyrene at an unspecified period (*Schol.* Pindar *Pythian Odes* 4. 26), but excavations of the remains of what was a sanctuary of Demeter and Kore have shown that Tauchira was in existence by the late 7th century B.C., not long after Cyrene herself.[49] The territory available along the coastal strip was evidently much more limited than that of Cyrene, though before the foundation of Barca, Tauchira may have had access to land on the plateau. Its territory may in fact have been more extensive and more fertile in antiquity.[50]

Barca

After Cyrene Barca receives most coverage in Herodotus' account, though it is also archaeologically the least well known of the Greek sites in Libya in this period. Excavations conducted from 1989 to 1994 have confirmed continuity of occupation on the modern site of El Merj from at least the 5th century B.C. onwards.[51] Herodotus (4. 160) places the foundation of Barca in the reign of Arkesilas II (*ca.* 550 B.C.). Yet it remains possible that Greek presence on this site started earlier. One indication comes from the site of Tolmeita, some 40 km away on the coast to the east, which served as the harbour of Barca (as did Apollonia

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[49] See nn. 19, 21 above. See generally Boardman and Hayes 1966; 1973. Testimonia on Tauchira in Purcaro Pagano 1976, 347–8.

[50] Laronde 1994, who estimates that some 250 km^2 of arable land could sustain a population of over 20,000.

[51] Dore 1991, 91; 1994; Dore, Rowan and Davison 1993.

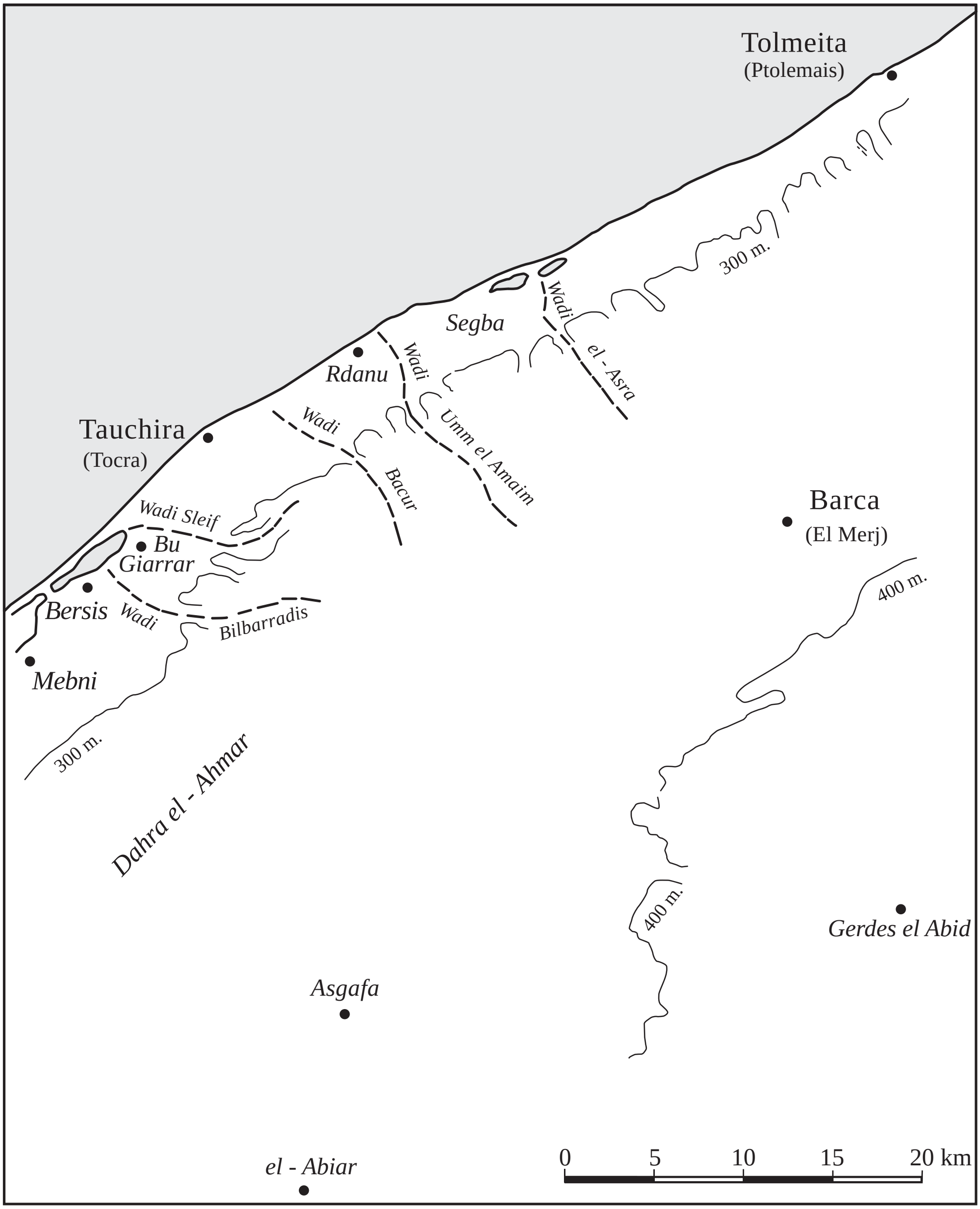

Fig. 3. The territory of Tauchira.

for Cyrene) and became in the Ptolemaic period the independent city of Ptolemais (hence the modern name of Tolmeita). Pottery fragments dating from the late 7th century B.C. have been found at the site.[52] The foundation of Barca shifted the centre of gravity further inland, at the expense of Tauchira on the coast; Herodotus' reference to Tauchira as a *polis* in the territory of Barca (4. 171) seems to imply subordination of Tauchira to Barca in his time. The territory of Barca reached to the sea as well as inland, and became probably the second largest after Cyrene, though it was on a lower level of the Libyan plateau and so less well-watered. Most of what Herodotus' evidence on Barca concerns its opposition to the Battiads in Cyrene—its foundation by dissident brothers of Arkesilas II (4. 160), the assassination there of Arkesilas III and his father in law who ruled the city at the time by enemies at Barca who included exiles from Cyrene (4. 164), and the Persian intervention in *ca.* 514 B.C. instigated by Pheretime, mother of Arkesilas III who appealed to the Persian governor of Egypt to avenge the assassination of her son (4. 165, 167).

Euesperides

Eusperides, the westernmost Greek settlement in Libya, is only casually referred to by Herodotus who mentions it as lying on the sea (4. 171). He claims, rather surprisingly, that its territory was particularly fertile (4. 198), and mentions it as the westernmost limit of the advance of the Persian invasion (4. 204) though without making clear what actually happened on this occasion.[53] Euesperides was thus an established city by this time (*ca.* 514 B.C.) and may have been in existence for two or more generations before this. Excavations conducted in 1952–54, 1968–69 and between 1995 and 2006 have pushed back the history of Greek presence there to some time in the early 6th century B.C., and promise a continuous record of the urban development of Euesperides till its eventual abandonment in the mid-3rd century B.C., when under the Ptolemies the site was moved some 3 km to the west to the new foundation of Berenice. The earliest traces of settlement are on slightly

[52] Boardman 1966, 153.

[53] Evidence of Persian destruction has been claimed in a burnt layer (G. Jones 1983, 114; 1985, 32), but identification and dating are uncertain (Vickers and Gill 1986, 97). *Cf.* Wilson *et al.* 2006, 155. Testimonia on Euesperides in Purcaro Pagano 1976, 331, 335.

higher ground some 10 m above sea level (the present mound of Sidi Abeid), at the head of a coastal lagoon which served as a harbour, to the north of the site which expanded later towards the south.[54] It has produced pottery of East Greek, Island, Laconian, Corinthian and Attic origin which seems contemporary with comparable finds from Deposit II at Tauchira, dated by its excavators to *ca.* 590–565.[55] Traces have also been found of a fortification wall running north-west to south-east, and dated tentatively to perhaps the late 7th or early 6th century B.C.:[56] if correct, Greek settlement there did not lag far behind that of other Greek sites in Libya. The defensive wall attests to the exposed position of Euesperides: what little information is available from literary sources for Euesperides in Classical times and later suggests that conflicts with neighbouring Libyans were a recurring threat (Thucydides 7. 50. 2; Pausanias 4. 26. 2–3). Plant and animal remains indicate that economically Euesperides depended primarily on agriculture and stock raising.[57] The importance of trade with the outside world in the Archaic period is not easily assessed, though like all the other Greek settlements in Libya Euesperides was to some extent dependent on her harbour and communications with the outside world.[58] It seems clear that overall Euesperides was of only marginal significance in Greek Libya and was overshadowed by Cyrene, as shown also by her limited coinage.[59]

Greek expansion in Libya thus started earlier and was more extensive than Herodotus implies. But there is no doubt about the major expansion in Greek immigration from the islands and the Peloponnese that took place in response to the invitation of Battos II (Herodotus 4. 159).[60] This in itself suggests that settlement in Libya had been increasingly

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[54] Most recent site plan in Wilson *et al.* 2000, fig. 1, p. 122 with comments pp. 121, 123.

[55] Boardman 1966, 155–6; Boardman and Hayes 1966, 12; 1973, 3–5 (a lower chronology in Vickers and Gill 1986). For recent pottery finds, see P.C. Roberts in J. Lloyd *et al.* 1998, 158–63; Bennett *et al.* 2000, 138–9; Wilson *et al.* 2002, 107; 2003, 212; 2005, 159–60; 2006, 122, 148, 150, 154.

[56] Buzaian and Lloyd 1996, 143–5; J. Lloyd *et al.* 1998, 145.

[57] Pelling and al Hassy 1997; Wilson *et al.* 1999.

[58] The account of the economy of Euesperides in Wilson *et al.* 1999 (especially 152–3, 165–7) is somewhat speculative. See also Wilson *et al.* 2001, 172–3; 2002, 119–21; 2003, 220–1; 2004, 187–8; 2005, 165.

[59] Buttrey 1994; Buttrey in J. Lloyd *et al.* 1998, 157–8; in Wilson *et al.* 2003, 223–4.

[60] See Boardman and Hayes (1966, 14; 1973, 4) for a possible reflexion of this at Tauchira in the increase of Rhodian pottery at this time.

seen in the Greek world as an attractive prospect. Once again, Herodotus' narrative stresses the rôle of Apollo, but the new Greek settlers probably needed little prompting. The result of this rapid increase in the area of Greek settlement around Cyrene was to displace Libyans in large numbers, whose response under their king Adikran (the first Libyan to be named by Herodotus in his narrative in Book 4) was to turn for support to the Egyptian ruler Apries. Both the Libyan appeal and the Egyptian response testify to the changed balance of forces: the Greek influx to Libya was now perceived as a threat by both Libyans and Egyptians. But the Egyptian intervention was heavily defeated by the Greeks, and this helped to bring about a change of ruler in Egypt and after that a new accommodation by the Egyptian ruler Amasis with the Greeks of Cyrene (see Herodotus 2. 181–182). A further implication was that in future the Libyans could no longer rely on Egyptian support against the Greeks in Libya, and after this episode the active Libyan rôle in the history of the Greeks drops out of sight.

Relations between Greeks and Libyans

An intriguing but obscure question in the history of the Greeks in Libya is that of their relations with the native Libyan tribes who occupied the land at the time of their arrival. A feature of special interest is that Greeks and Libyans represented two different types of social and economic organisation, a settled population as against nomads,[61] yet both practised agriculture as well as animal-rearing. They existed side by side on the same territory, which could in principle sustain two different types of social organisation, and were thus were liable to co-operation as much as to conflict. This is in fact a recurring feature of the history of Libya in antiquity and later.[62]

One obvious problem is that of the available sources, which are almost exclusively Greek and thus inevitably one-sided. For the Greek settlers Libya was primarily an attractive land that was open to their

[61] Herodotus repeatedly characterises the eastern Libyans as nomads (4. 181, 186–188, 190–192).

[62] See generally Johnson 1973, especially 92–105, for the time down to the Classical period. For the Classical period and later, see Laronde 1990. Contrast their approach with the more clear-cut view in Bates 1914, which presented the Libyans as 'primitive' (107, 133, 153, 207, 210, 241) and emphasised the lack of common ground between them and the Greeks.

enterprise, as shown by the account of Herodotus and the other literary sources. One Greek stereotype was that of Libya as a land that was empty or backward until the coming of the Greeks.[63] The Libyans in the area of Greek settlement did not use writing and have left no record of themselves. Little is known of them archaeologically, and not surprisingly interest has focused primarily on the Greek settlements, which have themselves yielded few obvious signs of Libyan presence or influence.[64] It is not possible to form an idea of such a basic question as the size of the Libyan population in relation to the Greek immigrants.

The account in Herodotus, the fullest source, is notable both for what it says and for what it omits. His main treatment of Libya and the Libyans comes in his extended digression in 4. 145–205,[65] but shows a clear hierarchy of interests and a different approach from his account of the Greeks. The Greek settlement of Libya (Cyrene) is treated first as a narrative historical account (4. 150–167), while the numerous individual Libyan tribes come only after and are treated descriptively and ethnographically (4. 168–197).

In the Greek part of the narrative the Libyans, though present, are relegated to the background. They are always referred to collectively, as 'Libyans', not as individual tribes. Their rôle in the history of Greek settlement is difficult to define: Herodotus provides only a few scattered and tantalising allusions. The move by the early Greek settlers from Aziris to Cyrene was allegedly prompted by the Libyans who wanted them to bypass the best site at Irasa (4. 158): the story can be read in two ways, as implying either suspicion (the Libyans wanted to protect their best land) or friendliness (they did not see the immigrant Greeks as a threat but conducted them to what turned out to be the best site of all). What actually happened is beyond recovery. The next mention concerns the influx of Greek immigrants under Battos II and the

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[63] See Diodorus Siculus 4. 17. 4–5 on Heracles and Antaeus; Malkin 1994, 181–7.

[64] From Cyrene and the area around there are only a few isolated finds (Baldassare 1987; Tinè 1987), though it seems unlikely that the site of Cyrene had not been occupied before the coming of the Greeks. There is little trace of Libyan presence from the excavations at Tauchira (Boardman and Hayes 1966, 13). At Euesperides the excavators claim Libyan influences 'on diet, ceramics and other media' (Buzaian and J. Lloyd 1996, 151), but no details are available. *Cf.* also Wilson *et al.* 2001, 173 (ostrich eggshell decorated in Greek style).

[65] There are a few references earlier, notably a brief sketch of the land and its peoples (2. 32), and his general comments on Libya in relation to the two other continents, Europe and Asia (2. 15–18; 4. 41–43).

resulting conflict of Greeks and Libyans, who invited Egyptian support but were then defeated (4. 159): what consequences this had for the Libyans is not explained. Then comes the mention of the foundation of Barca by dissident brothers of Arkesilas II (4. 160), who 'detached' the Libyans from the Cyrenaeans, which implies some form of subjection of those Libyans to the Greeks. Arkesilas II attacked the Libyans, but was heavily defeated by them, with the loss of (reportedly) 7,000 hoplites, a surprisingly high figure, which if correct implies a rapid and considerable increase in the size of the Greek population. Thereafter the Libyans disappear from the narrative section, in which all the action is between the Greeks themselves, with no apparent participation by Libyans.[66]

The ethnographic section by contrast identifies all the individual Libyan tribes by name from east to west, notably, in or near the area of Greek settlement, the Giligamai, Asbystai, Auschisai, Bakales and Nasamones (see Fig. 1). It provides some information about the extent of territory occupied by them in relation to the Greek settlements. The Giligamai continued to hold the territory where the Greeks had first landed in Libya (4. 169). The Asbystai lived inland above (south of) Cyrene, but did not reach to the coast which was held by Cyrene (4. 170). The Auschises lived above (south of) Barca but rejoined the sea in the vicinity of Euesperides, while the small tribe of the Bakales lived in the middle of the territory of the Auschises and reached the sea near Tauchira (4. 171). Further to the south came the large tribe of the Nasamones, who occupied both the coast and the hinterland, beyond the area of Greek settlement (4. 172). The Greeks in Libya thus only occupied part of the land and were in many places in constant contact with the Libyans. The section provides much information about Libyan customs, but only occasional hints about relations between Libyans and Greeks. It emerges from Herodotus that mutual cultural influences between the two peoples were common, though more so with those tribes who lived in closest proximity to the Greeks: the Asbystai are described as imitating most of the customs of the Cyrenaeans

[66] There is a tantalising reference at 4. 164 to a king of Barca called Alazeir, whose daughter (unnamed) was married to Arkesilas III. This Arkesilas was killed by enemies at Barca, where he had taken refuge, together with Alazeir his father-in-law. The name Alazeir is Libyan (it is found as that of a moneyer on coins of Barca: Robinson 1927, clxxviii, clxxxi, 105), but Herodotus provides no further illumination.

(4. 170).[67] Greeks on their side are credited with adopting a variety of Libyan practices: Athena's dress, the *ololyge*, and the yoking of four-horse chariots (4. 189).[68] Above all, Herodotus implies casually that intermarriage between the Greeks of Cyrene and Barca and Libyan women was common (4. 186).

It is not easy to generalise from this scattered information. Herodotus' account of the foundation of Barca (4. 160) shows that by the time of Arkesilas II some Libyans were 'subjects' of the Cyrenaeans but then revolted from them helped by a split in the ruling dynasty, and managed to inflict a heavy defeat on the Cyrenaeans (contrast their earlier defeat in the reign of Battos II, despite Egyptian military support). From Herodotus' presentation it would seem that in his time the majority of Libyans were independent and coexisted with the Greeks. At any rate there is no indication of any long-term mass subjection of the local population by the immigrant Greeks, unlike what is attested in other parts of the 'colonial' Greek world (the Bithynians at Byzantium, the Mariandynoi at Heracleia Pontica, the Killyrians at Syracuse, and probably others elsewhere).[69] Nor is there any evidence to suggest that Libya was a regular source of slaves for the Greek world, whereas other exports from Cyrene and Libya receive occasional mention. 'Libyan' did not become a slave name, unlike, for example, 'Syrian', 'Thracian', or the names of some peoples from Asia Minor.[70] Nevertheless conflicts between Greeks and Libyans, often unidentified, seem to have been a recurring feature of the history of the Greeks of Libya in antiquity,[71] though the evidence is fragmentary and should not obscure the fact that coexistence and co-operation were just as frequent a pattern.

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[67] The Auses who lived much further to the west, around lake Tritonis, are said to use Greek weapons in the performance of ritual (4. 180).

[68] Libyans had long been using chariots (for example, Herodotus 4. 170, 189), and the continued use by the Greeks in Libya of chariots in war as well as in athletic competitions was frequently commented on in classical sources (for instance, Xenophon *Cyropaedia* 6. 1. 27–29; 6. 2. 8; Aeneas Tacticus 16. 14; see also Anderson 1965, 352).

[69] Garlan 1988, 102–6.

[70] *ML* 79, ll. 33–49 for one example (414 B.C.). On the sources of slaves in the Greek world, see in general Finley 1981, 167–75; Garlan 1988, 45–55; Braund and Tsetskhladze 1989. The model of Greek settlement suggested by Rihll 1993, which postulates a militaristic approach by Greek settlers towards the local population, does not seem to be applicable to the Greeks in Libya.

[71] See, for example, the reference to 'Libyan wars' in *SEG* 9. 1. 29 of 322/1. See generally Chamoux 1953, 135 n. 1; Masson 1976, 49–51; Laronde 1990, 169–70, 172–3. And see above for Euesperides.

The question of intermarriage is particularly tantalising. It appears to have been a regular practice in the Greek world, taken for granted, that settlers sent abroad were normally men only, as was the case with Thera and Cyrene (Herodotus 4. 153, *cf.* 4. 156; *ML* 5, ll. 27–44).[72] They were thus expected to find wives from the population where they settled.[73] But how exactly this worked in the case of the Greeks in Libya is far from clear. The early Greek settlers could have obtained wives from the Libyans by agreement or forcibly—both patterns are conceivable from similar situations elsewhere.[74] But intermarriage in Greek Libya was seemingly a continuous process over a long period of time, and not limited to the first generation: it was still taken as normal practice in the late 4th century B.C. (*SEG* 9. 1. 3 of 322/1). This is further borne out by the occurrence in the onomastics of Greek Libya of Libyan personal names, though it is often difficult to determine whether Libyan names are those of Libyans or were used by Greeks.[75] All this presupposes close and regular contacts. How it was perceived by the Libyans is not known. The evidence seems to suggest that intermarriage was in one direction only: Libyan men did not apparently marry Greek women (the case of Alazeir at Barca mentioned by Herodotus 4. 164 is obscure). In general there is no indication that Libyans had any rôle to play in the internal political life of the Greek cities, and the conflicts that characterised the history of Cyrene from an early date (the legislation of Demonax, the struggles among the Battiads themselves and with their opponents) conspicuously did not involve any Libyans.[76]

The case of the silphium plant provides a good illustration of the problems of interpretation.[77] Herodotus is strikingly uninformative on the subject (4. 169, 192), perhaps because he assumed it was familiar

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[72] See also Herodotus 1. 146 (Miletus); 4. 145–146 (the Minyan Argonauts at Sparta).

[73] Rougé 1970; Brodersen 1994; Van Compernolle 1983 adds little. See also Shepherd 1999, 267–300.

[74] Pindar (*Pythian Odes* 9. 105–122) refers to the marriage of Alexidamos to the daughter of a Libyan king Antaeus at Irasa in the early stages of Greek settlement; the historical interpretation of this is not clear (for one view see Dougherty 1993, 136–56). Callimachus (*Hymn to Apollo* 85–87) presents Libyan women as participating with Greek men at the celebration of the Karneia at Cyrene.

[75] Masson 1976; Laronde 1990, 178.

[76] Nothing is known of the internal history of Tauchira and Euesperides in this early period; from the scanty evidence available for Barca (above) it is possible that Libyans had more of a rôle to play there (see Bates 1914, 230–1; Masson 1976, 62).

[77] See generally Chamoux 1953, 246–63; 1985.

to his audience, but other sources are more forthcoming. The plant grew only in Libya (the origin of the name silphium is unknown) and was never successfully acclimatised elsewhere. It became known to the Greek world at the time of the foundation of Cyrene or at any rate soon after (Theophrastus *Historia Plantarum* 6. 3. 3; first mention in Solon fr. 39 Bergk). The plant had nutritional as well as medicinal virtues and became one of the products widely exported to the outside world with which the prosperity of Cyrene was particularly associated (Hermippos fr. 63.4;[78] Aristophanes *Equites* 895; *Aves* 534, 1579, 1582, 1585; *Ecclesiazusae* 1171; and especially *Plutus* 925 'the silphium of Battos'). It was apparently a lucrative monopoly of the Battiads during their period of power, as shown by the reference in Aristophanes and by the so-called Arkesilas vase, a Laconian cup found in Etruria, which depicts Arkesilas II supervising the weighing and export of silphium.[79] Cyrene claimed the silphium as particularly her own and chose it as a distinctive coin symbol already in the 6th century B.C., a practice then imitated by the other Greek cities in Libya.[80] Yet the plant was not suitable for cultivated soils and did not grow in the territory of Cyrene, but to the south of Barca and Euesperides, in the semi-desert regions of the steppes which were inhabited by the Libyans (Herodotus 4. 169; Theophrastus *Historia Plantarum* 9. 7. 7; Strabo 17. 3. 22; Pliny *NH* 19. 3. 38–45). There are thus intriguing questions as to the mechanisms (trade or other forms of exchange, tribute or taxes etc.) whereby this Libyan plant came to be treated as a product under Cyrenaean control.[81] In general it seems that the relations between Greeks and Libyans must have been more diverse and complementary than appears at first sight, involving much reciprocal trade in agricultural, animal and manufactured products, which both the sedentary and the nomadic populations needed.

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[78] *PCG* V, 591–4.

[79] Numerous illustrations. See, for example, Chamoux 1953, pl. VI; 1985, 168–9.

[80] Numerous examples in Robinson 1927.

[81] According to Aristotle fr. 528 Teubner the Libyans to honour Battos the founder offered him the most precious of their plants. For speculations on the possible rôle of Euesperides in the silphium trade, see Wilson *et al.* 1999, 163, 165–6. Whatever the truth, it was Cyrene that claimed control over silphium.

The Coming of the Persian Empire

From seemingly modest and tentative beginnings Cyrene became in time a large and prosperous state with extensive territory and a substantial population, though it is not possible to give any figures for the early period and estimates for Classical times and later are conjectural. At any rate by the Classical period Cyrene was by Greek standards exceptionally large both in terms of territory and of total population;[82] the term 'Libya' could be used to refer to Cyrene herself.[83] Cyrene overshadowed the other Greek cities of Libya which she regarded as within her sphere of influence (see Pindar *Pythian Odes* 5. 15; 9. 54), and did not fear any threat to her existence from the side of the Libyans. The prosperity of Greek Libya was a commonplace in Greek literature of the Classical period (see Pindar *Pythian Odes* 4. 2, 7; 5. 24–25; 9. 6–8, 56); it rested in the first place on her extensive and fertile territory.[84] Contacts with the outside world, present from the earliest days of Greek settlement, continued to develop. Athletes from Cyrene were prominent in Panhellenic competitions, perhaps from an early period, though the dated examples only begin in the 5th century B.C.[85] With the benefit of distance and a sheltered geographical position Cyrene became an independent power which could hold its own against Egypt in the east and be thought of by the Egyptian ruler as a worthwhile ally (above). In the west there was apparently no challenge from Carthage and the Phoenicians; only the short-lived attempt of Dorieus to found a settlement at Kinyps (near Lepcis Magna) moved the Carthaginians to intervene against him (Herodotus 5. 42).

The change came with the expansion of the Persian empire in the reign of Cambyses and his conquest of Egypt in 525 B.C.[86] The Libyans neighbouring Egypt promptly submitted to the Persian king and offered presents and tribute. Cyrene and Barca followed their example, though

[82] For the territory of Cyrene in the 4th century B.C. Laronde distinguishes a central inner core measuring about 50 × 35 km, *i.e.* 1,750 km^2 (1987, 285–93 with fig. 87 p. 286), where a scattered population depended directly on the urban centre, and further away a zone of nucleated villages (1987, 293–313 with fig. 108 p. 312). He estimates the total population in the 4th century at around 300,000 (1987, 340, 342); lower figures in Goodchild 1971, 15.

[83] Zimmerman 1998, 178–9.

[84] On the wealth of Cyrene, see Chamoux 1953, 230–7.

[85] Table of dated Olympic victors from Cyrene in Laronde 1987, 146–7.

[86] On Libya and the Persian empire, see Briant 1996, 65–6, 80, 91, 153 (with bibliography).

Herodotus alleges (implausibly) that Cambyses treated their approach with disdain (3. 13).[87] His account does not make clear at this point on whose initiative the submission was made, and makes no mention of either Tauchira or Euesperides. The sequel suggests that the initiative came from the Battiads themselves. After the reforms of Demonax the position of the dynasty at Cyrene was increasingly challenged. To restore their power Arkesilas III and his mother Pheretime looked initially for support from the outside world (Cyprus, Samos); they returned to Cyrene by force and victimised their opponents, but Arkesilas was murdered by political opponents at Barca (4. 162–164). Pheretime, left in charge at Cyrene, fled to the Persian satrap of Egypt Aryandes asking for Persian assistance: she cited in support Arkesilas' surrender of Cyrene to Cambyses and his devotion to Persian interests (4. 165). The result was a Persian expedition by land and sea to Libya: according to Herodotus the aim was ostensibly to punish Barca for the murder of Arkesilas III but in reality to conquer Libya, though the sequel hardly bears this out (4. 167). In practice his account of the expedition concentrates almost entirely on the Persian attack on Barca. Barca refused to surrender the assassins of Arkesilas, was besieged and eventually captured by treachery; the city was sacked, most of its population enslaved and deported to Bactria, while Cyrene was left untouched by the Persians (4. 200–204). Yet Herodotus also mentions casually that the Persian expedition did reach as far as Euesperides, though no further details are given (4. 204). The real focus of Herodotus' narrative is the fate of Pheretime: Herodotus dwells on her brutal treatment of her enemies at Barca (4. 202) and ends his Libyan account with the edifying story of her horrible end (4. 205), after which he loses sight almost completely of Libyan affairs and the history of the Battiads.

The immediate result of the Persian intervention was thus to give a further lease of life to the ruling dynasty against continued internal opposition, as happened elsewhere in the Greek world.[88] The Battiads held on to power for another two generations, though the circumstances in which the dynasty was overthrown remain obscure. Other effects of the Persian empire are less easily identified. Herodotus lists Cyrene and Barca as tribute-paying members of the Persian empire under Darius,

[87] But at 2. 181 Herodotus states that on learning who she was Cambyses sent Laodice, the Cyrenaean wife of the previous Egyptian pharaoh, Amasis, back to Cyrene unharmed.

[88] Mitchell 1966; Austin 1990, 301–2.

as part of the 6th Satrapy which comprised Egypt; again, there is no mention of Tauchira and Euesperides (3. 91). The long reign of Battos IV is a virtual blank in the record and there is nothing to suggest that the Greeks in Libya played any rôle in relation to Xerxes' invasion of Greece.[89]

In a different field the incorporation of eastern Libya in the Persian empire may have had more significant long term effects. The first evidence of the popularity in the wider world of the Egyptian(?) god Ammon,[90] who had an oracular shrine at Siwah in the Libyan desert, comes in relation to Croesus of Lydia's embassy to the oracle before his projected war against the Persian king Cyrus (Herodotus 1. 46). At this stage there is nothing to show Ammon's adoption by the Greek world. But it seems that it was during the reign of Battos IV that the equation was made between the cult of Zeus Lykaios at Cyrene and the cult of Ammon, and it was around this time that the monumental temple to Zeus was constructed at Cyrene on the eastern hill (above). The ram-headed Zeus Ammon appeared in the late 6th century B.C. as a reverse type on coins of Cyrene, to become second in frequency only to the silphium plant in the coinage of Greek Libya.[91] Ammon was adopted by the Cyrenaeans as their own (though this was not felt to be at the expense of Apollo),[92] and the whole of Libya was conceived as consecrated to the god (see Pindar *Pythian Odes* 4. 16, 56; 9. 53). From Cyrene the popularity of Ammon and his oracle spread rapidly in the 5th century B.C. to much of the Greek world, including Sparta; Pindar composed a hymn in his honour (Pausanias 9. 16. 1) and consultations of his oracle were frequent.[93] It is an attractive suggestion that it was the integration of Greek Libya in the Persian empire, with the consequent development of communications by land, that facilitated

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[89] There is no mention of any approach by the Greeks to Cyrene at Herodotus 7. 145 (though Crete was approached); but Libyans are mentioned as being present in Xerxes' army at 7. 71 and 7. 86. It is not clear whether there is any substance in the story of a Persian attack on Barca for refusing a request to contribute war chariots for Xerxes' invasion of Greece (Polyaenus 7. 28. 1; the story is accepted by Chamoux 1953, 164–5).

[90] The origin of Ammon is disputed. For modern views, see A. Lloyd 1976, 195–8.

[91] Robinson 1927, 233–9.

[92] Pausanias mentions the dedication at Delphi of a chariot with the figure of Ammon by the people of Cyrene (10. 13. 5). The date is not known.

[93] On Zeus Ammon, see generally Chamoux 1953, 329–39; Parke 1967, 194–241; Bisi 1985; Malkin 1994, 158–67.

this development.[94] The adoption of a non-Greek cult by the Greeks of Libya, and its diffusion through them to the Greek world, was a remarkable sequel to the tentative first steps of the Greeks when they landed in Libya several generations earlier.

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[94] Chamoux 1953, 335–9.

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CYPRUS: FROM MIGRATION TO HELLENISATION*

Maria Iacovou

Introduction

Cyprus and the Designation of Greek Colonies

The inclusion of Cyprus in this handbook poses an unexpected problem, insofar as the book is dedicated to the memory of A.J. Graham, a scholar who would never have considered Cyprus as a territory to be associated with *his* definition of Greek colonisation. Graham does not deny that 'Greek colonization can be said to have gone on from Mycenaean times till the Hellenistic period'; he maintains, however, that the essential character of Greek colonisation rests on its being 'a product of the world of the *polis*, of independent city-states'.[1] In order to be in accord with this definition and with the 'Principles of arrangement' in Graham's classic study, *Colony and Mother City in Ancient Greece*, the present handbook on Greek colonisation—besides excluding Cyprus—would have to be thoroughly redesigned.

Graham's contribution to the First Australian Congress of Classical Archaeology, devoted to Greek Colonists and Native Populations—from which Cyprus is once again conspicuously absent—defines Early Iron Age contacts as 'pre-colonial' relations,[2] mainly because they predate the formation of the *polis* in Greece proper. In Cyprus, however, the Early Iron Age postdates the successful establishment of Greek-speaking

* My thanks to Gocha Tsetskhladze for his invitation to contribute the Cyprus chapter to the Greek Colonisation publication project. In the course of writing the first draft of this chapter I profited from a critical and lively exchange of views with Irad Malkin. Gerald Cadogan, teacher and friend, edited and commented upon the version I submitted to the editor in 2002. Between 2002 and 2006 a number of monographs and many articles (some of them by the author) were published that are of particular relevance to the case of Cyprus. In 2007, therefore, the text and bibliography were revised.

[1] Graham 1983, 1.

[2] Graham 1990 (2001), 25–44.

people on the island and, therefore, from the point of view of the island's history, the period is already 'post-colonial'.

Cyprus was excluded from Graham's work since the island was not at the receiving end of the great colonising movement of the late 8th century. Nevertheless, the process of introducing the Greek language to this Eastern Mediterranean island began well before the 8th century B.C.: it commenced during the penultimate century (the 12th century) of the 2nd millennium B.C. (see below on the chronological *terminus* of the episode). By the end of the 8th century, Cyprus was divided into a series of territorial polities, or city-kingdoms. In the 7th and/or 6th centuries of the Cypro-Archaic period most of them began to make extensive, though not necessarily exclusive, use of Greek. A contextual analysis of the epigraphic evidence, based on the island's political geography, would serve to show that in the Cypro-Classical period, otherwise in the 5th and 4th centuries B.C., Greek had become the population's majority language and also the official state language in the majority of Cypriote kingdoms.

Nonetheless, 'modern historical analysis correctly differentiates between Greek communities founded in the context of the rise of the city-state (*polis*), after the mid-eighth century, and those established and settled earlier.'[3] In his introduction to *Religion and Colonization in Ancient Greece*, I. Malkin maintains that Greek colonisation in the Archaic and Classical periods (8th–4th centuries B.C.) meant the establishment of independent city-states (*poleis*) in relatively distant territories.[4] In accord with Graham, Malkin states that it is the creation of a *polis* that distinguishes this type of colonisation from earlier forms of migration like the so-called Ionian migration, which is the category where Cyprus seems to belong.[5] As an earlier form of Greek 'migration', 'establishment' or 'settlement', the Cyprus episode is assigned to the realm of early Greek history, or protohistory.

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[3] Malkin 1994, 2.

[4] Malkin 1987, 1.

[5] 'The term [colonisation] is conventionally applied to the foundation of poleis (hence not earlier than the eighth century) resulting from the organised activity of mother city (*metropolis*) under the leadership of an official founder (*oikistes*). Thus it contrasts, for example, with the earlier Ionian migration resulting in the settlements in the eastern Aegean and Asia Minor; these were supposedly the results of a mass exodus and only gradually acquired the character of poleis' (Malkin 1998, 13).

Crete and Cyprus: Hellenisation Processes

Thus for Cyprus, one may question the applicability of the conventional term colonisation, since it hardly seems appropriate and, moreover, because it fails to place proper emphasis on the crucial consequence of the event: the island's Hellenisation.[6] Indeed, once we shift the weight from *colonisation* (*i.e.* the episode) to *Hellenisation* (*i.e.* the outcome), we can gain an added insight into the event by analogy with the precedent of Minoan Crete.

What do the two islands have in common? They started out as prehistoric, 'pre-Hellenic'[7] islands. From the outset of the Bronze Age, each had shaped its own particular cultural expression and in the 2nd millennium B.C. (by Middle Minoan in the case of Neopalatial Crete, at the beginning of Late Cypriote in the case of Cyprus), both began to employ their own distinct scripts.[8] Linear A in Minoan Crete and Cypro-Minoan in Cyprus reflect the highest level of social and political complexity attained in the two islands during the Bronze Age. Yet, both scripts remain indecipherable. In part this is because the corpus of inscriptions is limited. The main reason, however, is because the prehistoric languages that each represented have become extinct; they were undermined, and eventually replaced by Greek. The transformation of the two islands' human landscapes was in both cases much more significant and long-lasting than Greek colonisation had been anywhere else in the Mediterranean.

The endurance of Greek-speaking peoples in regions that were colonised by Greeks in antiquity, such as the island of Sicily,[9] was to be a chapter, of shorter or longer duration, in their history. For Crete and Cyprus, however, it did not become historical memory; it remains a living reality. An indelible island-human identity was forged that rendered obsolete the prehistoric, pre-Greek language(s) in both. This should not distract us from the fact that the two events began under very different historical circumstances and that the processes that led to their Hellenisation were radically different. Chronologically, the establishment of Greek-speaking people in Crete is largely at one with the political

[6] 'Au vu de l'information disponible, il ne paraît pas judicieux de continuer à recourir au terme de "colonisation". Mieux vaut parler plus prudement de "pénétration greque" ou, mieux encore peut-être, d' "hellénisation"' (Baurain 1997, 142).
[7] Whitley 1998, 27.
[8] Rehak and Younger 2001, 422 n. 274.
[9] Ably documented by Adolfo Dominguez (2006) in volume 1 of this work.

domination of the island by Mycenaean Greeks.[10] Not much else can explain the introduction of an exclusively Mycenaean administration script in the palatial context of Knossos and also at Chania in the Final Palatial period.[11] The Cretan episode—initially a political takeover rather than a cultural 'Mycenaeanisation' of the island—antedates that of Cyprus by some two centuries.[12] It took place when the Mainland palaces were rising to prominence and it triggered 'an entire series of changes that culminated in Crete being absorbed, to a greater or lesser extent, into the Mycenaean and henceforward, the Greek world'.[13] The preponderant, though far from exclusive, use of the Doric dialect in Crete's Iron Age epigraphic record is attributed to the 'Dark Age migrations which brought Dorians and probably non-Dorians as well to the island'.[14] Unlike the first, the Mycenaean, this second influx of Greeks to Crete remains archaeologically undetected. The establishment of Greeks in Cyprus, on the other hand, was initiated *after* the collapse of the Mycenaean palace system (after the end of the 13th century B.C.) but *before* the Mycenaean Greek dialect, the one expressed in Linear B, had developed beyond a 'common Greek' stage into the historical Greek dialects of the 1st millennium B.C.[15]

As Carla Antonaccio has argued, colonisation is a key experience in the formation of Greek identities because it was in a colonial context that the fundamental distinction between Greek and native received the greatest attention.[16] In the case of Cyprus, this was augmented by the abutment of Greek and Near Eastern cultures, 'a configuration

[10] 'Invasion et mycénisation, c'est-à-dire l'arrivée d'une population nouvelle et l'acculturation qui peut en résulter éventuellement, sont liées et constituent les aspects les plus ardus du problème de la "Crète mycénienne"' (Farnoux and Driessen 1997, 4).

[11] Rehak and Younger 2001, 384, 441 on Final Palatial Crete (LMII–IIIB Early). 'Le grec des archives de Knossos reste cependant l'argument le plus sûr en faveur d'un changement de pouvoir' (Farnoux and Driessen 1997, 4).

[12] See, in particular, Rehak and Younger (2001, 440–1) on the LM IB Destructions and the views expressed by Driessen and Macdonald (1997): 'That Mycenaeans from Mainland Greece arrived at some stage on the island during the Late Bronze Age is clear. When they arrived is a matter of fierce debate (*Crète mycénnienne*), but the "crisis years" of Late Minoan IB–II appear as the most opportune moments' (1997, 118).

[13] Driessen and Macdonald 1997, 118.

[14] Perlman 2000, 65.

[15] Baurain 1997, 126: 'une langue grecque "prédialectale" (ou "grec commun")'; also Woodard 2000, 37.

[16] Antonaccio 2001, 116; 'According to Carla Antonaccio colonization is a prime location for forming identities. She discusses archaeological and literary evidence to reveal an intra-Hellenic identity based not on blood but on situation and territory' (Malkin 2001, 20). Also Iacovou 1999a, 2: 'the Greek-speaking immigrants in Cyprus

which would have served to focus the attention of these most eastern of Greeks on their own Greekness'.[17] Crete became, and remains the permanent southern boundary of the Hellenophone *ethnos*, while Cyprus, in Claude Baurain's words, was and is 'la terre la plus orientale de toutes cettes habitées par les hellénophones'.[18] In view of the two islands' geographical distance from the original centre of the Late Helladic/Mycenaean culture that provided the human agents of their Hellenisation, the easternmost Mediterranean island represents a unique phenomenon of endurance.

The purpose of this chapter, therefore, is not merely to set out the evidence that people of Greek tongue established themselves on the island of Cyprus shortly before the end of the 2nd millennium B.C. but, rather, to explore as many different avenues as there may be that can provide an insight into how this protohistoric Greek population movement came about and what changes it brought to the human environment of Cyprus; how it manifested itself in the linguistic and material record and how it affected the issues of ethnicity and state formation. First of all, it is imperative to understand what Cyprus (Fig. 1) was like, and its insular dynamics, before the process began that was eventually responsible for the island's Hellenisation.

Cyprus Before the Greeks

From Neolithisation to Bronze Age Urbanisation

Following, first, the 'neolithisation of the island'[19]—the establishment of sedentary farmers in Cyprus—and, secondly, Bronze Age urbanisation, Hellenisation was the third formative horizon in the island's culture. The earliest of the three episodes is credited with the introduction of the first farming communities by migrant farmers who became the founding fathers of the mature aceramic Neolithic 'Khirokitia' culture.[20] Urbanisation, on the other hand, is the climax of the next episode

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were forced to assert themselves against highly civilized and literate "others" in a distant-from-home environment.'

[17] Woodard 1997, 223.

[18] Baurain 1997, 120.

[19] Le Brun 1989, 95.

[20] Peltenburg *et al.* 2002, 62.

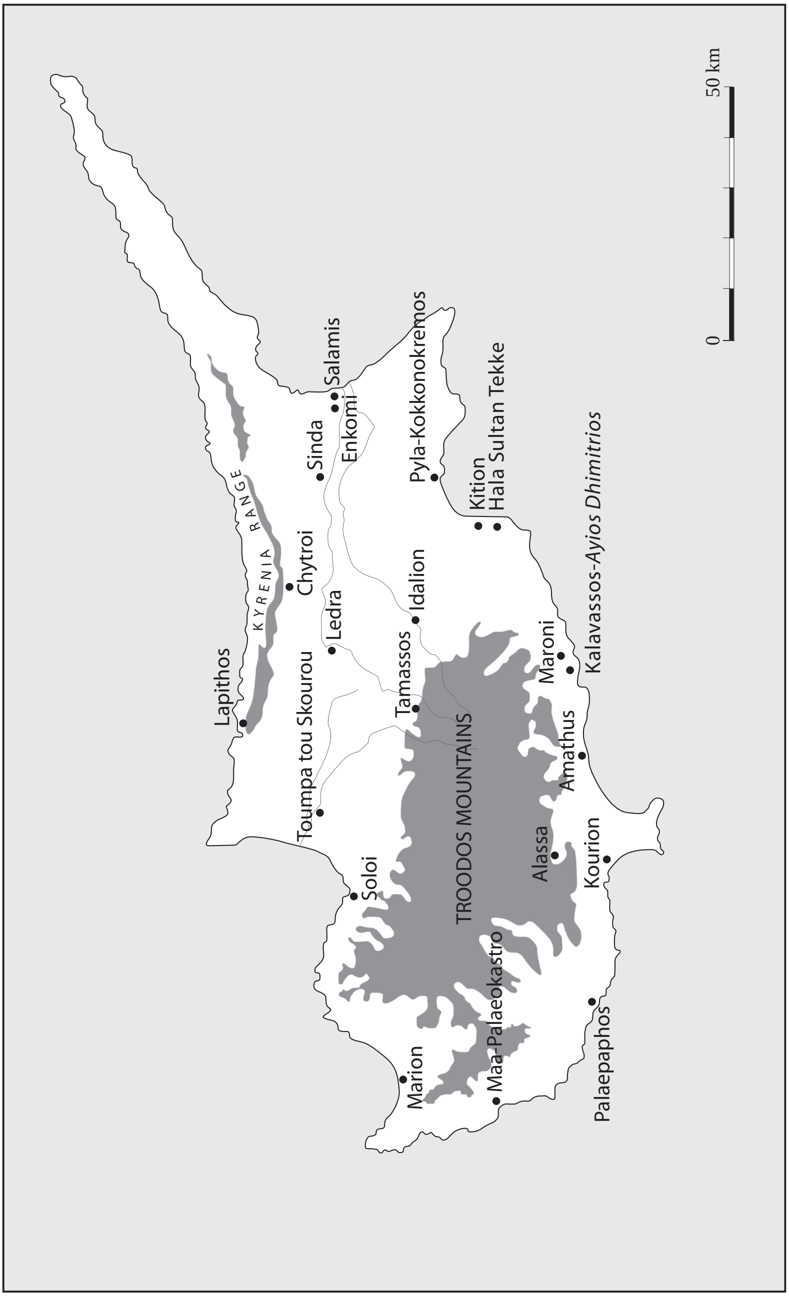

Fig. 1. Map of Cyprus showing sites mentioned in the text.

which begins with the 'Philia culture',[21] the transition from the long Cypriote Chalcolithic to the Early Bronze Age. This mid-3rd-millennium episode, which is also attributed—though not unanimously—to an influx of immigrants,[22] is credited with generating the dynamics that led to the first phase of exploitation of Cyprus's copper resources and, hence the transition to Early Cypriote (*ca.* 2200 B.C.).[23] Almost to the end of the Middle Bronze Age, Cyprus remained an introverted, conservative rural society, though it was by then completely surrounded by Mediterranean urban states (the Levant), palatial cultures (Crete) and empires (Egypt).[24] The contrast with Crete, where state formation and urbanisation are evident in the archaeological record by the beginning of Middle Minoan, is striking.

At the end of an almost millennium-long, but apparently peaceful and uneventful Early and Middle Cypriote (2400/2200–1700/1600 B.C.), a number of mostly new coastal settlements began to be urbanised. Later still, probably not before the 13th century B.C., they acquired monumental appearance with secular and sacred architecture.[25] Urbanisation may have originated, the evidence suggests, with the formation of a first 'archaic' state at Enkomi (Fig. 2) where, *ca.* 1600 B.C., an industrial quarter was refining copper apparently for export.[26] Not surprisingly, the earliest evidence of a local script, the Cypro-Minoan, comes from Enkomi's metallurgical area (Fig. 3).[27] After the 14th century, urban characteristics and urban attitudes were dispersed outside the presumed first state of Enkomi[28] towards secondary and tertiary sites[29] but by then state authority had been claimed by, and was shared among, a number of peer settlements.[30] The urban traits resulted from an affluence that could not have been achieved by the Cypriote hierarchies in the absence of an international product-exchange system controlled by Mediterranean empires and palace societies, whence luxury imports reached

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[21] Dikaios and Stewart 1962.
[22] Frankel, Webb and Eslick 1996; Frankel 2000; *contra* Knapp 1999, 81.
[23] Webb and Frankel 1999; Frankel 2005.
[24] Coleman *et al.* 1996, xi–xii. 'Cyprus was surrounded by state systems with which it was integrated by the 14th century' (Peltenburg 1996, 28).
[25] Webb 1999, 3; Keswani 2004, 84, 154.
[26] Peltenburg 1996, 26.
[27] Dikaios 1969, 22–3; 1971, 882, pl. 315.10.
[28] Peltenburg 1996, 35 on 'the emergent state'.
[29] Catling 1962; Keswani 1993; Knapp 1997, 46–63, on the (threefold or fourfold) settlement hierarchy for the Late Bronze Age of Cyprus.
[30] Muhly 1989, 302–3; Knapp 1997, 66, on post-1300 B.C. devolution.

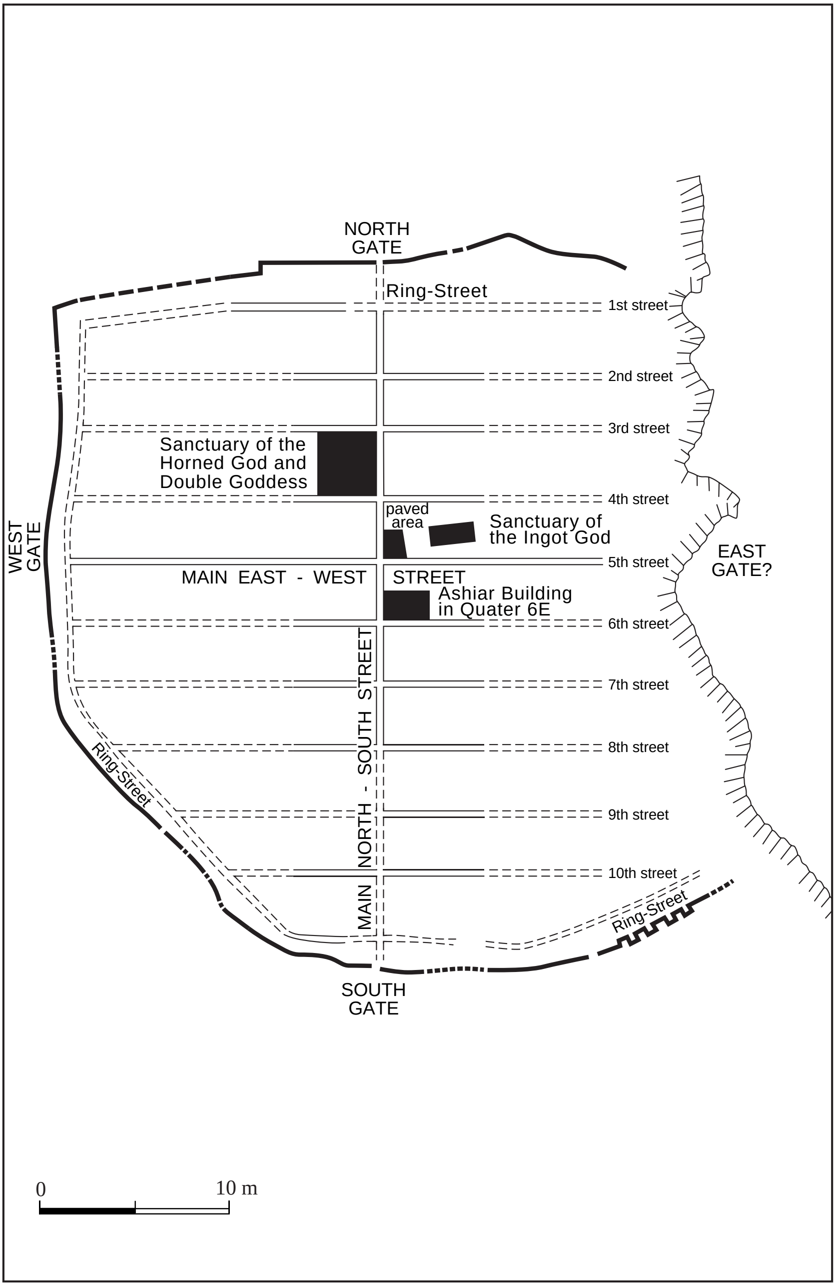

Fig. 2. Ground plan of Enkomi showing main sanctuaries (after Webb 1999, 290, fig. 92).

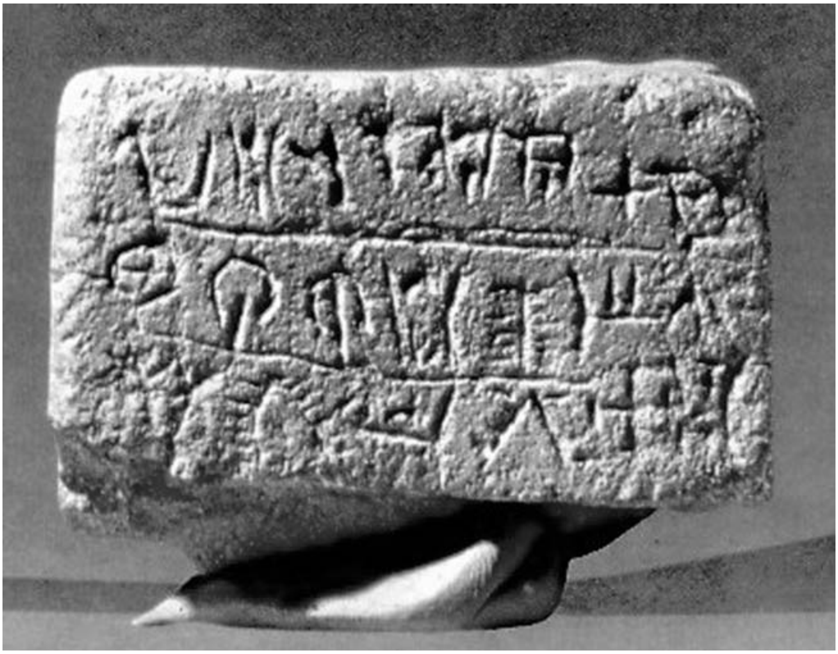

Fig. 3. Cypro-Minoan tablet from Enkomi (Cyprus Museum).

Cyprus. It was the belated connexion with the centralised economies of the Mediterranean states—through the export of copper—that triggered the urban process.[31]

Cyprus and the Aegean koine

During the relatively short duration of the Late Cypriote urban episode,[32] the only archaeologically perceptible relationship the island had with the Mycenaean-dominated Aegean was one based on commercial exchanges. Against the near complete absence of contact that characterises the earlier phases of prehistory—from Neolithic to the beginning of the Late Bronze Age—this constitutes a radically different

[31] 'The catalyst for this may have been partly exogenous' (Peltenburg 1996, 36).
[32] Iacovou 2005a, 18–20 on 'The First Urban Episode'.

state of affairs.[33] The contemporary Late Cypriote-Late Helladic horizons (*grosso modo* the second half of the 2nd millennium) qualify as the period when the distance between the island and the Aegean was, for the first time, narrowed, almost eliminated, through the network of inter-Mediterranean state-controlled trade. In particular, during the Aegean *koine* of the 14th–13th centuries B.C.,[34] two social systems that were distinctly different (in political institutions, culture and language) came to know each other intimately. So intimately, that the Cypriote élites sought to enhance their superior status through the deliberate use of Aegean elements in their iconography;[35] the adoption of sacred or high-status symbols that belonged to the political establishment of the Aegean (such as horns of consecration and double axes);[36] the acquisition of masses of imported painted, and often pictorial, pottery, which was specially manufactured in the north-east Peloponnese, and exported through the Mycenaean palace-controlled system.[37] Whether for ostentatious dinner parties (as the debris in Building X at Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios would suggest), or as *kterismata* (tomb gifts) in Late Cypriote family tombs,[38] LHIIIA–IIIB pottery—the cheapest of Mycenaean manufactured goods and not a true prestige object in the context of the Mycenaean palaces—'penetrated the countryside of the island as a whole'.[39] Cyprus had become an integral part and major destination of the Mycenaean trading system in the Eastern Mediterranean, and it must now be certain—to judge, among other evidence, from the Cypro-Minoan marks on Mycenaean vases[40]—that at least some of the movement of cargoes was undertaken by Cypriotes.

[33] 'Such a little influence from the Aegean until the last phase of LCII is valuable evidence for the history of Cyprus' (Cadogan 1991, 171).

[34] 'La formation d'une koine égéenne au xiv–xiii s. est une donée importante pour l'histoire des arts créto-myceniens et il faut faire une place à l'études des ressemblances et des différences de région à région sans chercher à tirer des conclusions politiques sur un hypothétique empire mycénien' (Farnoux and Driessen 1997, 6).

[35] Webb 1992, 118.

[36] Webb 2000, 288–9.

[37] Sherratt 1999, 183, 187–8, on state-endorsed Argive Mycenaean pottery. Catling 1986, 570, on LHIIIA and LHIIIB painted pottery found at sites in Cyprus and identified as imports from the Aegean. Immerwahr 1993, 219 in defence of the Argive provenance of the so-called Levanto-Helladic (pictorial) shapes made at Berbati as 'a concession to Cypriote taste'.

[38] Building X contained at least 60% of imported Mycenaean vessels (South 1995, 194); South and Russell 1993, 303–10 on the distribution of LHIIIA–IIIB pottery in the settlement and in the LCIIA–IIC tombs of Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios.

[39] Sherratt 1999, 170.

[40] Hirschfeld 1992, 316; 1993, 311–8; 2000, 183–4; Sherratt 1998, 296.

In this age of Mediterranean internationalism,[41] the Cypriotes proved susceptible to a whole range of material refinements. Based on Aegean prototypes, a 'Cypriote metalworking style' developed rapidly at this time, while specialised workshops for faience, gold jewellery, and ivory were also novel introductions in LCII.[42] The most significant change that affected all levels of Late Cypriote society within the suggested tiered settlement system[43] was in the field of ceramic technology. The traditional handmade (slow-wheel) production of two highly distinct Late Cypriote fine-wares, Base Ring and White Slip, produced in separate workshops since the 16th century B.C., was being abandoned after four centuries of manufacture and regular export to the Levant.[44] Around the end of the 13th century B.C., it was replaced by a completely novel fast-wheel production of select shapes from the repertoire of LHIII.[45] The Cypriotes did not industrialise their own ceramic production, since Base Ring, and more especially, the painted ware, White Slip, could not have been modelled on the fast ceramic wheel. Instead, they adopted a set of tableware that was Aegean in origin.

Despite these strong cultural influences and innovations, we cannot credit the Mycenaean palace system with the establishment of a colony or colonies in Cyprus. Cyprus remained well beyond the periphery of Mycenaean political authority, as we see if we compare the contemporary evidence from Crete. Following widespread and intense destructions in Late Minoan IB, the Mycenaean Linear B archival system began to be employed in Crete along with other novel features.[46] By contrast, in Cyprus no Mycenaean palace characteristics, such as *tholos* tombs, *megara* with wall-paintings or Linear B archives, can be traced in the otherwise cosmopolitan Late Cypriote environment. Cyprus has not revealed any traits that could justify proposing an incursion of people whose leaders inhabited *megara* within fortified 'Cyclopean' *acropoleis*, employed scribes

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[41] The horizon of the Aegean *koine* (the 14th and 13th centuries) is also known as the international Amarna period (Liverani 1987, 69).

[42] Matthäus 1982; 1985. Fibulae imitate Mycenaean types, the swords are paralleled in the Aegean, tools such as double axes and adzes, copy Minoan prototypes.

[43] Knapp 1997, 56.

[44] Cadogan 1993, 95.

[45] Sherratt 1991; 'While the range of shapes and motifs of generally Aegean type continues to expand steadily into and during the 12th century, it appears to be a gradual rather than a sudden process, and the geographical influences in terms of different regions of the Aegean are demonstrably diverse' (Sherratt 1998, 298).

[46] Rehak and Younger 2001, 441–2, 451.

to maintain accounts in Linear B or were buried in monumental *tholoi*.[47] Prior to the 12th century B.C., the idea of a colonial penetration of the island by Mycenaean Greek-speaking people cannot be sustained. In short, the politico-economic system of the Mycenaean palaces is not responsible for the Greek 'colonisation' of Cyprus.

The Aegean and Cyprus Face the 'fin de siècle' *Crisis*

The 13th century B.C. ended in a 'Big Bang', which signified the end of the Late Bronze Age—at least in the terminology of Eastern Mediterranean (Near Eastern) archaeology. The central event was the dissolution of the interdependent economies of the Late Bronze Age empires and their strict central control over commercial exchange, but this generated a range of other local 'Big Bangs' that collectively, and from our point of view, make the 12th century the *Crisis Years*.[48] On the Greek mainland, within one or two decades of the year 1200 B.C., all the large architectural complexes known as Mycenaean palaces were destroyed. 'Whatever the nature of the destructions, the most important consequence was the abandonment by the survivors (at least those who remained as opposed to those who may have opted to emigrate) of the political, economic, and social order which the palatial administrations had upheld in favor of something different',[49] which, however, was not successful. As a result, the post-palatial period of the 12th century (LHIIIC) ended in a series of poorly understood events that led to the precipitous decline and extinction of Mycenaean culture.[50]

Whatever it was that went wrong in the post-palatial, decentralised, free-enterprise economy of 12th-century Mycenaean Greece, it led to the impoverished Submycenaean phase of the 11th century B.C.—cautiously referred to nowadays as the Dark Age. On the mainland and in the Aegean islands, the Greek world was to remain stateless, non-urban and illiterate for centuries. When it did come out of this bleak state in the 8th century B.C., neither its newly acquired alphabetic literacy nor its new state formation, the *polis*, showed any connexion with the script (Linear B) or the palace society of the Mycenaeans.[51]

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[47] Baurain 1997, 142.
[48] Ward and Joukowsky 1992.
[49] Rutter 1992, 61.
[50] Rutter 1992, 70.
[51] Snodgrass 1987, 182.

The widespread economic and demographic disruptions around the Mediterranean at the end of the 13th century B.C. could not have left Cyprus unaffected. Nevertheless, neither an extensive environmental catastrophe, nor an island-wide man-made destruction had befallen Cyprus. The archaeological pattern during the LCIIC to LCIIIA transition (from the 13th to the 12th century B.C.) discloses the successive closure of numerous Late Cypriote settlements that had recently acquired monumental urban characteristics[52] (for example Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios,[53] Maroni-Vournes[54] and Alassa-Paliotaverna).[55] Late Cypriote civilisation entered a phase of deterioration when 'widespread economic collapse throughout the eastern Mediterranean and the Aegean' caused, or contributed to, internal instabilities possibly brought about, or affected, 'by a decrease in external demand for Cypriot copper'.[56]

Following the abandonment of half the Late Cypriote primary centres (and probably a similar proportion of their secondary and tertiary dependencies) during the LCIIC–IIIA transition, one would imagine that the LCIIIA levels of the survivors, for instance the settlements at Enkomi, Sinda, Hala Sultan Tekke, Kition and Palaepaphos would contain hard evidence for the establishment of Aegean immigrants.[57] Archaeology, however, has been unable to isolate the material corpora of an immigrant cultural baggage, much less to blame either the destruction of central buildings or the closure of entire sites on refugees fleeing the crumbling Mycenaean world.[58] The transition to LCIIIA is instead characterised by considerable cultural continuities: in the styles and manufacture of an already largely Aegeanised pottery production and, more importantly, in the established religious and burial practices of the Cypriote culture. As regards the religious aspect, the transition to LCIIIA at two previously inconspicuous settlements, Kition and Palaepaphos, was marked by the unprecedented (by Cypriote standards) monumental enhancement of their typically Cypriote open-air

52 South 1989; 1996.
53 Cadogan 1989; 1996.
54 Hadjisavvas 1989; 1996.
55 See Cadogan 1993, 92; Sherratt 1998, 297; South 1989 on Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios; Cadogan 1989 on Maroni-Vournes; Hadjisavvas 1989 on Alassa.
56 Webb 1999, 288.
57 Iacovou 1999a, 5 n. 36.
58 Iacovou 2005b, 127–8.

sanctuaries.[59] With regard to burial practices, the phenomenon is more complex since the 12th century B.C. was the last phase during which *intra muros* family chambers were still being used. Constructed and used in LCI and LCII, some of the *intra muros* Late Cypriote chambers continued to receive interments.[60] Others, however, were abandoned and, more significantly, there was a noticeable increase in the use of simple shaft graves within LCIIIA settlements.[61] This type of shallow shaft grave could not have been the first choice of established social groups since it was meant for single use. The proliferation of shaft graves in LCIIIA, side by side with the pre-existing Cypriote chamber tombs, indicates the presence of individuals detached from their place of origin, people who owned no family tomb in these settlements because they did not belong to an established family.[62]

The 12th Century B.C.: Subtle Diversity—Absence of Segregation

The overpowering characteristic of this 12th-century subtle cultural diversification, as is evident in the mortuary pattern and in other novel aspects,[63] is that it took place within pre-existing Cypriote settlements. The new shaft graves were not located outside the remaining Late Cypriote urban centres. Indeed, the principal factor in the 12th-century phenomenon of Cyprus is the absence of fresh settlements where one may seek to identify the remains of culturally distinct people.[64] Consequently, evidence for colonists who lived in enclaves of their own, keeping their distance from the indigenous Cypriotes, does not exist. Even Pyla-Kokkinokremos and Maa-Palaeokastro, two extremely short-lived Late Cypriote sites that emerged during the transition from the

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[59] Webb 1999, 288, 292.

[60] The subject has been extensively treated by Keswani (1989; 2004).

[61] Shaft grave burials are reported from Palaepaphos (Catling 1979), Hala Sultan Tekke (Åström *et al.* 1983, 185; Niklasson-Sönnerby 1987), Enkomi and Kition (V. Karageorghis 2000, 257).

[62] Keswani 1989, 70 on the proliferation of shaft graves in LCIII that may represent the presence of foreigners, functionaries or specialists, people detached from their place of origin.

[63] 'No matter how they are described or assessed by different scholars (most recently, V. Karageorghis 2000), the novel aspects that appear in LCIIIA—for example, bathtubs or Handmade Burnished ware—are neither homogeneously distributed within or between sites, nor do they have a lasting impact. It is my understanding that they create a short-term lack of balance in the material culture and an inter-site diversity during LCIIIA' (Iacovou 2005b, 128).

[64] Iacovou forthcoming.

13th to the 12th century B.C. and were abandoned before the end of the 12th century, are regularly described in the literature as defensive or military outposts; they are not considered *per se* refugee or migrant establishments.[65]

Culturally distinct 12th-century B.C. settlements remain archaeologically unsubstantiated. On the one hand, this renders any newcomer highly invisible in the material culture. On the other, it explains *how, when and where* Greek-speaking people could have acquired knowledge of the prehistoric script of Cyprus: they infiltrated an urban environment where the indigenous society was still making extensive use of the Cypro-Minoan script.[66] Developed in response to the social and economic requirements of Late Cypriote society, the Cypro-Minoan script, which appeared first in Enkomi in LCI (*ca.* 1600–1500 B.C.),[67] must contain the population's common or at least predominant language. Although it is far from certain that the Late Cypriote polities kept administrative archives,[68] Cypro-Minoan attained widespread use mostly for short documents and for marking pottery, tools and weapons.[69] The frequency and island-wide distribution of objects with Cypro-Minoan signs suggests that the script was connected primarily to decentralised commercial activities. The Bronze Age script of the island survived the LCIIC–IIIA crisis because it was not the exclusive tool of a palace economy, nor the exclusive prerogative of official scribes.

The otherwise invisible Greek-speaking migrants become *de facto* present in the island's urban centres in LCIIIA, because that was the time when they had one last opportunity to adopt the local system of writing—originally developed for the island's pre-Greek language—and use it to express Greek, a language hitherto unattested in Cyprus. As Olivier Masson suggests, the ancestor of the Iron Age Cypriote syllabary, which had developed into a scribal tool for writing (primarily) Greek,

[65] V. Karageorghis 1990a, 10, 26–7; 2000, 251.

[66] Iacovou 2006a, 37.

[67] Dikaios 1969, 22–3; 1971, 882, pl. 315.10; Masson 1983, 35.

[68] 'We may not be able to read the written documents from Bronze Age Cyprus, but we know what they are not: they are not the inventories and transaction-records of a centralised bureaucracy' (Snodgrass 1994, 172). Webb (1999, 306) assumes—following Smith (1994)—that economic and administrative records may have been kept on non-durable materials. Recently, Smith 2002, 7–8.

[69] See Dikaios 1971, 881–91. On pot-marking systems, Hirschfeld 1993; 2002. A number of bronze styli from Late Cypriote urban contexts have been identified by Papasavvas (2003).

should be sought in the latest expression of Cypro-Minoan.[70] Although Cypro-Minoan did not die out completely after LCIIIA, it is improbable that the Greek speakers could have gained first-hand experience and knowledge of the functional use of the Cypriote writing system at any time after LCIIIA (the 12th century B.C.) which represents the last phase of the Late Cypriote culture.[71] LCIIIB (*ca.* 1125–1050 B.C.) is a period of major relocations (of old settlements) and fresh foundations (with new settlements) that were to create the island's Iron Age settlement configuration (see below).[72]

The Mycenaean-Greek Dialect of Cyprus

The unknown language of the Cypro-Minoan script was no longer the island's predominant language in the Iron Age.[73] The Bronze Age language was almost completely replaced by a Mycenaean-related form of early Greek. Although the introduction of the new language in Cyprus was not accompanied by a distinctly Mycenaean material culture in new and separate settlements, this fundamental change between the island's prehistoric (Bronze Age) and historic (Iron Age) languages could not have come about without human agents permanently established in the island.[74]

To the end of the age of the Cypriote city-kingdoms (at the end of the 4th century B.C.) and even in the 3rd century, when the island had become a colony of the Ptolemaic kingdom of Egypt, the Greek dialect spoken/written in Cyprus remained hopelessly antique.[75] This phenomenal endurance is, more than likely, the result of particular circumstances: it required first, the arrival of significant numbers of people of the same Mycenaean-Greek dialectal origin in Cyprus and second, their subsequent isolation from other Greek speakers to explain how the dialect managed to remain so fossilised. In fact, it displays an astonishing similarity to the dialect that was preserved in the isolated enclave of Arcadia in the Peloponnese until the Classical period—though the

[70] 'On peut la nommer provisoirement *chypro-minoen tardif*' (Masson 1983, 37).
[71] Sherratt 2000, 82; Iacovou 2001, 87.
[72] Catling 1994; Iacovou 1994.
[73] Masson 1983, 84. Whether the pre-Hellenic language of Cyprus managed to survive in Amathus (one of the Iron Age polities of Cyprus) under the guise of an unreadable syllabic script, remains a debatable issue (Petit 1999; Bazemore 2002, 155).
[74] Iacovou 2005b, 127.
[75] Iacovou 2006a, 37–8, 56–7.

two areas had not been in touch. Thus the Arcado-Cypriote dialect is valued as the only historic Greek dialect that retained a very close kinship to the proto-Greek of Linear B literacy.[76] Apparently, the dialect spoken in these two very distant regions had a common descent from the Mycenaean Greek dialect preserved in the Linear B script.[77] Anna Morburgo-Davies has proposed, in an exciting essay on method in dialectology, that from Arcadian and the Cypriote dialects 'we should be able to reconstruct the main features of a language spoken in the Peloponnese just before the departure of the future Cyprians [in the 12th century].'[78] Thus, Maurice Bowra's concluding remarks in 'Homeric words in Cyprus'—a paper published almost two decades before the decipherment of Linear B—were in retrospect prophetic:

> It would be too much to claim that Cypriote was the descendant of the language talked by the Achaeans of Homer, but it certainly was reasonably free of Attic and Ionic influences. Its close connection with Arcadian shews that it was once part of a more united language, and this language may have provided some of the enormous vocabulary of Homer.[79]

The survival of an antique Mycenaean Greek dialect on the easternmost island of the Mediterranean implies that its introduction took place before the development of the historic Greek dialects, which are not attested in the Cypriote idiom.[80] Apparently, Cyprus did not receive further infusions ('waves') of Greek-speaking people in the course of the 1st millennium. In Crete, on the other hand, the proto-Greek of the Linear B tablets is not attested after the end of the Mycenaean palace world.[81] In the Early Iron Age the preponderant dialect in Crete was Doric. It was on the island of Cyprus, therefore, that a microcosm of

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[76] 'Du point de vue linguistique, l'arcado-chypriote sa présente comme le groupe dialectal le plus proche de la langue notée dans les tablettes mycéniennes en linéaire B' (Baurain 1997, 129). 'Of the various first-millennium dialects, Cypriot, along with its sister dialect of Arcadian, is most like the second-millennium Mycenaean dialect' (Woodard 1997, 224).

[77] 'Historically these facts are only explicable if these two dialects are the remnants of a widespread dialect which was elsewhere displaced by West Greek; this implies that Mycenaean Greek should also belong to the same group, and the decipherment of the Linear B script has shown this to be true' (Chadwick 1975, 811); see also Chadwick 1988, 55–61.

[78] Morburgo-Davies 1992, 422.

[79] Bowra 1934, 74.

[80] Morburgo-Davies 1992, 421.

[81] Rehak and Younger 2001, 441, 458, on the loss of Bronze Age literacy; after LMIIIB early, there is no evidence for writing in Crete.

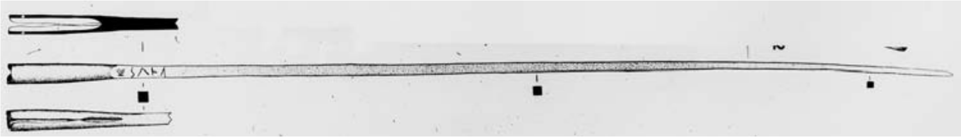

Fig. 4. Bronze *obelos* (skewer) inscribed with the Greek proper name of Opheltas from Palaepaphos-Skales T.49 (Cyprus Museum).

Fig. 5. Inscription on *obelos*. Detail of Fig. 4.

the LHIIIC post-palatial society[82] acquired a cultural (in general) and linguistic (in particular) presence of astonishing duration.

The Historical Dimension of a Prehistoric Syllabic Script

The discovery of three bronze *obeloi* (skewers) in a Cypro-Geometric I (*ca.* 1050–950 B.C.) tomb at Palaepaphos-Skales,[83] one of which was inscribed with the Greek proper name of Opheltas (Figs. 4–5),[84] provides a chronological terminus for two historical events: (a) the transformation of the Late Bronze Age Cypro-Minoan syllabary into a scribal tool for

[82] Described by Woodard (1997, 224, 227) as a vigorous prolongation of 'a Mycenaean culture into the first millennium in a Hellenic society located on the frontier of the Greek world'.

[83] V. Karageorghis 1983, 60–1, pl. LXXXVIII (Skales Tomb 49: nos. 16–18).

[84] The other two obeloi (nos. 17–18) have two signs each; those on no. 17 are known from the Cypro-Minoan, while the signs on no. 18 are described by Emilia Masson as schematic symbols (Masson and Masson 1983, 413).

writing Greek;[85] and (b) the development of the Arcado-Cypriote dialect (one assumes in Aegean Greece) and its earliest recorded appearance in Cyprus no later than the end of the 2nd millennium B.C. The specifically Arcado-Cypriote genitive case of 'o-pe-le-ta-u' supports, in the opinion of Olivier Masson, the presence of Greek people in the population of Palaepaphos who belonged to the Arcado-Cypriote dialectal group.[86]

The joint appearance of a new language, Greek, and of a local Cypriote syllabic script which was put to its service, are archaeological facts associated with the introductory phase of the Early Iron Age of Cyprus (the 11th century B.C.). Language and script demonstrate that Greeks had acquired a permanent presence in the island shortly before the end of the 2nd millennium. To use John Chadwick's words, they define 'the very high antiquity of the Greek colonisation of Cyprus'.[87] From the chronology of the migration episode, we will now turn to the processes that ensued from the event and their impact upon Iron Age state formation in Cyprus.

Cyprus in the Early Iron Age: from Migration to Hellenisation

Conscious Assertion

By the end of the 12th century B.C. the cosmopolitan aspect of the island's Late Cypriote urban culture had all but disappeared. The transition from LCIIIA to LCIIIB, 'a process perhaps datable to the last quarter of the 12th century',[88] began to witness major transformations. In the opinion of Hector Catling, in the 11th century B.C., when the dust begins to settle, three novel aspects project the ascendancy of the Aegean group in Cyprus: 'moving to new sites, opening new burial

[85] Emilia Masson has described the five syllabic signs, engraved on the socket of the bronze skewer, as a perfect example of a transitory stage between Cypro-Minoan and the Archaic Paphian syllabary (Masson and Masson 1983, 412). This, however, has now been challenged by Jean-Pierre Olivier who, in a joint lecture with Anna Morpurgo-Davies, claims that the signs are still in the Cypro-Minoan (joint contribution to the conference 'Parallel Lives. Ancient Island Societies in Crete and Cyprus', University of Cyprus, Nicosia, 2006).

[86] Masson and Masson 1983, 412, 414.

[87] Chadwick 1996, 188.

[88] Catling 1994, 136.

grounds and reinforcing the role of their language'.[89] Below, I will discuss them in reverse order.

The most decisive evidence that supports the conscious development of a collective identity in the 'colonial' context of the island should be sought in the effort directed towards the establishment of the Greek language. Newcomers had settled in the island's Late Cypriote urban centres where they could have been absorbed by the still affluent and literate indigenous society.[90] Yet the specificity and the uniqueness of the Cyprus episode lies in the fact that the illiterate newcomers, instead of adopting the local language which was already served by a script (Cypro-Minoan), chose to adopt and adapt the local script to write their own language. In doing so they ensured the preservation of their linguistic identity, which, in the long run, gave substance to their ethnicity. In this manner, an Aegean migration of limited archaeological visibility, set off the process of Hellenisation.[91]

A further insight into the initial stages of this process can be gained through examining, albeit retrospectively, Proto-White Painted ware, the Aegean-type painted pottery of 11th-century Cyprus. To date, only four vases with human figures are known in Proto-White Painted.[92] The individual treatment of these four vases owes a heavy debt to an Aegean tradition of figurative representations that developed within the LHIIIC regional styles of the 12th century B.C. Moreover, it is astonishing that the imagery on two of the four vases—a pyxis (Fig. 6) and a kalathos (Fig. 7)—employs symbols that articulate narrative scenes that do not derive from contemporary 11th-century Cyprus. These contracted narratives belong to an earlier and culturally different social environment.[93] They look back to the Aegean of the previous century,[94] and convey messages from that other, past world. At the same time

[89] Catling 1994, 137.

[90] 'Greek settlers were establishing themselves in Cyprus from the late thirteenth century B.C. until the end of the Late Bronze Age' (Catling 1975, 215). Following a gradual, hence elusive, penetration pattern, the outcome allows us to hypothesise that, by the end of the 2nd millennium, the numbers of permanently established Greek-speaking migrants must have grown considerably.

[91] 'Other Eastern Mediterranean sites may have likewise been populated by Mycenaean refugees, but unlike these, Cyprus underwent a process of hellenization' (Woodard 1997, 217).

[92] Iacovou 1988, 71; 1997, 63. On the whole, human images are extremely rare on Late Cypriote pictorial pottery.

[93] Sherratt 1992, 336.

[94] For a recent extensive treatment of the subject, see Iacovou 2006b.

Fig. 6. Proto-White Painted pictorial pyxis of unknown provenance (Cyprus Museum).

Fig. 7. Proto-White Painted pictorial kalanthos from Palaepaphos-Xerolomni T.9:7 (Cyprus Museum).

as they were beginning to experiment with the local syllabary, which they soon developed into a tool for writing down their language,[95] the Greek immigrants also began to nurture an historical memory of their ancestry, which we sometimes find expressed in the imagery of their vase painting.[96]

Early Iron Age Mortuary Pattern

Not one site shows Bronze Age to Iron Age continuity in tomb use, tomb architecture or burial practices. This lack of continuity is even observed in Kition and Palaepaphos, where the LCIIIA–IIIB transition

[95] The Cypro-Minoan 'was coming to terms in the twelfth and eleventh centuries with the need to write Greek' (Palaima 1991, 454).
[96] Iacovou 1999a, 2, 9.

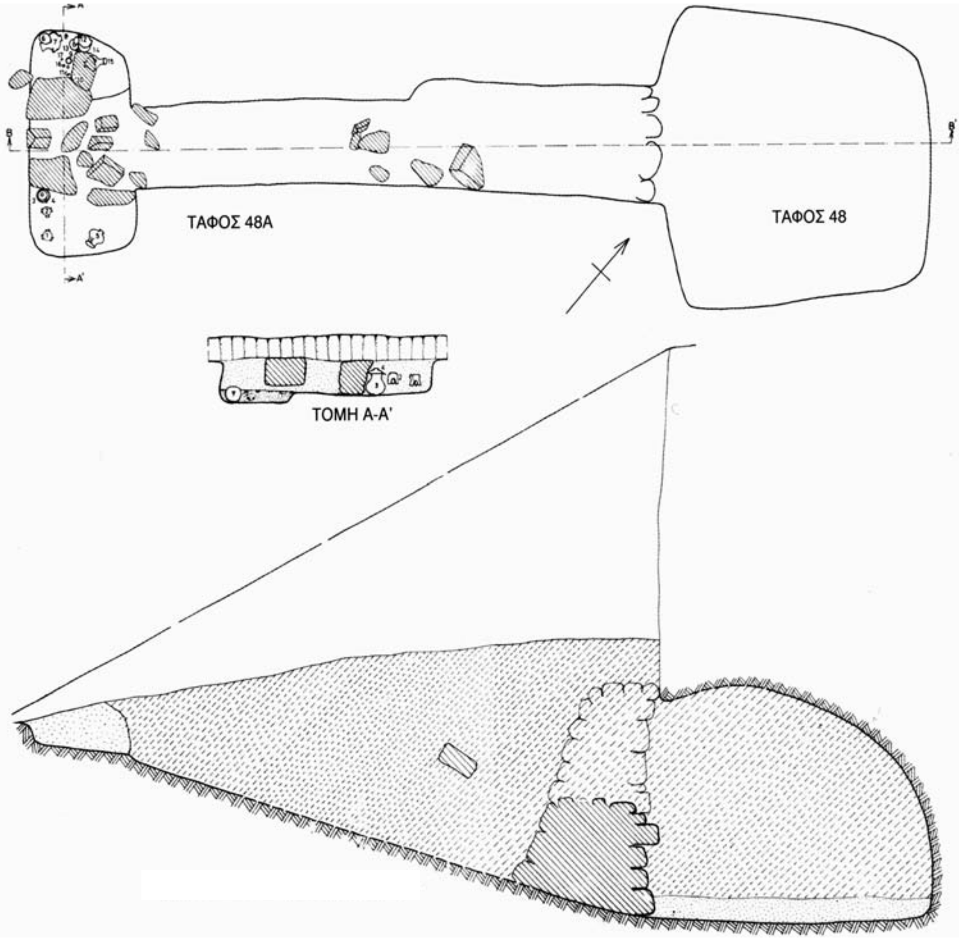

Fig. 8. Palaepaphos-Skales T.48: plan of chamber tomb with *dromos*.

is not marked by settlement relocation or abandonment. Variability in tomb types—a characteristic exclusively associated with LCIIIA urban sites—came to an end, as suddenly as it had appeared, with the rapidly growing use of the chamber tomb with the long *dromos* (Fig. 8). The transformation of the mortuary pattern is nowhere as evident as at Palaepaphos, where the settlement acquired a ring of *extra muros* Cypro-Geometric cemeteries.[97]

[97] V. Karageorghis 1990a, 19; Maier and v Wartburg 1985, 152, fig. 5.

Neither Late Cypriote family chambers nor single-use shaft graves survived in the island's new homogeneous pattern of extramural, community-organised Early Iron Age cemeteries.[98] Previously unattested in the Cypriote environment, the new grave was not of local development. Catling remarks that the Aegean-type chamber tomb was introduced in Cyprus already fully developed.[99] The Aegean region provides ample evidence to the fact that the chamber tomb with the long *dromos* was the mortuary monument of an established family group in the Late Helladic period.[100] Its introduction to Cyprus, and its island-wide use from the 11th century B.C. onwards, marked the replacement of the island's standard (since the Early Cypriote) Bronze Age sepulchre (often with multiple chambers). Both the old (Bronze Age) and the new (Iron Age) types of chamber tomb were used for inhumations over extended periods of time.

By the 10th century B.C., the new cemetery pattern had become a structural characteristic of the Cypro-Geometric communities of Cyprus, and is attested principally at Alaas, Salamis, Kition, Amathus, Kourion, Palaepaphos, Lapithos, Idalion and Chytroi.[101] If the establishment of the Early Iron Age settlements had been achieved by the indigenous people in the absence of a culturally distinct human element, might we not expect the Cypriotes to have continued to construct their traditional mortuary chambers? On the one hand, one needs to acknowledge the Aegean population factor that compelled the transformation of a millennium-old tradition as sensitive as the tomb structure, and on the other, it is essential to stress the island-wide homogeneity of the new burial pattern—and equally of the funerary assemblages found inside the new tomb-type. Homogeneity implies that the new chamber tomb was not reserved for Greek-speaking immigrants.

[98] The notion that 'there are two principal types of built tombs' (Reyes 1994, 41) of which one is the so-called pit-tomb, was propagated by Gjerstad's report of some five such pits from Lapithos-Plakes (Gjerstad 1948, 29–33, 431–2) which were interpreted at the time as evidence for a separate, 'ethnic' burial ground. Apart from the fact that neither a pit nor a rock-cut chamber qualify as 'built tombs', the random occurrence of pit-tombs or shafts in Early Iron Age cemeteries has received an alternative interpretation by Catling (1994, 135).

[99] Catling (1994, 134) adds that 'the variations in form that are to be seen in the Cypriot examples can all be matched in the chamber-tomb cemeteries of the Aegean'.

[100] Cavanagh and Mee 1998, 97, 116, 131.

[101] For material evidence dating to the 11th and 10th centuries, references per site can be found in Iacovou 1994; also 2005a.

This is amply confirmed by the evidence from Amathus, which was a new Early Iron Age settlement. A site with no antecedent history, which was founded late in the 11th century B.C., Amathus is furthermore acknowledged by the literary tradition as the 'stronghold' of an autochthonous population.[102] Nevertheless, the archaeological record of Amathus in the Early Iron Age does not produce any evidence for an ethnic group that either continued to practise 'indigenous' burial customs or had cultural expressions that differed from those of the Geometric *koine* of the rest of the island. In fact, the vast Amathusian cemeteries contain as many Aegean-type chamber tombs with a *dromos* as does Palaepaphos.[103]

Early Iron Age Settlement Configuration and Settlement Histories

These facts indicate that Cyprus's Early Iron Age demographic distribution did not develop on the basis of culturally or ethnically distinct enclaves.[104] What then were the principal dynamics that gave substance to the Early Iron Age settlement configuration? We should return to the major LCIIIA urban centres and try to track down their individual settlement histories in the course of the critical transition from LCIIIA to LCIIIB.

After half a millennium of serving as the island's foremost Late Cypriote state (*ca.* 1600–1100 B.C.), Enkomi was gradually being abandoned during the transition from LCIIIA to LCIIIB. The silting of its original harbour by alluvial deposits from the Pediaeos river estuary must have contributed, along with other less well understood reasons, to the demise of the great city.[105] The ultimate move away from Enkomi is co-terminus with the growth of its successor, Salamis, 3 km to the north-east. In effect, Enkomi, or Old Salamis, as Marquerite Yon has justifiably suggested,[106] relocated to New Salamis, which had originated in LCIIIB as a coastal settlement that provided harbour facilities.[107]

[102] Recently, 'Amathous: An Early Iron Age Polity in Cyprus. The Chronology of its Foundation' (Iacovou 2002a).

[103] V. Karageorghis and Iacovou 1990, 75, fig. 1.

[104] 'There seems to be no demarcation in the general character and background of the material culture of this time to suggest that Greek-speakers and non-Greek-speakers on the island were differentiating themselves in this way' (Sherratt 1992, 330).

[105] Lagarce 1993, 91.

[106] Yon 1980a, 79.

[107] Pouilloux 1980, 35.

For the next 1800 years, Salamis was to remain the easternmost port of call in the Mediterranean—short of the Levantine ports on the continent. Further changes to the contour of the shoreline from silting and a series of earthquakes in the 4th century A.D. are charged with the gradual destruction of Salamis's harbours.[108] When the city was eventually abandoned in the 7th century A.D., on account of the Arab raids, harbour facilities had already been relocated to its successor, Famagusta, less than 10 km to the south.[109]

The chronology of the foundation of Salamis in the 11th century B.C. is an archaeologically established fact.[110] Another fact, of far greater importance, has no recognisable fingerprint in the material record of the Early Iron Age: the development of Salamis's staunch Hellenic identity. Far from ever having been questioned, it was continuously reaffirmed throughout antiquity: first, by its foundation legend, which has been elaborated by many Greek authors; secondly, by its Greek royal family, from Evelthon in the 6th century B.C. to Nicocreon in the late 4th century B.C.; thirdly, by the policies of these Salaminian *basileis* in the course of the Graeco-Persian conflict (5th and 4th centuries B.C.), which began with the Ionian revolt and ended with Alexander's victory over the Achaemenid empire.[111] The less well understood reasons that had prompted the transfer of not only the harbour facilities but also the administrative functions of an entire city-state from Old Salamis (Enkomi) to New Salamis conceal decisive episodes of political conflict that ended with the successful claim of state authority by a Greek dynasty.

The closure of the harbour at Hala Sultan Tekke, which by the 11th century B.C. had been transformed into a lake (the Larnaca salt lake),[112] led to the Late Cypriote town's gradual abandonment. The urban population's shift away from Hala Sultan Tekke is not irrelevant to the enhancement and (presumed) rise of population at nearby Kition. Thus, when the region's primary coastal centre had closed down, another took its place, which managed a successful entry into the Early Iron Age. Kition and Palaepaphos did not shift away from

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[108] Flemming 1974; 1980, 49–50; Dalongeville and Sanlaville 1980, 19; Yon 1993a, 149.

[109] Iacovou 2005a, 25.

[110] Yon 1993a.

[111] On all three points, see the thorough presentation by Chavane and Yon 1978; also concise analysis of Salamis's policies in Stylianou 1979.

[112] Gifford 1980; Åström 1985, 175.

their original Late Cypriote location during the LCIIIA to LCIIIB transition. In fact, in the midst of a Mediterranean-wide crisis—in the course of the LCIIC–IIIA critical horizon—these two Late Cypriote centres acquired open-air sanctuaries, whose *temenos* walls were built of megalithic worked (ashlar and drafted) blocks (Figs. 9–10). The construction, for the first time on the island, of monumental sacred architecture, which was labour intensive and technologically demanding, implies the existence of state management at Kition and Palaepaphos in the 12th century.[113] These two settlements were the island's paramount administrative and economic authorities in the 12th century and it is more than likely that they sustained this role during the transition to the Early Iron Age.[114]

Shortly afterwards, probably by the end of LCIIIB, Amathus was founded on the south coast. Like Salamis and Kition, the foundation of Amathus was directly related to the control of a harbour.[115] Unlike Salamis and Kition, Amathus had no Bronze Age urban predecessor. It was founded on the south coast, almost half way between Kition and Kourion, in a region where no Late Cypriote urban centre seems to have existed. It is worth remembering, however, that the late Cypriote urban settlements of Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios and Maroni-Vournes, to the east of Amathus, had closed down at the end of LCIIC and that from the end of the 13th century B.C. to this date, no primary centre has been developed in the Vasilikos and Maroni valleys. Did urban populations move from there to Amathus? Although this is not archaeologically traceable, the fact remains that literary tradition never claimed Amathus as a Greek foundation. The unreadable (non-Greek) syllabic inscriptions recorded from Amathus give support to the written sources, which ascribe its foundation to autochthonous (pre-Greek) people.[116] Theopompus, in particular, describes (in his lost work) how the Greeks of Agamemnon took Cyprus and expelled the followers of Kinyras, whose remnants are to be found in the Amathusians.[117] In the legendary tradition, Kinyras represents the indigenous pre-Greek king of the island. This association, therefore, renders those responsible for the foundation of Amathus an autochthonous population. The term

[113] Iacovou 2005a, 32–33.
[114] Iacovou 2007.
[115] Hermary 1999.
[116] Baurain 1984.
[117] Recorded by Photius in his *Library*: Hadjioannou 1971, 20 (14.7).

Fig. 9. Kition: view of the sanctuary area.

Fig. 10. Palaepaphos: view of megaliths on the south-west corner of the *temenos*.

autochthones is, in fact, used by Skylax of Caryanda when he describes the Amathusians.[118]

Amathus as a new settlement founded by indigenous people and Palaepaphos as an old one where the Greeks and their language prevailed, undermine Catling's thesis that the 'moving to new sites' was an aspect related with the ascendancy of the Aegean element. The political ascendancy of the Greeks, as well as the promotion of their language, is nowhere more dynamically expressed than at Palaepaphos, where epigraphical testimonies confirm the rule of Greek *basileis* (kings) as early as the 7th century.[119] Far from being a new foundation, Palaepaphos was a pre-existing Late Cypriote urban centre. As in the case of Enkomi-Salamis, here too, we need to account for those archaeologically undisclosed episodes, which took place between the 12th and the 7th centuries, and led to the establishment of a powerful dynasty of Greek *basileis* at Paphos that lasted to the end of the 4th century B.C.

Although significantly different from each other, these settlement histories have one common denominator: they are emphatic responses directed successfully towards overcoming the crisis inherited from the end of the 13th century.[120] Furthermore, they indicate that there was never a moment when urbanism, state authority and literacy had vanished from all settlements on the island for any length of time during the passage from the 12th to the 11th centuries or even from the 11th to the 10th centuries. The extent to which the Aegean population element contributed towards this success cannot be calculated but this is hardly more relevant than the fact that their immigration did not plunge the island into an economic crisis. Unfortunate claims that describe 'the years 1050–950 B.C. [remain] on Cyprus a 'Dark Age' at the end of which the Phoenicians make their appearance on the island',[121] cannot possibly withstand archaeological scrutiny.

In sharp contrast to the failure of contemporary attempts in the Aegean,[122] the efficient interaction between the Early Iron Age settlement distribution and the Cypriote economy was of phenomenal success in Cyprus. The same sites (plus or minus one or maybe two) as are attested archaeologically in the opening phase of the Cypriote Iron Age (the

[118] Aupert 1984; Iacovou 2006a, 42.
[119] Iacovou 2006c.
[120] Iacovou 2005a, 22–3.
[121] Lipinski 2004, 42.
[122] Snodgrass 1987, 192.

11th–10th centuries B.C.) are subsequently (in the 7th century B.C.) identified by name (on Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions) with the Iron Age city-kingdoms, namely the centres that exercised state authority.[123] Following the abolition of the autonomous Cypriote state authorities at the end of the 4th century B.C., it was some of these settlements (such as Salamis, Amathus and Kourion), and not any new ones, that continued to function to the end of antiquity as the island's affluent urban nuclei under the provincial government of the Ptolemies and later the Romans. Their longevity, however, has had a major negative consequence for us. It is the reason why Iron Age settlement strata are so hard to trace: their architectural remains have all but vanished.[124] The reconstruction of the built environment of any of the Iron Age settlements, not only in the Cypro-Geometric and Cypro-Archaic periods but even in the Cypro-Classical, remains highly conjectural.[125]

Early Iron Age Cultural Integration

To the limited extent that we can reconstruct it, the material landscape of the Cypro-Geometric settlements (11th–8th centuries B.C.) does not define ethnic boundaries. The island's Early Iron Age settlements, old and new, were organised by people who did not feel compelled to safeguard their identity through the active promotion of a separate material culture.[126] To the very end of the Cypro-Geometric period, the near complete absence of epigraphic evidence leaves no means by which to identify the autochthonous from the immigrant. Both groups appear to have shared the same basic cultural attitudes. In all settlements space for the living was sharply differentiated from space for the dead. A common organisational concept is evident behind the selection and long-term maintenance of extramural cemeteries at the periphery of Early Iron Age settlements; the type of tomb constructed in these necropoleis is a replica of the LHIII chamber tomb with a *dromos*. Tableware (from Kition-Bamboula, for example), vases found within the boundaries or in the vicinity of sanctuaries (from Kition-Kathari, for example) and

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[123] Iacovou 1994, 160.
[124] Iacovou 2005a, 23–4.
[125] Iacovou 1999b, 147; 2002a, 73–5. This is the reason that forces us to rely heavily on the location and content of burial grounds in order to approach the island's Early Iron Age culture.
[126] Iacovou 2006a, 44.

painted pottery deposited in considerable numbers in the tombs (in the cemeteries of Palaepaphos, Kourion and Amathus), belong to the same industrialised, uniform ceramic production which, almost to the end of the Cypro-Geometric period, relied on a preponderantly Late Helladic IIIC repertory of shapes.[127] Last but not least, none of the Cypro-Geometric settlements introduced an exogenous, or specifically Aegean, cult practice. The archaeological record points towards continuity of the indigenous model, with the result that the Late Cypriote open-air sanctuaries continued as the established religious architecture of Iron Age Cyprus.[128]

The continuous use of the open-air type of sanctuary from the 2nd to the 1st millennium B.C., and especially the monumental form it acquired in Kition and Palaepaphos, should be assessed in conjunction with the evidence for continuity in the production and exchange of copper and with Cyprus's contemporary pioneering advancements in iron technology—there are more iron artefacts dating to the 12th and 11th centuries B.C. in Cyprus than anywhere else in the Eastern Mediterranean.[129] The application of metallurgical expertise to exploiting a new product, iron, amply explains the island's phenomenal prosperity during the initial years of the Early Iron Age. It is therefore likely that Late Cypriote cult practice was assimilated into Early Iron Age culture because of its intimate association with a successful Late Bronze Age political and economic organisation traditionally based on the production and exchange of metal resources.

Aegean Immigration: A Successful Aftermath

Taken together, the above evidence proves that the establishment of Greek-speaking people in Cyprus at the end of the Bronze Age, far from having contributed to a prolonged stateless or illiterate Early Iron Age, had a positive effect on the island's reorganisation, which had become necessary after the dissolution of the Late Bronze Age economies. Their contribution may have been equally vital as regards the optimisation

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[127] See Yon and Caubet 1985; V. Karageorghis and Demas 1985; V. Karageorghis 1983; Benson 1973; V. Karageorghis and Iacovou 1990.

[128] 'The absence of major discontinuities in the archaeological record of cult practice across both transitions [from LCIIC to IIIA to IIIB], may now, however, be viewed in a new explanatory framework' (Webb 1999, 8). Also Snodgrass 1994, 171.

[129] Snodgrass 1982, 287; Sherratt, 1994, 60; Pickles and Peltenburg 1998 on Cyprus's early iron technology.

of Cyprus's metal industry.[130] Hence we may conclude that the island's Early Iron Age culture, which can be traced—admittedly with much difficulty—at the dawn of the 1st millennium B.C., was constructed primarily in order to maintain a potentially resourceful and dynamic system capable of redefining the island as a major international metals' trader in the Mediterranean world of the Early Iron Age.[131]

The complex Aegean immigration episode and its aftermath underline the absence of compatibility between the pre-colonial establishment of Greeks in Cyprus and the colonial activity of Greeks, say in Sicily, in the 8th century (I purposefully draw the example from another large Mediterranean island). In contrast to what the Aegean immigrants encountered in 12th-century Cyprus, Greek colonists in 8th-century Sicily came across a pre-urban island culture that had not yet found it necessary to develop coastal centres in the name of handling long-distance trade. In Sicily the absence of a writing system confirms the indigenous society's lack of complexity and shows how different the Cyprus episode was. The Greek colonists in Sicily proceeded to found, not necessarily on virgin ground but often on land inhabited by indigenous village societies, which they evicted, coastal towns that had an urban structure from the planning stage and were meant to serve an urban function which, to that day, was unknown to Sicily's local population.

A Culturally Homogenous yet Politically Segmented Society

The overall homogeneity of the Cypro-Geometric material culture strongly suggests that the Aegean immigration did not cause the island's population to be strictly segregated on the basis of an indigenous or immigrant identity. Early Iron Age settlements could not have developed as ethnically cleansed enclaves. This not withstanding, as soon as the epigraphic evidence at our disposal begins to increase (after the inception of the Cypro-Archaic period, traditionally set at 750 B.C.), it confirms that the island was inhabited by no less than three different linguistic groups. An Indo-European (Greek), a Semitic (Phoenician) and a group that made use of an unknown, probably 'prehistoric' in

[130] On the transfer of the *basileus*' functions to Cyprus in the post-palatial Mycenaean period, see Iacovou 2006c, 327–8.
[131] Iacovou 2005b, 132.

origin, language, which linguists have christened 'Eteocypriot'. All three languages were being written side by side to the very end of the 4th century B.C. How can we explain that after more than 300 (Cypro-Geometric) years of sharing the same cult practices and the same burial customs, a population confined in an island had not come to share the same language? Under what circumstances was the one (the predominant language) prevented from silencing the other two (the minority languages)? The answer may not be as difficult as it has been made to appear. One will begin to suspect it as soon as one notices that, irrespective of their unknown but certainly uneven spoken capacity per political (kingdom) unit, all three languages were able to survive for as long as Cyprus was divided into many autonomous Iron Age states. Once the Cypriote states were abolished by Ptolemy I Soter,[132] and the island acquired (in the 3rd century B.C.) a unified political environment, two of the three languages disappeared from the written record in no time: the 'Eteocypriote' practically overnight and the Phoenician shortly afterwards.[133]

The first time the island achieved linguistic coherence was also the first time in the island's political history that there were no territorial boundaries. Greek, already a majority language in the age of the kingdoms,[134] had finally become the island's only language. The incredibly long endurance of three different languages,[135] which—let it not be forgotten—were not written down by means of the same scribal system, was the result of early territorial definition that translates into early state formation. Within the state boundaries of the Cypriote kingdoms, it was possible even for the 'Eteocypriote' not just to survive but to be nurtured into a royal marker, a language used by the kings of Amathus to underline their autochthoneity and, through it, their rightful claim to the throne.[136]

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[132] For a detailed analysis of events leading to the abolition of the kingdoms by Ptolemy I, see Collombier 1993.

[133] Yon 1997: on a 3rd-century Phoenician inscription dated 245 B.C.

[134] 'Le grec est donc la langue prépondérante. Mais en face de la population greque, une minorité de Phéniciens conserve sa langue et son écriture' (Masson 1983, 84).

[135] 'Les ethnies qui composent la population de l'ile se sont maintenues, il n'y a pas eu fusion des divers élements pour former un ensemble démographique homogène, ni absorption des minorités par le groupe le plus nombreux ou le plus puissant' (Collombier 1991b, 425).

[136] On the conscious and deliberate promotion of an autochthonous identity by the Amathusian state, see Petit 1995.

With the ingenious fabrication of the modern term 'Eteocypriote',[137] linguists tried to imply that—on analogy with the ancient term Eteocretan (attested in the *Odyssey* 19. 176)[138]—this unidentified Iron Age language, which was written with the same syllabary as the Greek, was more than likely—and despite the fact that to this day proof has not been forthcoming—the survivor of the island's unknown Bronze Age language. A corpus of Eteocypriote inscriptions has not been published,[139] but their concentration at Amathus is undeniable.[140] Moreover, their context as well as their content in Amathus, associates a number of them with the cult and the veneration of the Amathusian goddess or with state functionaries. This alone rules against their being a meaningless group of unintelligible 'scribbles' dating solely to the 4th century.[141] The attempt to disqualify the evidence pertaining to the existence of a third Iron Age Cypriote language has received a well-documented response in print by Thierry Petit.[142] Suffice it to say that two of these unreadable syllabic inscriptions were issued by the historically known figure of Androcles, the last Amathusian king, who is also known from Greek historiographic sources.[143] No matter how elusive this language continuous to be, we know for fact that it was neither Greek nor Phoenician.[144] Consequently, of the three languages in use in the kingdoms of Iron Age Cyprus, only one could be defined as indigenous; the other two had evidently been imported by immigrant populations.

Phoenicians and Their Script in Iron Age Cyprus

Having analysed the process by which Arcado-Cypriote Greek and its carriers were established in the island shortly before the 2nd mil-

[137] 'Une heureuse suggestion de J. Friedrich [1932]' (Masson 1983, 85 n. 3).

[138] Whitley 1998, 27.

[139] The corpus of 'Eteocypriote' inscriptions is believed to be extremely limited (see Gjerstad 1948, 431; Reyes 1994, 22) but, in effect, 'The body of syllabic inscriptions in the Eteo-Cypriot language has yet to be identified, specified, and systematically studied' (Bazemore 2002, 156).

[140] The earliest inscription is found painted on the shoulder of a Cypro-Archaic pictorial amphora from the sanctuary of Amathus (Hermary 1993, 185, fig. 19; Aupert 1996, 116, fig. 42).

[141] This unfortunate idea has been espoused by a number of scholars in recent years. See Reyes 1994, 13–7; Given 1998.

[142] Petit 1999.

[143] Fourrier and Hermary 2006, 9, fig. 6 and pls. 3 and 43.

[144] Lipinski 2004, 42: 'a pre-Hellenic and pre-Semitic language, probably related to the native Cypriot tongue surviving from the Late Bronze Age'.

lennium had expired, it is equally essential to trace the appearance and the subsequent history of the Phoenicians and their language in Cyprus. Let it be known from the start that the so-called Phoenician 'colonisation' of Cyprus is beset by far more factoids than the Greek, and in serious need of reconsideration.[145] Counterbalancing the dynamic development of syllabic Greek in the region of Palaepaphos to the south-west—which amounted to the (almost complete) exclusion of the other two languages[146]—the region where the Phoenician language acquired its greatest frequency and duration at the exclusion of Greek, also becoming the official language of a Cypriote kingdom, is that of Kition to the south-east.[147] Yon in *Kition dans les textes*, her latest outstanding contribution to the history of ancient Cyprus, establishes that, 'pour la période qui va du IXe à la fin du IVe s. av. J.-C., on ne s'étonnera pas de trouver presque uniquement des inscriptions en phéniciens (environ 150 numéros)'.[148] In the course of these 500 years, there are almost no inscriptions in syllabic Greek.[149] Nevertheless, the half-millennium-long predominance of the Phoenician alphabet in Kition had a precise expiration date, which coincides with the termination of the kingdom: 'les premiers textes phéniciens trouvés à Kition commencent vers 800 et les derniers sont de la fin du IVe s. ou du début du IIIe s. av. J.-C.'[150] As soon as the kingdoms were abolished and Cyprus was made a Ptolemaic colony, the inscriptional evidence from Kition becomes alphabetic Greek: 'à partir du IIIe s. le grec devient la langue commune, et Kition perd alors sa spécificité linguistique pour s'aligner sur le reste de l'île'.[151]

The Phoenician establishment at Kition is, therefore, dated to about 800 B.C., primarily on the evidence of an inscription in the Phoenician alphabet, incised after firing on a fragmentary Red Slip bowl imported from the Phoenician coast and found in the temple courtyard of the refurbished Late Bronze Age sanctuary of Kition (Fig. 11).[152] The inscription records a pilgrim's sacrifice to the deity venerated during the

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145 Discussed in Iacovou 2005b, 131.
146 Masson 1983, 100–15 (Ancienne-Paphos); Bazemore 2002, 157–8.
147 Dupont-Sommer 1974; Guzzo-Amadasi and V. Karageorghis 1977.
148 Yon 2004, 159.
149 Yon 2004, 160–1.
150 Yon 2004, 154.
151 Yon 2004, 161.
152 Guzzo-Amadasi and V. Karageorghis 1977, 7; Yon 2004, 169, no. 1100; Lipinski 2004, 45.

Fig. 11. Red Slip Bowl with inscription in the Phoenician alphabet from the temple of Astarte at Kition (Cyprus Museum).

Iron Age within the monumental *temenos*, which had been erected at the end of the 13th century B.C. The pilgrim is a Phoenician individual named Moula, and the divinity is identified for the first time by name as Lady Astarte. Despite the fact that the context of the inscription is not even remotely associated with a Tyrian founder, governor or king, this inscription is treated as incontestable evidence of a late 9th-century B.C. colonising expedition sent out from Tyre, which managed to establish in Kition its first *apoikia* in the Mediterranean. As with the earlier Aegean migration to Cyprus, the establishment of a formal Tyrian colony at Kition can hardly be supported by a distinct (Phoenician) material package. This not withstanding, Kition is believed to have become

the seat of a Phoenician-style city-state by the beginning of the 7th century B.C. at the latest. And furthermore, this Tyrian colony turned kingdom is believed to have provided the model for state formation in Iron Age Cyprus.[153] Before we review the problems presented by this interpretation, which is likely to be compressing a number of different and chronologically distinct events, we should first concentrate on the earliest evidence of the use of the Phoenician script in Cyprus.

Collected and published in an indispensible volume by Olivier Masson and Maurice Sznycer, the earliest evidence of Phoenician writing in Cyprus, consists of two Phoenician inscriptions dated about 900 B.C.[154] which, despite their lack of secure provenance, do not come from Kition. They suggest that as early as the Cypro-Geometric period the Phoenician alphabetic script had been circulating, however sparsely, in different parts of the island; it was not exclusively associated with Kition. This is confirmed by a Phoenician inscription painted on a Cypro-Geometric vase of the 9th century, which comes from controlled excavations in the eastern port city of Salamis.[155] Lipinski remarks that the remarkable fact about the 'Archaic phase' (10th–8th centuries B.C.) of the Phoenician alphabet in Cyprus is its wide distribution across the island. 'About twenty settlements have provided at least one Phoenician inscription, but it is difficult to determine the exact nature of each of them.'[156] The significance of this fact is bound to be underestimated unless we recollect that the Greeks had reached Cyprus in an illiterate state and had to acquire a scribal system *after* their permanent establishment on the island. The Phoenicians began to settle in Cyprus later than the Greeks[157] but equipped *with* a superior and fully developed alphabetic script. Contrary to the illiterate character of the older by at least two centuries Greek migration, the Phoenician presence is heralded by means of an accomplished alphabet at a time when the island could hardly lay any serious claim to widespread syllabic literacy. The first Greek word, the name of Opheltas, to be written in the syllabary continues to stand by itself at the end of the 11th century B.C., with the next good evidence appearing at the end of the 8th century.[158]

[153] Teixidor 1975, 121–2; Aubet 1993, 37, 42; Dupont-Sommer 1974, fig. 2.
[154] Masson and Sznycer 1972, 15–20, 128–30; Lipinski 2004, 42: the Archaic Phase (10th–8th cenuries B.C.).
[155] Sznycer 1980. See also Pouilloux *et al.* 1987, 9, A.
[156] Lipinski 2004, 42–6.
[157] Lipinski 2004, 42: second part of the 10th century B.C.
[158] Masson 1983, 43; Palaima 1991, 452; Bazemore 1992, 71.

Had the Greek immigrants of Cyprus—for instance those established in Salamis—been left without a system of writing until the day they were given a chance to encounter the Phoenician alphabet in the 9th century B.C., it is unlikely that they would have opted to reject it in favour of a local syllabary, which by then had become extinct—the adoption and adaptation of the Cypro-Minoan was no longer an option after the 12th–11th centuries B.C.[159] The Phoenician alphabet would have been their first and only choice. Evidently, this did not happen because the bond between Arcado-Cypriote Greek and Cypriote syllabary had been forged before the establishment of the literate Phoenicians on the island. The Phoenician alphabetic script was completely ignored by Greek speakers and the non-Greek speaking Amathusians alike, both linguistic groups staying with the syllabary. According to a fascinating thesis put forward by Woodard, the Greeks of Cyprus, who had been in contact with the Phoenician alphabet and yet refused to consider its adoption, should be credited for adapting the Phoenician script for Greek use because 'the Greek acquisition of an alphabetic writing system was the work of scribes who were accustomed to spelling the Greek language with the Cypriot syllabic script.'[160]

When in the 3rd century B.C., the Greek alphabet and the Greek *koine* were formally introduced to the island as administrative tools of the Ptolemaic colonial system, the Phoenician alphabetic script died out but the Greek syllabary put up a fierce resistance. Syllabic Greek inscriptions continued to appear, as a rule in sanctuaries, almost to the very end of the 3rd century (the last is dated to 217 B.C.).[161] By this time the Phoenician and the 'Eteocypriote' language as well as their respective scripts had died out.[162] The endurance of the Cypriote syllabary as the scribal tool of the Greek language in Cyprus is phenomenal: today, its latest use is recorded on sealings preserved in the 1st century B.C. (Roman) archives of Nea Paphos.[163]

What of Kition, then, as a Phoenician kingdom? The response ought to be given in context and by this we mean an account that takes into consideration all evidence pertaining, first, to the formation of Iron

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159 Iacovou 1999a.
160 Woodard 1997, 158.
161 Masson 1983, 46, 80; Willetts 1988, 42; Collombier 1991b, 433.
162 See above n. 133.
163 Michaelidou-Nicolaou 1993, 346–7; also, Bazamore 2002, 158.

Age states in Cyprus and, second, to the relation between the Cypriote kingdoms and the three different languages as state tools.

Formation of Iron Age Territorial Monarchies

For the chronology of the formation of the Cypriote monarchies in the 1st millennium B.C., we have a definite *terminus ante quem* in the year 709 B.C. (alternatively 707 B.C.), when Sargon II (722–705 B.C.) of Assyria declared upon a stele erected (and found) at Kition (Fig. 12)—and equally on a series of inscriptions from his palace at Khorsabad—that 'seven kings of the land of Ia', a district if Iadnana, whose distant abodes are situated a seven days' journey in the sea of the setting sun', had offered their submission.[164] There is no record of the names of the seven kings or their kingdoms, and the number cannot be taken at face value either: seven is a number with sacred and mystic connotations, which may have been used conventionally.[165] On the other hand, the identification of Cyprus with the land of 'Ia', a district of Iatnana'—elsewhere 'Iatnana of the middle of the sea', 'Atnana' or 'Iadanana'[166]—is not in doubt because in 673 B.C. Essarhaddon (680–669 B.C.), Sargon's successor but one, had the royal scribes record both the names and the seats of power of 'ten kings of Iatnana of the middle of the sea'.[167] The transliteration of the kingdom's names identifies eight out of ten with Cypriote toponyms: Idalion, Chytroi, Soloi, Paphos, Salamis, Kourion, Tamassos and Ledra. On the identification of the remaining two, Qardihadasti/Nouria, there is still no consensus. Based on the assumption that Tyre had established a formal colonial state in Kition as early as the late 9th century, Qardihadasti (an Assyrian transcription for the Phoenician Carthage meaning 'new city') has for long been identified with Kition.[168] Antoine Hermary put forward a well-founded argument, which claims that the term applies

[164] Luckenbill 1927, 186. Saporetti 1976, 83–8 for the Assyrian texts that refer to Cyprus. On the discovery of the stele of Sargon II in Larnaca (ancient Kition) consult the data collected by Yon (Yon and Malbran-Labat 1995, 161–8); for a valuable and critical commentary of the text (with earlier bibliography), see Malbran-Labat in Yon and Malbran-Labat 1995, 169–79; more recently Yon 2006, 345.
[165] Gjerstad 1948, 449; Stylianou 1989, 385.
[166] All the variants that occur in the Assyrian royal inscriptions have been extensively treated by Stylianou (1989, 382–9).
[167] Luckenbill 1927, 690.
[168] Borger 1956, 60; Reyes 1994, 160.

Fig. 12. Stele of Sargon II at Kition (Larnaca Museum: copy of original).

far better to Amathus.[169] Noure, on the other hand, for which Amathus was until recently the only candidate—based on Baurain's ingenious reconstruction of Nouria as Kinouria (Kinyras' place)—has now been identified by Edward Lipinski with Marion.[170]

The Neo-Assyrians, the first of the Near Eastern people to build an Iron Age empire early in the 1st millennium B.C., were a land-based power: they never crossed the sea to subject Cyprus's petty monarchs.[171] Apart from the stele of Sargon II, there is nothing in the material record of the island to suggest political or military Assyrian presence in Cyprus and nothing in the Assyrian royal archives that records either a campaign to subjugate the island or station a garrison in Cyprus.[172] Nevertheless, as soon as all the lands to the east of Cyprus had become official provinces of the empire and the Assyrians were in control of Levant's trading ports, it became clear to the Cypriote leaders that they had to establish a formal political relation with the empire. Cyprus, therefore, was never conquered by Sargon II; its kings submitted voluntarily out of 'fear of being excluded from the Assyrian economic sphere'.[173] The tribute-paying 'treaty', which rendered the Cypriote polities client kingdoms, was negotiated by their own recognised leaders in 709 B.C. Consequently, kingdom formation in Iron Age Cyprus should be recognised as a process initiated early in the 1st millennium that was well advanced before the late 8th century B.C. Irrespective of the fact that this process—namely the gradual development of the Cypro-Geometric settlements into the Cypro-Archaic city kingdoms—is still inadequately recorded by archaeology, state formation was certainly not a post-8th century by-product of Assyrian domination.[174] The profitable relationship with the Assyrian empire generated not the formative period of state formation, when there were as many as ten polities, but

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[169] On Amathus as 'la Carthage de Chypre', see Hermary 1987, 379; *contra* Yon 1987, 366–7; 1997, 10–2.

[170] Baurain 1981; 1984, 115; Lipinski 2004, 75.

[171] 'The Assyrians, like other non-sea-faring people of the Near East (the Jews for instance) were neither very interested in what lay beyond the Levant coast nor very consistent when referring to it' (Stylianou 1989, 385).

[172] 'They were not incorporated into the provincial system of the Assyrian empire. That would have involved the presence of an Assyrian governor and the annual payment of a fixed amount of tax' (Stylianou 1989, 386). *Cf.* Reyes 1994, 61; Yon and Malbran-Labat 1995, 173; Yon 2006, 351–4.

[173] On the Cypriote initiative to join the Neo-Assyrians, see Stylianou 1989, 390.

[174] Iacovou 2002b, 84–5.

their consolidation, into fewer and stronger ones.[175] In the 7th and 6th centuries, one after the other, these consolidated states began to afford monumental expressions of royalty (*i.e.* the built tombs)[176] and the luxury to borrow status symbols from their neighbours (*i.e.* Hathoric heads, sphinxes and lions)[177] in order to emulate state attitudes such as those we witness in profusion during the Cypro-Archaic period.

Far from rendering support to notions that espouse the 'belated re-appearance of state-level polities on the island during the eighth century B.C.',[178] the archaeological evidence suggests that the establishment of Iron Age territorial monarchies was a well-advanced process undergoing its formative stage in the Cypro-Geometric period. Besides the survival of urban traits and even states during the transition from the Late Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age and the island's phenomenal ability to sustain *trilingualism*, the evidence pertaining to the early formation of state level polities in the Cypro-Geometric period is strengthened by a third factor. Granted that first the Late Cypriote peer polities and later the Cypro-Archaic and Cypro-Classical kingdoms exploited and traded the island's copper resources on the basis of a segmented, not unitary, economic model, the optimisation of the metallurgical industry and the commercialisation of iron, which are evident in the material record of the Cypro-Geometric period suggest that they were the successful result of the same polity specific managerial tradition exercised by individual state authorities that had kept the island's heavy industry alive during the difficult crisis' years. Efforts invested in the application of exogenous models upon the 1st-millennium B.C. polities of Cyprus—they have been described as 'Dark Age' chiefdoms and as 'Big-Man' societies[179]—seem to ignore the evidence of the island's own politico-economic tradition, which had lured the immigrants to Cyprus in the first place. Consequently, the process and the political struggle that led to the territorially consolidated Cypro-Archaic kingdoms should be sought in the individual histories of the Cypro-Geometric settlements.

[175] Iacovou 2002a, 80; 'Consolidation: the Cypro-Archaic kingdoms (7th and 6th centuries)'.

[176] Chistou 1996.

[177] Hermary 1985; Petit 2002; Yon 2006, 95, fig. 57.

[178] Knapp (1994, 290) and others (*cf.* Rupp 1987, 147; Childs 1997, 40).

[179] Petit 2001.

Iatnana and its Preponderantly Greek Kings

Although its etymology is contested, Iatnana has been interpreted as an Assyrian corruption of the Egyptian and Syrian name for the isles of the Danaans.[180] Were the Assyrians identifying Cyprus as a land inhabited by Greeks? If a consensus could be reached regarding the etymological interpretation of Iatnana, the royal inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian rulers would provide the much-needed confirmation that the island's Hellenic identity had been acknowledged by its eastern neighbours before the end of the 8th century. While this remains to be decided another crucial point is settled: the Neo-Assyrians knew of Cyprus not as a unitary state.[181] Its limited extent not withstanding, the island was politically divided into an amazingly large number of separate polities. At first glance, this would appear as no more than an encore of, and a steadfast adherence to, Late Cypriote political segmentation, and it would be absolutely correct. But, to our lack of knowledge as to the identity of the Late Cypriote rulers, Essarhaddon's royal scribes respond with a complete list of ten royal names. In this manner, the empire confirms that in 673 B.C. more than half of the ten Cypriote states were ruled by kings who bore Greek proper names: Akestor of Edil (Idalion), Pylagoras (or Phylagoras) of Kitrusi (Chytroi), Kisu of Sillua (Soloi or Salamis), Eteandros of Pappa (Paphos), Eresu (Aratos?) of Silli (Salamis or Soloi), Damasos of (Kuri) Kourion, Admesu (Admitos?) of Tamesi (Tamassos), Damusi of Qardihadasti, Onasagoras of Lidir (Ledra), Busüsu of Nouria.[182]

In the period that had elapsed between the 12th century and the establishment of Aegean Greeks on the island, and the early years of 7th century B.C., not only had the Iron Age territorial states been founded, more than half of the island's political authorities had passed to the hands of Greek kings. Amazingly, for one who continues to favour the identification of Qardihadasti with Kition, Lipinski argues that its king's name on Essarhaddon's list is more than likely Greek.[183] But is their conclusive evidence that can support the Qardihadasti-Kition equation?

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[180] Gjerstad 1948, 449; Stylianou 1989, 384 n. 74.

[181] Collombier 1991a, 27 ('Permanence du morcellement politique').

[182] Mason (1992, 27–9) expresses reservations about three names.

[183] Lipinski 2004, 74. He also notes that in the 5th and 4th centuries the kings of Amathus bore Greek names.

The Chronology of Kition as a Cypro-Phoenican Kingdom State

The name Kition is much older than the Phoenician establishment there and it is likely—to judge from Ugaritic texts of the 13th and the 12th centuries—that the Late Cypriote coastal town was already known by this name.[184] The name has defied the passage of time and has remained alive to this day—there was never any question as to the fact that Larnaca was the successor of Kition. Its diachronic survival not withstanding, Kition is not used in Essarhaddon's list to define one of the ten 7th-century B.C. Cypriote kingdoms, despite the fact that the stele, which Sargon II must have ordered to be shipped across to Cyprus had certainly been erected there—where it was also found in the 19th century.[185] On the other hand, the term Qardihadasti, as the name of one of the ten kingdoms, and specifically as an alternative name for Kition, Amathus or even a third candidate, is for all terms and purposes a hapax in Cyprus. Its only other occurrence is on a notorious Phoenician inscription, which mentions not a king but a Governor of Quardihadasti who was a servant of Hiram, king of the Sidonians. Inscribed on the fragments of two bronze bowls (dated to the middle of the 8th century) that were found in a shop in Limassol, this Quardihadasti has little in terms of provenance to safely associate it with Kition or another site.[186]

At present, the enigma surrounding the identification of the Qardihadasti of Cyprus cannot be solved to everybody's satisfaction but the real issue behind this debate[187] is in fact the political status of Kition, and precisely the foundation date of the Cypro-Phoenician kingdom. Following a period of demise, maybe even abandonment, of the main sanctuary area *ca.* 1000 B.C.,[188] the subsequent 9th-century refurbishment and upkeep and periodic remodelling of the sanctuary, suggest that these demanding operations were the responsibility of an established authority; one, however, that remains unidentified. Yon admits that Kition's relation to the Phoenician city-states remains unclear

[184] Yon 2004, 14, 20.
[185] Yon and Malbran-Labat 1995; Yon 2004, 345.
[186] Masson and Sznycer, 1972, 77–8; Masson 1985; Lipinski 2004, 46–7; Yon 2004, 51, no. 34a–b.
[187] Recently Yon (2004, 19–22), who remains steadfast as to its identification with Kition.
[188] Karageorghis and Demas 1985.

through the whole period of the 9th–6th centuries B.C.[189] On the other hand, she advances the hypothesis of 'une modification politique' to account for a change in Kition's status from an 8th-century Tyrian colony—already referred to as the 'New City'—to Qardihadasti the autonomous 7th-century Cypriote kingdom.[190] This ingenious hypothesis, which is entirely based on external (Neo-Assyrian) evidence, has unfortunately failed to find support from internal epigraphic evidence. For people who used their writing skills as much as the Phoenicians did, it remains to be explained why there is no inscribed statement as to a Phoenician authority of any kind in Kition before the transition to the 5th century B.C. The striking of coins being the definitive evidence as regards a Cypriote state's independent political status,[191] it must be underlined that the earliest known inscribed coins of Kition, with the name of its first known Phoenician king, Baalmilk I (*ca.* 479–449) in full alphabetic letters, date from after the Ionian revolt of 499/8 B.C.[192] It is worth noting that in the Phoenician city-states the minting of coins did not begin before the 5th century either.[193]

In short, to this date, the language and the script of the Phoenicians have not been found in association with state functions in Kition before the 5th century. However, once the evidence of coins and other royal inscriptions herald the establishment of the Cypro-Phoenician dynasty, the amount of Phoenician inscriptions that was state-generated in the course of only two centuries (5th and 4th centuries before the kingdom's termination) is stunning by comparison to the contemporary evidence from any other kingdom—probably with the exception of Paphos. It is also very informative as regards the royal house of Kition since it gives years of reign. For this reason, of all the Cypriote kingdoms, only Kition affords a (almost) complete list of its succession of kings in the Cypro-Classical period; from, Baalmilk I (*ca.* 479–450) to Pumayyaton (362–312).[194]

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[189] For the historical sources on the establishment of Tyrians in Kition, see Yon 1987; also Bikai 1992 on the literary evidence; Lipinski 2004, 50.

[190] Yon 2004, 20.

[191] There is a series of anepigraphic coins (attributed to Kition on stylistic grounds) that predate the inscribed issues of Baalmilk I: *cf.* Michaelidou-Nicolaou 1987, 334; Collombier 1991a, 34 n. 37.

[192] On the coinage of Kition: *cf.* Hill 1904, xxix–xlii; Yon 1989, 365; 1992, 249–50.

[193] Yon 1987; Destrooper-Georgiades 1987, 344 n. 22.

[194] Yon 2004, 169–71.

The 'Archaic' Greek basileis *of Cyprus*

This being the current state of our knowledge, the formation of a Phoenician kingdom at Kition before the 5th century has no supporting evidence. The oft-repeated suggestion that Cypriote kingship was modelled after the Phoenician kingdom-states[195] is not defended by internal (Cypriote) evidence. As regards the Iron Age state of Kition, the opposite is more plausible. The Phoenician royal house of Kition was modelled after the established Cypriote states, which by the end of the 6th century B.C. had a long tradition of Cypriote kingship—and not vice versa.[196] Besides having so many of the names on Essarhaddon's list of ten Cypriote kings identified as Greek, Greek *basileis* are also epigraphically attested on the syllabic inscriptions of the island in the 7th and 6th centuries B.C. The kingdom of Palaepaphos, in particular, is blessed with 7th-century Cypro-Syllabic inscriptions—one on arm bracelets the other on a silver plate—that address two Greek individuals, Akestor and Eteandros by their title of authority. Each of them had been a *ba-si-le-wo-se* of Paphos.[197]

Evelthon of Salamis (*ca.* 560–525 B.C.), the foremost political personality of Archaic Cyprus, is the island's first Greek *basileus* whose name is historically (Herodotus 4. 162)[198] as well as epigraphically (on coins) attested. Evelthon, is credited with the introduction of numismatic economy in Cyprus.[199] His coins, and shortly afterwards also those of his successors, carry syllabic shorthand inscriptions, which serve to identify Evelthon's royal authority. They have also been understood to proclaim him *primus inter pares* among the Cypriote kings of the day who, around this time, had offered their submission to the Great King of Achaemenid Persia.[200] More relevant than the actual or fictional chronological precedence of Salamis's 6th-century coin issues over those of Paphos (Fig. 13),[201] Idalion[202] and Kourion,[203] is the exclusive

[195] Recently Sherratt 2003.
[196] Iacovou 2006c, 330.
[197] Mitford 1971, 7, no. 1, 373–6, no. 217; 1983, 412, no. 180a; 192, no. 176; 1984, 75–6 n. 23.
[198] Herodotus (4. 162) is the main source on Evelthon.
[199] Masson 1983, 318 (Monnais de Salamine), pl. LIV; Destrooper-Georgiades 1993, 88–9 n. 7. On the early mints of the Cypriote kingdoms, see Kraay 1976, 299–311; Destrooper-Georgiades 1984 (on the Larnaca hoard which contained some 700 coins of the Archaic period); 1995.
[200] See Watkin 1984; Stylianou 1989, 397–8, 413; Zournatzi 2005.
[201] Masson 1983, 115, pl. VIII (Paphos).
[202] Hill 1904, xlviii–liii (Idalion).
[203] Kagan 1999.

Fig. 13. Silver stater minted by the kingdom of Paphos in the 5th century B.C., name of king inscribed in the syllabary on revers (Cyprus Museum).

use of the syllabary for the coin legends. Iron Age Cypriote literacy in its earliest direct association with state economy, is not expressed in the Phoenician alphabet but in the syllabary. The coinage of Amathus is also exclusively inscribed with syllabic legends but to day its earliest issues are assigned to the middle of the 5th century (*ca.* 450 B.C.).[204]

The coins attributed to the kingdom of Marion are also inscribed in the Greek syllabary. The earliest known series is particularly interesting since it was issued by a Phoenician, named Sasmas (*ca.* 480–460), who was, nonetheless, son of Doxandros. The legend on the obverse is syllabic and there is a short Phoenician inscription on the reverse.[205] The case of the kingdom of Lapithos remains inconclusive—due largely to a dearth of evidence. The history of Lapithos's coinage is particularly complex. The names of its kings could be either Phoenician, such is Sidqimilk who issued coins with Phoenician legends, or Greek (Demonikos). In fact it is suggested that the earliest coins with Phoenician legends were minted not in Kition but in Lapithos.[206] In view of this, the impression that Phoenician rulers were imposed by Kition after the failure of the Ionian revolt may be over-simplistic but the complexity and meagreness of the numismatic evidence, coupled with the absence of archaeological documentation as to the site occupied by the kingdom's capital, render the different interpretations regarding the Phoenician presence in Lapithos quite vulnerable.[207]

The absence of coins and royal inscriptions which can be attributed to the kingdoms of Chytroi, Ledra or Tamassos, whose names are identified on the prism of Essarhaddon (in 673 B.C.), suggests that these three inland kingdoms had lost their independent status before the introduction of numismatic economy, probably as a result of the consolidation process that favoured coastal towns as seats of kingdoms.[208]

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[204] On the coinage of Amathus: *cf.* Hill 1904, xxiv–xxix; Masson 1983, 209; Amandry 1984; 1997.

[205] Masson 1982, 181 ('monnaies de Marion', nos. 169–170) are late 5th-century coins of Satsioikos I and Timocharis inscribed in the syllabary. On the coins of Sasmas, see Masson and Sznycer 1972, 79; Destrooper-Georgiades 1987, 347; 1993, 90. For late 4th-century coins of Marion with diagraphic Greek or only alphabetic Greek legends, see Destrooper-Georgiades 1993, 93 n. 22.

[206] Destrooper-Georgiades 1993, 89.

[207] Masson and Sznycer 1972, 97; Masson 1983, 267; Stylianou 1989, 525; Collombier 1991a, 26; The foundation of Lapithos was ascribed to Praxander and his Laconians (Strabo 14. 682. 3), but the 4th-century Skylax of Caryanda (*Periplous* 103) identifies it as Phoenician (Hadjioannou 1971, 64 [24.1], 72 [34]).

[208] Iacovou 2002a, 81; 2004, 274.

Besides coin legends, an overall assessment of state authorised inscriptions, or inscriptions that refer to the ruling class, would indicate that from as early as the 7th century, in the case of Paphos, and since the 6th century in the case of Salamis, Idalion and Kourion,[209] only syllabic Greek was straightforwardly and continuously associated with these kingdoms—until Idalion fell victim to the aggressive expansionism policy of Kition in the 5th century (see below).

The Kingdoms of Cyprus after the Ionian Revolt

Following the unsuccessful attempt of Onesilos of Salamis to unite the Cypriote kingdoms to join the Ionian uprising against the Persians,[210] Kition assumed the role of the Achaemenid empire's colonial policeman. It also began to extend its authority over every other kingdom in the island. During this period of Kition's political supremacy the Greek dynasty of Idalion was terminated by force in the reign of Azbaal, son of Baalmilk I, and its coinage discontinued.[211] For a period in the 4th century, Tamassos was also annexed to the kingdom of Kition. A Phoenician inscription hails the last king of Kition, Pumayyaton, as king of Kition, Idalion and Tamassos, while his father, Milkyaton, had only been king of Kition and Idalion.[212] Even Salamis seems to have had to bear a Phoenician dynast after the Peace of Callias. In fact, Evagoras I of Salamis had to return from exile in 411 B.C. and reclaim—from a certain Tyrian, Abdemon—[213] the throne, which was considered hereditary to the descendants of the legendary Greek hero and founder of Salamis, Teucer/Teucros.

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[209] Mitford 1971, 42–5, no. 16; *ICS* 1961, 193, no. 178. Based on Mitford's interpretation of a fragmentary syllabic Greek inscription from the Archaic sanctuary of Apollo at Kourion, Greek had become the language of the ruling class since the 7th or 6th century B.C.

[210] Herodotus' description of the revolt of Onesilos and its unsuccessful outcome (5. 103–116) leaves a lot to be desired: it does not mention a kingdom of Kition (see Iacovou 2002b).

[211] On the problem of the chronology of the attack(s) of the Phoenicians of Kition on Idalion, *cf.* Stylianou 1989, 403–4; Collombier 1991a, 34–5. On the text of the bronze tablet of Idalion, see Masson 1983, 233–44; also Hadjicosti 1997, 55–60.

[212] Guzzo-Amadasi and V. Karageorghis 1977, 14.A2.

[213] Sznycer 2001, 103.

Evagoras I (411–374 B.C.) who was awarded Athenian citizenship for his services to Athens,[214] is also credited with the introduction of the Greek alphabet to Cyprus as part of his 'vigorous policy of Hellenisation'.[215] Not even he, however, dared abandon the Greek syllabic script. He continued to issue coinage with legends in the syllabary, presumably in order to maintain its value and ensure its recognition. Some of his later issues were the first in Cyprus with alphabetic letters (the initial syllable of his name) but even these were inscribed alongside the syllabic legends. Thus, the Greek alphabet began to be used for public documents, with great caution at first and still in parallel to the syllabary, only in the 4th century.[216] The earliest such digraphic inscription (in alphabetic and syllabic Greek), where the Ionian-Attic alphabet is used, comes from Salamis and mentions the name of Evagoras I.[217]

The two famous royal dedications of Androcles to the goddess of Amathus, which are bilingual (Eteocypriote and Greek) and digraphic (syllabic and alphabetic) texts, suggest that in the 4th century the kingdom of Amathus began to employ alphabetic Greek alongside the syllabic script probably because it could no longer afford to make exclusive use of the near-extinct 'Eteocypriot'.[218] But note that in the 4th century the Amathusian kings bore Greek names, such as Lysandros, Epipalos and Androcles,[219] something that cannot be said for any of the kings of Kition who retained strictly Phoenician names from the first to the last.[220]

This brings us back to the aftermath of the Aegean migration and to the following observations on the Hellenisation of Cyprus that ought to be viewed against the wider Greek history. Long after the mainland Greeks had adopted the alphabet (in the 8th century B.C.) the Greeks

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[214] For the decree, see Chavane and Yon 1978, 247, fig. 8. According to Pausanias (1. 3. 2), Evagoras had his statue erected in the *stoa basileios* (*cf.* Hadjioannou 1971, 6[18a]). On the 'honours heaped on Evagoras by the grateful Athenians', see Stylianou 1989, 469.

[215] Kraay 1976, 308.

[216] Masson 1983, 322. See Collombier (1991b, 434) on the random occurrence of the alphabet for 'unofficial' funerary inscriptions in the second half of the 6th century. 'The two earliest alphabetic texts occur as components of diagraphic inscriptions' (Woodard 1997, 219). Bazemore 2002, 156.

[217] Yon 1993a, 145, fig. 7. 'La pratique de ce type d'écriture va de pair avec l'affirmation de la souveraineté' (Collombier 1991b, 436).

[218] Helmann and Hermary 1980, 259–72; Hermary and Masson 1982, 235–42.

[219] Masson 1983, 207, 211; Amandry 1984, 60–3; Aupert 1996, 43–5, fig. 44.

[220] Yon 1989, 365.

of Cyprus refused to give up their syllabic literacy. Before disclaiming this attitude as mere island conservatism, we should acknowledge the following three points: first, that the Greek speakers in Cyprus had been in possession of a script from at least as early as the 11th century, when no other Greek was written in any script anywhere else in the Mediterranean: 'in all of the Greek world, literacy was preserved only in Cyprus'; second, that following the loss of the first Greek syllabary, that of Linear B, in the 13th century B.C., the word *basileus* was written again in Cyprus—by means of the Cypriote syllabary. With this syllabically rendered 'Mycenaean' title, which in Cyprus had acquired an exalted meaning of absolute authority attested from as early as the 7th century and until the very end of the 4th, the Greeks of Cyprus defined with consistency the figure of their state leader in all those kingdoms where the royal authority had been successfully claimed by Greek immigrants;[221] third, of all the Greek world, it is Cyprus that gives us the earliest eponymous, epigraphically confirmed (not mythical), Greek leaders of states, who were identified from the beginning to the end of Cypriote kingship by only one Greek term: they were *basileis.*

Rendering a Landscape Greek: Migration from the Perspective of the nostoi[222]

It seems reasonable to propose that those Cypriote kingdoms where state administration was conducted in the Arcado-Cypriote dialect—written exclusively in the syllabary until late in the 5th century B.C., and henceforth (occasionally) digraphically (in the syllabary and also in the Greek alphabet)—claimed for themselves a Greek identity. This definition is largely in accord with the aetiological myths that attempt to ascribe the foundation of these kingdoms to Greek *oikists*.[223] As Malkin has shown, not only do myths have a historical function and also mediate between Greek communities and the lands they inhabited but

[221] Woodard 1997, 224.

[222] 'The word *nostos*, possibly expressing at once a spatial dimension and the human undertakings, occurs already in the *Odyssey* itself, where it signifies both the action of returning and the hero who returns (hereafter the Nostos) and the story or song about him (henceforth italicized, *nostos*)' (Malkin 1998, 2–3).

[223] The Greek literary tradition alluding to the foundation of cities in Cyprus by Greek heroes have been discussed often, and also updated *vis-à-vis* the archaeological evidence. *Cf.* Gherstad 1944; Catling 1975, 215; Baurain 1980; Fortin 1980, 44; Vanschoonwinkel 1991.

they also 'constitute a right to the land and link the ruling dynasty with the heroic recipient of that right'.[224] Kourion, for instance, claimed to have been founded by Argive colonists (Herodotus 5. 113; Strabo 14. 683), Soloi by the Athenians Phalerus and Akamas (Strabo 14. 683), and Lapithos by Praxander and his Laconians (Strabo 14. 682. 3).[225] Kition and Amathus, on the other hand, were never claimed as Greek foundations, which suggests that these two monarchies may have constituted the 'others' (albeit two 'others' that were very different from each other linguistically and in terms of their political affiliations) in a land that had been rendered Greek by means of the *nostoi*, the homeward voyages of the victorious Achaean heroes after the fall of Troy.[226]

'The fifth-century Greek perception of the beginning of history gave the *nostoi* a special role. History began with the returns from Troy. The returns, as Thucydides' introduction illustrates, created revolutions, migrations, and foundings of new cities.'[227] The two principal foundation legends that give symbolic substance to the Greek migration to Cyprus are centred on two *nostoi*, those of the Salaminian Teucer and the Arcadian Agapenor. Teucer, son of Telamon and brother of Ajax, becomes the founder of Salamis, and of a sanctuary dedicated to Zeus.[228] The founder of Paphos is Agapenor, king of Tegea and leader of the Arcadian contingent at Troy.[229] The former *nostos* concerns the establishment of Greeks in the eastern part of the island, near the great Bronze Age metropolitan state of Cyprus, which was more than likely already known by the name of Salamis.[230] The latter adds to the linguistic evidence that reveals the early presence of Greek speakers in the western part, notably within the immediate territory of the Late Bronze Age *temenos* of Palaepaphos, as early as the 11th century B.C.

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[224] Malkin 1994, 4.

[225] Plutarch in *Solon* (26. 2) attributes the foundation of Aepeia, the predecessor of Soloi, to an Athenian, Demophon the son of Theseus.

[226] 'It seems that at least by the 8th century the origins of some Greek cities in Asia Minor (and Cyprus) had begun to be explained in terms of nostoi' (Malkin 1998, 210). 'Nostoi function as archegetai (founders) and progenitors... They can be identified as leaders of entire migrations or even as the primary cause for such migrations. Consequently, in the east they were also associated with the founding of cities, as in Cyprus' (Malkin 1998, 154).

[227] Malkin 1998, 3.

[228] Hadjioannou 1971, 20: literary sources on Teucer; also Chavane and Yon 1978, 48–162.

[229] Hadjioannou 1971, 21: literary sources on Apapenor.

[230] Vanschoonwinkel 1994, 122.

Neither is credited with establishing a totally new *apoikia*, but they justify the take-over of existing centres of power by Hellenic people.

Kinyradai and Teucridai: Religion and the Monarchies

Surprisingly, the Greek-named kings of Paphos, such as Nicocles, Timarchos, Timocharis and Echetimos, who ought to have been known as the Agapenoridai by analogy with the Teucridai of the royal house of Salamis, preferred to be identified instead as Kinyradai.[231] Why this inconsistency? Greek literary tradition, acknowledges the legendary priest-king, Kinyras, as the island's foremost pre-Greek personality, whom we may see as the autochthonous ruler directly related to the Bronze Age cult of the Cypriote Goddess.[232] He embodied political power centred on sanctuaries that controlled the production of and trade in metal; hence, instead of joining the expedition against Troy, he presented Agamemnon with a bronze cuirass (*Iliad* 11. 19–23). The legend discloses that the island, though friendly to the Greeks, had little reason to express its allegiance to an all-Greek cause by furnishing a Cypriote contingent. The 'reign' of Kinyras, which would have been contemporary with a Trojan 'expedition', predates Greek colonisation since Greek literary tradition treats the colonisation of Cyprus as a result of the *nostoi*, the returns from Troy. A rich Greek literary tradition concerned with Kinyras and his dual rôle reaffirms that state authority in Cyprus remained closely associated with religion.

Thus the Greek royal dynasty of Paphos claimed descent from Kinyras, when it should have claimed it from Agapenor, and continued the cult within the imposing Late Cypriote *temenos* of the open-air sanctuary, which was never replaced by a Greek-style temple—not even during the centuries when the Ptolemies and the Romans ruled Cyprus. The striking fact is that after the Greek migrants, the Phoenicians, whose expansion to the west began with their establishment at Kition in the late 9th century, did exactly the same thing. They refurbished the Late Bronze Age ashlar 'temple' of Kition,[233] which functioned as the main urban sanctuary of Astarte until the end of the Cypro-Phoenician kingdom in the 4th century. What about the autochthonous

[231] Pindar *Pythian Odes* 2. 15–16 (Maier 1989, 377 n. 3, with literary references).
[232] Hadjioannou 1971, 14: literary sources on Kinyras.
[233] V. Karageorghis 1976, 96–107.

peoples who claimed descent from the followers of Kinyras expelled by Agamemnon? Amathus too established a new sanctuary to the same fertility goddess: Anat to the Amathusians, Astarte to the Phoenicians, Aphrodite to the Greeks of Cyprus.[234]

What all the *ethne*[235] of Iron Age Cyprus were trying to create was a direct association of political power with the Late Bronze Age cult centres and the management of a metals' economy. In marked contrast to the norms of Archaic Greek colonisation, the *oikist* cult that was fundamental to the identity of Archaic Greek colonies,[236] is insignificant in Cyprus. It is this persistence with a prehistoric, pre-Greek religious model that reveals the reason for the Greeks' and later the Phoenicians' settlement in Cyprus: J.N. Coldstream is correct in describing them as 'economic migrants'.[237]

Mythology was to make a contemporary albeit tentative, appearance in Cyprus within walking distance of the monumental *temenos* of the aniconic cult of the *Dea Cypria* at Palaepaphos. The first true narrative composition in Cypriote vase painting of the Early Iron Age is a pictorial representation of two male figures slaying a double-headed snake monster (Fig. 14). The scene is on an early 10th-century Cypro-Geometric plate that was found in a chamber tomb with a *dromos* that lies a few metres from the contemporary tomb that produced the *obelos* of Opheltas.[238] Is this an early Eastern Mediterranean version of what was to become known as the Herculean labour of the Lernaean Hydra? The cult of Heracles, just as the cult of the goddess whom the Greeks came to know by the name of Aphrodite,[239] had its own Cypriote prehistory and its own distinct development in Iron Age Cyprus. He was a Greek hero and a Near Eastern god.[240] This may explain why

[234] Hermary 1993, 183; Aupert 1996, 110–29.

[235] Herodotus 7. 90 on the *ethne* of Cyprus (see Hadjioannou 1971, 33).

[236] 'The foundation of colonies invoked a series of religious acts performed from the very inception: the founder (*oikist*) would go to Apollo's oracle where he would be designated in person as "founder"...In the subsequent history of each colony the memory of its foundation continued to play a central role through the heroic cult accorded to the deceased founder' (Malkin 1987, 2).

[237] Coldstream 1994, 143–6.

[238] The pictorial plate comes from Palaepaphos-Skales T.58.104; the inscribed obelos from Skales T.49.16 (V. Karageorghis 1983).

[239] Thoroughly treated by J. Karageorghis (1977) in a seminal study on *La Grande Déesse de Chypre et son culte.*

[240] 'Lucien insiste encore sur la difference entre l'Héraklès phénicien, qui est un dieu, et l'Héraklès grec qui est un héros. C'est pourquoi sous son aspect divin issu du

Fig. 14. Cypro-Geometric plate from Palaepaphos-Skales with pictorial composition of two male figures slaying a double-headed snake monster (Cyprus Museum).

for a Greek, a Phoenician or for the Amathusian kingdom, Heracles, Melqart, Malika, remained throughout the Iron Age, the island's principal, pancyprian male deity, a true smiting god and the protector of the ruling dynasties, as illustrated in the Cypro-Classical coinage of 'Greek' Salamis and 'Phoenician' Kition.[241]

Tacitus writes (*Annales* 3. 62) that the Cypriotes in the reign of Tiberius sought the right of asylum for three of their sanctuaries: those of the Paphian goddess (which was of the greatest antiquity), the

Ba'al syrien, les attributions d'Héraklès de Chypre se confondent en partie avec celles de Zeus, lui aussi équivalent du Ba'al' (Yon 1986, 295).

[241] See Destrooper-Georgiades 1987, 347. 'Héraklès est à bien des égards l'héritier du 'Smiting God' proche-orientale' (Bonnet 1988. 410); 'le dieu suprême assimilé à Zeus' (Yon 1986, 295). Malika in Amathus (Hermary 1987, 373). Melqart as protector of the rulers of Kition (Yon 1989, 373; 1997, 11).

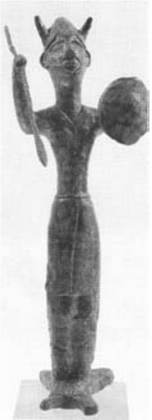

Fig. 15. The Ingot God from Enkomi (Cyprus Museum).

Amathusian goddess, and Zeus in Salamis founded by Teucer.[242] Why did the Teucridai shy away from the primeval female goddess tradition and claim that their founder had established the cult of a male god—who was to receive a temple in the Hellenistic period?[243] The answer may lie in the religious tradition that Salamis inherited from its Late Bronze Age predecessor (Enkomi), which was strongly associated with male deities. Two cult-figures in bronze have been found buried in their Late Cypriote sanctuaries: a majestic horned God (with a horned helmet) and a God who stands on an 'oxhide' ingot, who also has a horned helmet and brandishes a long spear (Fig. 15). He is, however, to be seen as much the official protector of the metal trade as a female equivalent, who is also standing on an oxhide *talanton.* Unfortunately, her statuette (in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford) has no provenance.[244] In interpreting the twin temples of Kition, which were in direct association with metallurgical workshops, Vassos Karageorghis has proposed that, already during the Late Bronze Age, there existed at Enkomi, Kition and elsewhere two divinities, one male and one female, who were worshipped as the protectors of the copper industry.[245] This argument has recently been strengthened by Jennifer Webb, who has demonstrated that the Ingot God originally shared his sanctuary with

[242] Chavane and Yon 1978, 26, 37.
[243] On the temple of Zeus Salaminios, see Yon 1993a, 149, figs. 1, 10–12.
[244] Catling 1971, 15–32 on the Bomford Collection statuette in the Ashmolean Museum.
[245] V. Karageorghis 1976, 74–5.

a female divinity.[246] 'Like the Ingot God,' Webb concludes, 'this goddess may have been linked with the metal industry and is perhaps to be identified with the figure depicted on the so-called Astarte-on-the-ingot bronzes.'[247]

Hellenising the Goddess

At Palaepaphos the *temenos* was erected in magnificent dressed ashlar masonry at the end of the 13th century B.C. to celebrate the cult of a prehistoric aniconic fertility goddess. Nevertheless, the eventual identification of the Cyprian Goddess of Palaepaphos with the Greek Aphrodite came as a result of a successful Arcadian *nostos*, Agapenor, who was credited for siring in Paphos a Greek royal family and for dedicating a temple to Aphrodite. This should explain why of all the places in the Greek world, Tegea alone had a cult of Aphrodite Paphia, which according to tradition was founded by the daughter of Agapenor, Laodice (suggesting that the cult was introduced to Greece from or via Cyprus). The same Laodice presented Athena Alea in Tegea with a *peplos* on which the inscription reaffirmed her descent (Pausanias 8. 5. 3): although broad Arcadia was her fatherland (*patrida*), as she had been born to Agapenor, she was sending her gift from divine Cyprus.[248]

Echoing the epigram of the legendary Laodice, a dedicatory inscription to Nicocreon (331–310 B.C.), the last king of the Salaminian royal dynasty, defines the land of Pelops (Argos) as his motherland (*matropolis*). Nicocreon, who was being honoured with a statue in Argos because he had sent Cypriote copper to be used for the prizes in the games at the festival of Hera, takes pride in his royal descent from the legendary Aiakos (father of Telamon, father of Teucer), but specifies that he was born the son of a king (Pnytagoras) in Cyprus.[249]

These two traditions about Paphos and Salamis underline the consistency with which the Greeks of Cyprus, in their two major city-kingdoms, continued to view their ethnicity, and how they elaborated the theme of their particular ancestry from Greek founders. Via the

[246] 'It thus appears that the Sanctuary of the Ingot God...was dedicated to two deities, one the Ingot God of the north-east adyton and the other a female deity associated with the hundreds of terracottas found exclusively in the west adyton' (Webb 2000, 69, fig. 6).
[247] Webb 2000, 76.
[248] Hadjioannou 1971, 21 (6–7); see also Voyatzi 1985, 156.
[249] Chavane and Yon 1978, 309.

oral tradition of epic poetry,[250] which harked back to a Homeric world not yet divided into city-states, they nurtured as ethnic history their origin from a *motherland* which was ruled not by Mycenaean *anaktes* but by an array of local chieftains who may have retained the title *basileus* (originally a local official or district officer of the Mycenaean palatial administration, as recorded in the Linear B texts).[251] It is significant that the two foremost *nostoi* of Cyprus, Agapenor and Teucer have no legendary association with any of the major palatial centres of Mycenaean Greece, such as Mycenae, Tiryns, Pylus and Thebes, which had certainly experienced rule by a *wanax*. They came instead from places like Tegea and the island of Salamis that do not boast of megalithic Cyclopean walled citadels, but survived in the post-palatial Mycenaean world of the 12th century that was formed after the destruction of the centralised palace states. In fact the recent work at Salamis Kanakia[252] could elucidate one of the many departure points of the Aegean immigrants.

As descendants of post-palatial Mycenaean immigrants, the Greeks of Cyprus had no legitimate association with either a Late Bronze Age Mycenaean palace centre or an Archaic Greek *polis*. The Greek kings of Cyprus retained the exclusive title of *basileis*, while the term *anaktes* was reserved for their close kin, a point on which Aristotle and Isocrates concur.[253] The Cypriote *basileis* defended their royal prerogatives and the preservation of an antique-style monarchical system of sheer despotism, which was certainly quite out of fashion by the Classical period, and little respected by the Hellenes of the democratic *polis*. But then, they felt no direct allegiance to any one mother-city and even less to the political institution for which the *polis* stood.

Key-words

The key-words that guide the parameters of the Greek immigration to Cyprus are 'Mycenaean-Greek' (linguistic evidence) and 'post-palatial Mycenaean' (chronological co-ordinates). At no point can the Greek

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[250] 'Bardic activity played a part in sustaining elements of Mycenaean society in Cyprus' (Woodard 1997, 223). Hadjioannou 1975, 3 lists the literary sources on the Cypriote epic poet Stasinos and the *Kypria*.

[251] *Cf.* Hooker 1980, 115; Carlier 1984, 108–15.

[252] Lolos 2003.

[253] See Hadjioannou 1971, 66 (43–43a); Palaima 1995, 123; Zournatzi 1996, 165; Iacovou 2006c, 329.

migration to Cyprus be supported by a coherent set of material cultural evidence, a Mycenaean 'migrant' package, so to speak. The identity of the linguistically new group of people who settled in Cyprus at the end of the Late Bronze Age is defined as Greek because Greek was the language they wrote as soon as they had adopted the Late Bronze Age syllabic script of Cyprus. The migration is manifested, first and foremost, by means of the introduction, insular confinement and incredibly long endurance of the Arcado-Cypriote, the only historic Greek dialect that preserved much of the pre-dialectal Mycenaean-Greek language. This was the antique dialect that the Greeks of Cyprus continued to write in the Cypriote syllabary long after the rest of the Greeks had regained literacy through the Phoenician alphabet (in the 8th century B.C.).

The definition of the chronological horizon of the Greek migration to Cyprus is pivotal to our understanding of the idiosyncratic and peculiar pattern of the episode. Since its primary impact took place after the collapse of the Mycenaean palace economy, at a time when the political structure associated with the Mycenaean *wanax* had died out, Cyprus, unlike Minoan Crete, did not undergo an 'invasion et mycénisation'.[254] The Greek migration to Cyprus was a 12th-century *exodus*, which took place after the dissolution of the Mycenaean states, therefore at a time when the Aegean world lacked a cohesive political organisation. It also lacked literacy. Consequently, from the point of view of the Aegean, the Greek-speaking immigrants of Cyprus could not have come from organised palace-states; they came from a politically fragmented—and, at the same time, 'liberated'—Mycenaean world.

During this 'stateless' era, there was no organised Greek polity that could undertake the responsibility of an expedition to Cyprus with the explicit goal of setting up one or more *apoikiai* (colonies). Thus the Cyprus migration episode does not constitute a centre-versus-periphery case; nor was it conducted 'à la manière des colons Grecs',[255] which would have required organised groups arriving (as in Sicily or South Italy) and taking possession of the island, or parts of the island. The settlement of Greeks in Cyprus did not involve an island-wide conquest. The island as a whole was not forcibly claimed by Greek people at any time, nor did the Greeks become the champions of a unitary state.

[254] Farnoux and Driessen 1997, 4.
[255] Baurain 1997, 143.

Furthermore, since it was an event that preceded the political institution of the Greek *polis*, it did not foster the kind of 'mother-city and colony' relations that developed in Archaic Greece between a *polis* and its *apoikiai* over such matters as the colonies' taking part in the Olympic Games. Inherent in the characteristics of the Cypriote episode is the preservation of fossilised expressions of an antique Greekness. This 'pervasive conservatism'[256] was consciously promoted in the Iron Age as it helped sustain the archaising political institution of the territorial monarchies and provided justification for the rule of the *basileus*.

Epilogue: A Modern Greek Migration Parallel

The most recent comparable parallel (*i.e.* one that involves 'economic migrants') in the history of Greek settlements away from Mainland and Aegean Greece is the establishment of Greeks in Egypt in the late 19th and early 20th century A.D. It was, however, extremely short-lived by comparison to the permanence of the Cyprus episode. The Greek exodus to Egypt led to the formation of the Hellenic microcosm of Alexandria and Cairo, which was wealthier than, and socially and culturally superior to, that of contemporary Greece. The Greek-speaking peoples who settled in Egypt did not come from any one centre: they came from the Ionian and the North Aegean islands, from the mountain villages of Pelion in Thessaly and from all over Cyprus. They did not go to Egypt as a labour force to work for the indigenous people; nor did they live apart in settlements of their own. They sought and found in the urban centres of Egypt a business potential that was lacking in Greece, in which they invested their agricultural and industrial know-how (for instance in the cotton industry).[257] Their success was phenomenal: for a short while, the economy of Egypt was in their hands. Moreover, far from losing their language, it was from the midst of these Alexandrian Greeks that writers emerged like Konstantinos Kavafis and Stratis Tsirkas who offered the Hellenic world some of the classic masterpieces of modern Greek poetry and prose.

In a nutshell: Cyprus would not have been claimed as an integral part of the geography of the *nostoi* if it had not been settled by people

[256] Woodard 1997, 217.
[257] Hadjiphotis n.d., 170, 222.

who identified themselves as Greeks and were recognised as such by the rest of the Greeks. The cultural and linguistic peculiarity ascribed to the antique Hellenism of Cyprus comes as a result of the promotion, both in antiquity and in the modern era, of a narrow Athenocentric model of Mainland Greekness. Kavafis encapsulates the diachronic identity of this Eastern Mediterranean frontier Hellenism in 'Going back home from Greece', a poem written in 1914 that no Greek historian/archaeologist can afford to disregard. I conclude the chapter with the first two stanzas (in translation), since they express, like a 'cultural' anthem, the living Hellenism of Cyprus:[258]

> Well, we're nearly there, Hermippos.
> Day after tomorrow, it seems—that's what the captain said.
> At least we're sailing our seas,
> the waters of Cyprus, Syria, and Egypt,
> the beloved waters of our home countries.
> Why so silent? Ask your heart:
> didn't you too feel happier
> the farther we got from Greece?
> What's the point of fooling ourselves?
> That would hardly be properly Greek.
>
> It's time we admitted the truth:
> we are Greeks also—what else are we?—
> but with Asiatic affections and feelings,
> affections and feelings
> sometimes alien to Hellenism.

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[258] Savvidis 1992, 199.

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CENTRAL GREECE ON THE EVE OF THE COLONISATION MOVEMENT*

Jean-Paul Descœudres

Introduction

> ...the only thing to do is to return to the primary evidence and help it to speak for itself... (Boardman 2001, 34).

It is surely not necessary, here, to stress the importance of the Greek colonisation movement[1] whose long-term consequences are today more evident than ever, in a world in which Western concepts and material culture are spreading rapidly and, as it seems, unstoppably, around the globe. Yet, the process itself, its characteristics and above all its causes are still far from clear and continue to be the matter of a vivid debate.

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Submycenaean:	1100–1080/70 B.C.
Protogeometric:	1080/70–900 B.C.
Early Geometric:	900–850 B.C.
Middle Geometric I:	850–800 B.C.
Middle Geometric II:	800–750 B.C.
Late Geometric:	750–700 B.C.

[1] In keeping with the definition given by G.R. Tsetskhladze in the Introduction to the present work (Tsetskhladze 2006, xxiii), the term is applied here to the proto-historical phenomenon datable between the first half of the 8th century and the end of the Archaic period. Ancient writers, and the first modern historians dealing with Greek colonisation such as Désirée Raoul-Rochette and Ernst Curtius, did not distinguish it from the expansion that took place in the 11th and 10th centuries and led to the settlement of the Aegean islands and the west coast of Asia Minor by Ionian, Dorian and Aeolian Greeks from the mainland. For this earlier movement, we use the term 'migration'—which would in fact be more appropriate for the second expansion also, as has recently been remarked (Tsetskhladze 2003, 130; Bernstein 2004, 31; see also Hansen 2004, 150 n. 2).

Ancient Sources and Modern Terminology

The main difficulty lies of course in the fact that this colonial expansion started well before Greek historiography developed, which means that we possess virtually no contemporary written information about it. True, 'Homer' (if we accept the dating of the society described in his epics around 800 B.C.)[2] mentions the foundation of Rhodes in the *Iliad* (2. 661–670) and that of Scheria in the *Odyssey* (6. 7–11), but both stories are set in a mythical past, and can hardly be taken as reflecting a historical reality.[3] That neither Hesiod nor Archilochos tell us much about colonisation is particularly disappointing, since both knew from personal experience what emigration meant: Hesiod's father had come to Askra from Cyme/Cumae on the Aeolian coast (probably around the middle of the 8th century) (*Opera et Dies* 633–640), and Archilochos, of Parian origin, participated himself in the founding of Thasos (around the middle of the 7th century).[4] Both allude in passing to aspects pertaining to emigration and repeatedly mention hunger and poverty as the main reason for which people decide to leave their homes,[5] but neither provides explicit or general information about the colonisation movement.

Such information does not become available until much later: the very word which we translate as 'colonisation', ἀποικία,[6] is attested for the first time in the early 5th century, as is the term that designates the founder of a 'colony', the οἰκιστήρ or οἰκιστής,[7] and it is not until the second half of the same century that Herodotus and Thucydides include in their works more extensive discussions concerning the colonisation movement. However, since neither of them deals systematically with the phenomenon, one has to reconstruct the picture from numerous dispersed fragments which, without exception, concern individual

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[2] See below with n. 381.

[3] Crielaard (1995, 236) believes that the story about Scheria reflects late 8th–early 7th-century colonial foundations—without specifying what example he has in mind. To my knowledge, there is not a single *apoikia* featuring a town-wall at that time. On early Greek town-walls in general, see Snodgrass 1986 (with reference to the earlier literature); and for the colonies in the West, see most recently Mertens 2006, 88.

[4] Tsetskhladze 2006, lxxii; Preisendanz 1979.

[5] See, for example, Hesiod *Opera et Dies* 635; Archilochos 53D, 54D.

[6] Meaning literally 'away from house and household', not, as is so often repeated, 'a home away from home', and even less 'a community created by another community in its own image but on foreign soil', as Wilson (1997, 205) proposes.

[7] *Oikister*: Pindar, *Olympian Odes* 7. 30; *Pythian Odes* 1. 31; 4. 6. *Apoikia*: Pindar *Olympian Odes* 1. 24. See *LSJ s.v.*; Casevitz 1985, 101–30, esp. 120–30.

foundations.[8] Additional details (mainly regarding foundation dates and names of *oikists*) can be gathered from a number of later authors, including Strabo, Ps.-Skymnos, Pausanias and Eusebius. Not extant is the only ancient work that might have provided a coherent, and possibly even critical, account of the phenomenon, Aristotle's Περὶ ἀποικιῶν.

It has long been suspected that the picture painted by the ancient authors centuries after the events may not be as reliable as one might have wished,[9] and a recent study has raised this suspicion to certainty.[10] Not surprisingly, the various writers prove to have viewed and interpreted past events and attitudes on the basis of their own experiences, and Herodotus and Thucydides were no exception. Inevitably, and no doubt unwittingly, their understanding of the colonisation movement that had occurred some three hundred years before their time was heavily influenced by the events they were witnessing themselves and which were part of the expansionist policy pursued by Athens in the second half of the 5th century.

This, however, is only part of the problem. What exacerbates our difficulty is the fact that we also, just like our Classical informants, wear coloured glasses—made in Rome, as it were. Latin authors had already translated the term *apoikia* as *colonia* (Cicero *De republica* 2. 4. 9, for example), thus implicitly equating the Greek expansion movement (of the Archaic as well as later periods) with the establishment of settlements of Roman citizens by the senate, be it for military, economic, or political reasons.[11] Their example was followed by humanists such as Lorenzo della Valle (1407–1457) in their Latin translations of the Greek authors.[12] The reverse does not appear to have occurred: Greek authors of the Roman period did not translate *colonia* into ἀποικία, but simply

[8] Among the passages that contain important information regarding the causes that may have led to the founding of an *apoikia*, the procedure followed once the decision had been taken—including the consultation of the Delphic Oracle—the rôle of the expedition's leader, the *oikist*, and the colony's relationship with its mother-city, with the indigenous population as well as with other Greek colonists, one may mention Herodotus' account of Cyrene's foundation (4. 150–153) and that of Naukratis (2. 178–179), Thucydides' relation of the dispute between Corcyra and Corinth over Epidamnus (1. 24–38) and that of the foundation of a number of colonies in Sicily, notably Naxos, Syracuse and Megara Hyblaea (6. 3–5).

[9] See, for example, Graham 1982, 87.

[10] Miller 1997; see also Braund 1998.

[11] See, for example, Brennan 1990.

[12] See De Angelis 1998, 539.

transliterated the term as κολόνια.[13] Subsequentlly, it was adopted by most Western languages, in French as early as the 14th century,[14] in German not before the 16th century—possibly in the wake of Bible translations, as has been suggested for its English counterpart.[15]

Although the 'inadequacy' of the Latin term to designate the establishment of *apoikiai* in the Archaic period has been pointed out some time ago,[16] it was not until relatively recent times that the gravity of the problem became apparent and that one began to realise that the terminological confusion could constitute a serious impediment to our understanding of what we shall continue to call the Greek colonisation movement.[17]

Yet, this is not to say that Archaic *apoikiai*, Roman *coloniae* or modern colonies have nothing at all in common. There is in fact a good chance that by explicitly comparing the little we know about ancient 'colonisation' with well-documented modern colonial experiences, rather than being unwittingly guided by modern analogies, we may be able to sharpen our awareness of the former's essential characteristics.[18] The fact that we wear glasses cannot be changed—but we must try not to forget it and remember that if the world appears to be brighter to some, rather dark to others, it may simply be due to the lenses' different tint.[19] When, to take an example which has been the subject of a recent analysis,[20] T.J. Dunbabin in his *Western Greeks* (published in 1948 but written before the Second World War), insists on 'the purity of Greek culture in the colonial cities',[21] or states that there is 'little to suggest that the Greeks mixed much with Sicel or Italian peoples, or learnt much from

[13] As, for example, in Acts of the Apostles 16:12.

[14] See Casevitz 1985, 10–1 n. 1.

[15] Osborne 1998, 252.

[16] See already J. Bérard 1960, 13–4; also Finley 1976, 173–4 (cited by Osborne 1998, 269 n. 3).

[17] See Descœudres 1990a, 3; Malkin 1994, 1 (with further references in n. 1); Osborne 1998, esp. 267–9; Crielaard 2000b, 499. *Cf.* also the autobiographical remarks by J. Boardman (2002, 15–6).

[18] As C. Dougherty (1993, 3–11) beautifully demonstrates. On the other hand, S. Owen's claim (Hurst and Owen 2005, 12) that comparisons of this kind have 'led some scholars to ignore the role that local populations had to play in the process of Greek settlement', seems quite gratuitous.

[19] Or, as I. Malkin puts it (2002, 204), 'one writes differently about Greek colonization in Paris, Oxford, or Tel Aviv'.

[20] De Angelis 1998.

[21] Dunbabin 1948, vi.

them',[22] or when he declares that the Greeks 'kept the Sikels at arm length, even when they lived in Sikel territory',[23] and feels that 'so long as the Sikel remained Sikel the Greek regarded him as an inferior being and was proud of his own descent',[24] he reflects the attitude towards the native population that prevailed in Australia until the 1970s.[25] His interpretation of the relationship between ancient Greeks and Sicels would have been much less affirmative, and thus more understandable (though not necessarily more approvable) had he revealed his source of inspiration—to himself as well as to his readers.

The Main Theories Concerning the Causes of the Colonisation Movement

The dearth of ancient information is particularly acute with regard to the reasons that led to the colonisation movement, and most historians have therefore succumbed to the 'temptation to fill in many of the gaps in their knowledge by inferences drawn from the history of their own time'.[26] As E. Lepore phrased it, 'des modèles de comparaisons historiques sont presque aussi nécessaires que les témoignages mêmes'.[27] Among the first to do so explicitly was E. Meyer, who compared the colonisation of South Italy to that of North America and Australia, while drawing a parallel between the Euboean and Corinthian colonies and those established by Holland, Portugal and Spain.[28]

In view of the fact that the economy of most European colonial powers in the 19th and early 20th centuries to a very large extent depended on the export of manufactured goods to their colonies in exchange for raw materials, it is hardly surprising that many scholars thought that the main incentive to the Greek colonisation movement was of a commercial nature. The urge to gain access to goods not available in Greece, such as certain metals, was considered of prime importance. Possibly the first to argue along these lines was E. Curtius (1857) who was followed

[22] Dunbabin 1948, vi.
[23] Dunbabin 1948, 192.
[24] Dunbabin 1948, 193.
[25] Dunbabin grew up in Australia and graduated in 1929, at the age of 18, with First Class Honours in English, Latin, Ancient Greek and Mathematics at the University of Sydney before emigrating to England (see Descœudres 1989, 116; De Angelis 1998).
[26] Gwynn 1918, 89.
[27] In a lecture given to the Collège de France in 1982 but which has only recently been published (Lepore 2000, 68).
[28] Meyer 1893.

by G. Busolt (1893). In the wake of A. Blakeway's famous 'trade before the flag' (1933) and Dunbabin's *Western Greeks* (1948), this opinion has again been advocated in recent years, notably by L.H. Jeffery,[29] J.N. Coldstream[30] and, most insistently, J. Boardman.[31] Less frequently, the phenomenon has been thought to be rooted in the religious sphere, as D. Raoul-Rochette, the first scholar to systematically study Greek colonisation, had already proposed in his monumental, four-volume *Histoire critique de l'établissement des colonies grecques*, published in 1815. Delphi's rôle in the early colonisation movement, considered to be crucial by Raoul-Rochette, and still by Curtius, minimal or even non-existent by H. Bengtson (1950) and J. Fontenrose (1978), was emphasised again with fresh, partly archaeological, arguments by A.J. Graham (1983).[32] He has been followed by I. Malkin (1987) whose recent interpretation of Delphi as the headquarters of a colonial network (2003) replaces the old analogy based on European colonialism with a 'globalisation model'. For Bengtson, colonisation has to do with a fundamentally new attitude towards life that defies any attempt at rational explanation.[33] The idea reflects perhaps a desire, not uncommon in postwar Europe, to leave the old continent and start a better life in the 'New World'.[34] Somewhat reminiscent of Bengtson's hypothesis, which has not found many followers,[35] is a recent proposal that emphasises the 'heroic individualism' of colony founders.[36]

In stark contrast to scholars who view colonisation in essentially positive terms are those who, in the wake of an oft-cited passage in Seneca (*Ad Helviam de consolatione* 7. 4):

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[29] Jeffery 1976, 63.

[30] For example Coldstream 1977, 311.

[31] Boardman 1999b, *passim*, esp. 162; 2001. See also Treister 1996, 146 with n. 698; Bernstein 2004, 17 n. 17 for further references.

[32] For a balanced overview, see Londey 1990; for further references, Bernstein 2004, 14–5 n. 11.

[33] Bengtson 1950, 82: 'Ausdruck eines elementaren neuen Lebensgefühles.'

[34] See Karousou 1981, 161.

[35] Baurain (1997, 279), who judges it to be 'trop romantique pour constituer une base solide d'explication générale', expresses a widespread opinion.

[36] Crielaard 2000b, a curious paper quite aptly qualified by Bernstein (2004, 21 n. 35) as 'verwundernde Skizze'. Its author appears to consider the various foundation legends, including those that tell about Greek colonists deceiving the natives, as reliable sources of information, going back to the period of foundation. (On the use of *apate* as expression of cultural superiority, see S. Cataldi in Nenci and Cataldi 1983, 598–9.)

> Nor had they all the same reason to leave their fatherland and seek a new one: some were driven out after the destruction of their cities, having lost their possessions but escaped their enemies; others were ousted by civil strife; others still were sent out to relieve a large population surplus; others were cast out by an infectious disease, by frequent earthquakes or by some unbearable deficiency of the barren land[37]

feel 'that no one leaves home and embarks on colonization for fun'[38] and for whom its 'root cause...was climatic disaster'[39] or, more generally, 'the horrors of the economic and social situation' at home.[40] Thus, A. Gwynn (1918), G. Glotz (1926), R.M. Cook (1946), J. Bérard (1960), H. Schaefer (1960), C. Mossé (1970), O. Murray (1980) and Graham (1982) follow Julius Beloch who, as early as 1912, considered the main reason of the colonisation movement to be overpopulation and lack of arable land.[41] According to this viewpoint, even colonies that were later to become important commercial centres thanks to their excellent harbours, such as Syracuse, were originally founded for no other than agricultural reasons. This would also explain 'why Greek colonists always clung to the coast and never penetrated inland': primarily interested in acquiring land for agricultural purposes, they chose regions characterised by climatic and ecological conditions with which they were familiar.[42]

As early as 1902, J. Burckhardt had drawn attention to social tensions as one of the important factors leading to emigration and colonisation,[43] referring to a passage in Plato's *Laws* (708 B).[44] This view, which appears to have had a considerable impact on Soviet historiography,[45] remained otherwise largely unnoticed. Among the few to adopt it are R.R. Holloway[46] and A.M. Snodgrass,[47] as well as G.R. Tsetskhladze,

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[37] 'Nec omnibus eadem causa relinquendi quaerendique patriam fuit; alios excidia urbium suarum hostilibus armis elapsos in aliena, spoliatos suis, expulerunt; alios domestica seditio summovit; alios nimia superfluentis populi frequentia ad exonerandas vires emisit; alios pestilentia aut frequentes terrarum hiatus aut aliqua intoleranda infelicis soli vitia eiecerunt.'

[38] Graham 1982, 157.

[39] Cawkwell 1992, 302.

[40] Green 1990, 46.

[41] See Bernstein 2004, 18 n. 21 for further references.

[42] Sallares 1991, 91–2.

[43] Burckhardt 1902, I, 139; IV, 65–7.

[44] Oddly, he does not mention the equally relevant paragraph 736A.

[45] See the useful summary in Kocybala 1978, 21–41.

[46] Holloway 1981, 146–9.

[47] Snodgrass 1994, 2.

especially with regard to the colonisation of the Black Sea,[48] but it is only very recently—and apparently without knowing about Burckhardt's work—that F. Bernstein has devoted a thorough investigation to this aspect, at the end of which he concludes that

> ...political conflict must be reckoned with as an important cause of the so-called great colonisation movement of the Greeks and that this migration process is to a large extent characterised by the fact that individuals were fleeing their home for political reasons, following the break-up of the socio-political fabric.[49]

The Establishment of a Settlement Overseas: State Enterprise or Private Venture?

Bernstein's conclusions tend to reinforce the recently expressed suspicion that Archaic *apoikiai* may not have been the firmly structured, officially organised enterprises which they were hitherto considered to be, mainly on the basis of Herodotus' and Thucydides' accounts. Rather than founded at a determinable point in time,[50] by a clearly constituted group of colonists sent out by a particular state under the leadership of an officially appointed *oikist* (as a rule with Delphi's involvement and agreement), the early settlements are more likely to have been private ventures, established over a long period of time by groups of emigrants who were not necessarily all originating from the same place.[51] If a parallel with modern colonial expeditions had to be drawn, it might be more appropriate to look for it in the early settlement of North America than in the British colonisation of the Antipodes.[52]

Aim

Mindful of the recently expressed appeal not to allow the many Roman and modern connotations carried by the word 'colony' 'to complicate

[48] Tsetskhladze 1994, 123–6.
[49] Bernstein 2004, 224: 'weit mehr mit dem politischen Konflikt als Triebfeder der sog. Grossen Kolonisation der Griechen zu rechnen ist, dass also dieser Migrationsprozess zu einem guten Teil durch politisch begründete Fluchtbewegungen charakterisiert ist, aktive wie passive, an deren Anfang eine politisch-soziale Desintegration stand.'
[50] Or a timespan corresponding to one generation (Malkin 2002, 200–1).
[51] Osborne 1998. For a critical assessment of his arguments, see Malkin 2002.
[52] Ridgway 2004, 18.

our study of antiquity on its own terms',[53] the following is an attempt to take stock of what we know about Greece, and especially its central region and its inhabitants,[54] in the first half of the 8th century, in the expectation that a clearer idea of the land which the emigrants left behind will help us understand why they did so and perhaps also how they proceeded. The chapter could thus be seen as forming a diptych with recent attempts to answer the same question from the 'receiving end', as it were, *i.e.* by looking at the character of the early settlements in the West.[55] Most of the—very sparse—information available is of an archaeological nature and some of it will have to be dug up for a second time, as it finds itself reburied under large amounts of theoretical discussions and speculative interpretations that have accumulated in recent years at an ever increasing rate, often leading to generalisations that owe more to models worked out by social anthropologists and historians on the basis of modern analogies than to the evidence at our disposal.[56]

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[53] Boardman 2001, 34.

[54] The 'Central Greece' with which I shall be concerned corresponds roughly with I. Morris's definition (1998c, 10–3), except that I do not include the coast of Asia Minor—for which I retain the traditional term of East Greece.

[55] Osborne 1998; Yntema 2000.

[56] When told that 'one way to get comfortable with the evidence is to apply theory to it, to sift the evidence through some theoretical sieves' and that, therefore, 'scrutiny of Hesiod's world can help us appreciate the plight of individuals and communities that are oppressed by the force of the market in a late capitalist world…' (Tandy 1997, 234), one may wonder on what basis the sieves have been selected and for what purpose. Another popular tool that helps coping with the evidence or, rather, the lack of it, is the translation of actual figures into percentages which are then presented in the form of graphs. Even the most insignificant and accidental evidence then assumes the shape of a neatly sliced pie or a firm curve the reliability of which no one would dare to question. Thus it becomes possible—to take an example at random—to show that according to 'osteological evidence…the average age of death increased from the archaic period to the classical period' (Sallares 1991, 109), when in reality the data consist of the skeletal remains of fewer than a hundred individuals spread over a period of three centuries! If the numbers are not even solid enough to be transformed into percentage figures, a modern analogy should do the trick: thus, according to Osborne (1996a, 64), 'data from pre-industrial populations' show that the population of Athens in the Early Iron Age was composed of roughly 45% children and adolescents below the age of 18, 30% adults between 18 and 40, 20% adults above 40 and 5% above 60. Needless to say, such exercises, though amusing at first, often prove less harmless than they were probably intended to be: it usually does not take long for numbers to assume a life of their own and transform themselves into dogma. Yet, even if the data are insufficient for the production of a—preferably multicoloured—pie, there is no reason to despair: why not try an ethnographic parallel, and 'illuminate features of ninth century Athenian society' by seeking inspiration from the 'societies of present-day Nuristan', or gain a better understanding of the unique funerary monument

The socio-economic and political development of Greece between the 10th and the 8th century has recently been sketched as follows:

> ... the population grew with increasing speed. Contacts with other peoples broadened. The economy was transformed. Settlements expanded, new ones sprung up, previously unoccupied lands were cultivated. In the course of this process the *polis* 'crystallized', often coalescing from several neighbouring villages. As the *polis* territories filled up, land became precious, resulting in conflicts both within each *polis* and with neighbouring *poleis*. There emerged the notions of territoriality and fixed boundaries, often marked by rural sanctuaries. Wars broke out about the control of land. The citizens thus had to defend their fields. The response was massed fighting in communal armies, made possible and necessitated by increased population densities....[57]

This might indeed have been so... but it ought to be said more clearly that with the exception of the re-establishment of the external contacts, for which there is indeed good and undisputable archaeological evidence (see below) none of the phenomena mentioned is based on firm and reliable data.

Greece in the Early 8th Century B.C.

The Land and its Resources (Fig. 1)

a. *Geographical Definition*

In geographical terms, the territory inhabited by Greek-speaking people largely corresponded already in the Early Iron Age to what we call Classical Greece. Only the latter's northern regions—Macedonia, Thrace and the islands of the northern Aegean (such as Thasos)—were occupied by people whose language was not Greek (and who therefore would have been called 'barbarians' by the Greeks themselves). These

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in Lefkandi by turning to the Kachin of northern Burma or the 'big-man societies' in Melanesia—as proposed (seriously!) by Whitley (1991a, 11; 1991b, 344–61)? And what else could explain the striking similarity between the Toumba building in Lefkandi and the 'temples of Apollo at Bassae and Hera at Olympia' more convincingly than a comparison with 'corporate longhouses of the Iroquois (Northeast North American) tribes', especially when combined with the most relevant observation that 'among the Northwest Amazonian tribes... the headman is buried inside the longhouse, preferably at its centre...' (Coucouzeli 1999, 127–8)?

[57] Raaflaub 1997b, 52.

Fig. 1. Map of Greece showing places mentioned in the text (adapted from P. Levi, *Atlas of the Greek World* [Oxford 1980], 14–5).

areas were to be Hellenised from the 8th century onwards. Thus, the Greek motherland consisted of three main regions: continental Greece, the Aegean basin with its numerous islands, and the coast of Asia Minor.

Continental Greece, formed by the southernmost extremity of the Balkan Peninsula, is bordered on the east by the Aegean Sea, on the west by the Ionian Sea, and on the north by a line that runs roughly from Ithaca in the west to the mouth of the Peneios in the east. It breaks up into countless mountain chains, small valleys and peninsulas.[58] More than half of its roughly 70,000 km^2 must be classified as mountainous, a quarter as semi-mountainous. Overall, no more than 30% of the land is arable. Although springs are not uncommon, perennial streams are rare. Plains and alluvial basins that allow agricultural exploitation on a larger scale are few and far between, the most important ones being (proceeding from north to south and excluding Thrace and Macedonia): the Thessalian basin drained by the River Peneios, the Spercheios valley in southern Thessaly (Phthiotis), the Boeotian tableland, the Lelantine plain in Euboea, and, in the Peloponnese, the Argolid, the Eurotas valley, Messenia and the Alpheios valley. The most striking feature is doubtless the interpenetrating of land and sea—a feature nicely summarised by Odysseus' question, when he arrives on Ithaca without recognising it, whether he has arrived on an island or on a promontory belonging to the mainland (*Odyssey* 13. 233–234). The passage also illustrates that communications are easy by boat; overland traffic, on the other hand, is difficult and in winter often impossible.

Basically the same characteristics are encountered in insular Greece, as its over 3,000 islands (of which about 150 are today inhabited) were formed by the same tectonic upheaval that lifted the mainland above sea level in a process which started some 140 million years ago and which has not come to an end—witness the very frequent earthquakes.[59]

The third part, the coastal fringe of Asia Minor, offers a different picture, with a series of alluvial plains formed by the rivers that are fed by the Anatolian Highlands, the Hermos and the Meander being the most important ones.[60]

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[58] Braudel 1949; Philippson 1950–59; Hammond 1963; 1980; Levi 1980.
[59] Sauerwein 1997, 3–4.
[60] See the contribution on Ionia in volume 3 of this Handbook (forthcoming).

b. *Climate*

The climatic conditions and the vegetation in Greece in the Early Iron Age have not, to my knowledge, been the subject of any recent systematic investigation.[61] The conclusion drawn by D. Eginitis a century ago from his examination of the relevant literary sources concerning Attica's climate,[62] namely that, by and large, the conditions have remained unchanged since *ca.* 3000 B.C., has been confirmed for other regions in recent years and can be taken for granted for the whole of Greece.[63] Palaeobotanical studies carried out in a number of regions[64] attribute any changes in the vegetation to the impact of man rather than to climatic changes.[65] The arguments advanced against this view by R. Carpenter,[66] followed by J. Bouzek,[67] are circular, based not on climatological or palaeobotanical data, but on effects which the (hypothetical) change of climate is assumed to have had on socio-political developments. Thus, Carpenter claims that a long period of drought, lasting between about 1200 and 850 B.C. was the main reason for the disappearance of the Mycenaean palatial system and the ensuing 'Dark Age'. The 350-year long drought was, still according to Carpenter, followed by a wet period, resulting in a significant increase in the population in the second half of the 9th century. It is true that his proposal recalls a meteorological pattern known to have occurred in modern times, as has been pointed out,[68] yet, the unusually long dry period between November 1954 and May 1955 can hardly be taken as an argument in favour of a hypothetical drought lasting for three and a half centuries. No more convincing is Snodgrass's proposal which, although proceeding along the same methodological circle (*i.e.* taking hypothetical effects of a climatic change as evidence for such a

[61] I have not been able to consult E.G. Mariolopoulos, *Etude sur le climat de la Grèce* (Paris 1925) and do not know whether it deals also with ancient Greece.

[62] Eginitis 1908, 429–32.

[63] See, for example, Amouretti 1986, 22–4; Sallares 1991, 391–3; Isager and Skydsgaard 1992, 11–4; Lohmann 1993, 21 (with further references); Osborne 1996, 57; Shay and Shay 2000, 653.

[64] For Messenia: Wright 1972, 199; for the Argolid: Jameson *et al.* 1994; for Boeotia: Greig and Turner 1974; Rackham 1983; for Thessaly: Jones 1982; for Macedonia: Kroll 1979, 231; for Crete: Rackham and Moody 1996; also Shay and Shay 2000.

[65] Jameson *et al.* 1994, 166; Rackham 1996, 27.

[66] Carpenter 1966, 18, 59–75.

[67] Bouzek 1969, 85–6; 1997, 20–1.

[68] Bryson *et al.* 1974.

change), arrives at a result that is diametrically opposed to Carpenter's:[69] the 11th and 10th centuries would have been not unusually dry, but exceptionally cold and wet.[70]

To conclude, it seems reasonably safe to assume that in the early 8th century B.C. Greece's climate was, as today, of the so-called Mediterranean (or Etesian) type, which subdivides the year into three distinct seasons: the wet and relatively cold winter, lasting roughly from November until March (with at least two-thirds of the total annual precipitation falling during this period), the mild but unstable season of flowering and ripening (April to June), and the hot summer with its dry etesian winds (July to October). It is equally likely that regional differences were as considerable then as they are now, with the western part of continental Greece and the coast of Asia Minor relatively well watered, and Euboea, Attica, Boeotia, the Argolid and the region around Corinth and Megara particularly arid.[71] One may also take for granted that there were already in antiquity very considerable fluctuations from year to year, especially with regard to annual precipitation.[72]

These climatic conditions, combined with the country's geographic characteristics, not only encourage but necessitate interregional communication and exchange, as one area may well suffer from a disastrous crop failure when its neighbour enjoys a bumper harvest.

c. *Flora and Fauna*

While agricultural activity had already in antiquity removed all evidence concerning the original vegetation in the lowlands, some indications given by Homer, Hesiod and Theophrastus, combined with the results of archaeobotanical studies, allow us to gain a general idea of what the uncultivated land must have looked like in the Early Iron Age.

The mountains were covered by woods and forests or by maquis.[73] In the upper zones, to the tree line at about 1,700 to 2,000 m, juniper,

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[69] Snodgrass 1975.

[70] Dickinson (2006, 79) refers to a suggestion made by J. Moody in a paper given in 2003 according to which the 10th and 9th centuries constituted an unusually dry period (unfortunately, he does not provide any information concerning the evidence advanced by Moody in favour of her claim that appears to vindicate at least partly Carpenter's and Bouzek's).

[71] See Levi 1980, 16; Sauerwein 1997, 14.

[72] See Mariolopoulos 1962; Amouretti 1986, 24–5; Osborne 1998, 54–5 with tabl. 1.

[73] Meiggs 1982, 42–6; Sauerwein 1997, 16–8 (with further references).

mountain pine and fir prevailed, whilst deciduous trees such as oak, beech and maple, but also the Aleppo pine and the cypress, were typical of the middle zone, between roughly 500 and 1,200 m.[74] The lower zone was usually covered by maquis, composed mainly of box-tree, broom, hazel-tree, heaths, holm oak, juniper, laurel, myrtle, oleander and wild olive.[75] Along the rivers grew willows, poplars, linden-trees, wild cherries and elders. Forests and maquis presented important resources, the former providing timber,[76] the latter fuel for kilns and furnaces as well as food for goats and sheep in summer when the pastures tend to dry up.[77] Furthermore, they harboured wild animals, without doubt still numerous in the mountains.

Literary sources and the—so far still scanty—archaeozoological data suggest that game played a modest part as a source of alimentation, certainly much less important than marine fauna. Boar (or wild pig), red deer, roe deer and hare were the main edible game,[78] together with a range of birds, such as partridge, thrush and pigeon,[79] as well as the occasional tortoise.[80] Of the fish bones found in the Iron-Age levels at Kommos most have been identified as sea bream.[81] Much more numerous are the remains of marine invertebrates;[82] whilst most stem from edible shellfish, such as *Patella, Monodonta* and *Glycymeris*,[83] the *Murex* and *Thais haemastoma* shells witness to the production of purple dye, known since the Late Middle Bronze Age in the Aegean.[84] It was mainly used for the dying of textiles, occasionally also for writing. Homer mentions the colour on several occasions, not only in the context of textiles (see, for example, *Iliad* 24. 796; *Odyssey* 6. 52; 13. 108), but

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[74] According to Theophrastus (*Historia plantarum* 4. 5. 1, 3), chestnut trees were thriving on Euboea and in the Pelion mountain.

[75] Lohmann 1993, 16–7 with references; Jameson *et al.* 1994, 164–5.

[76] See Meiggs 1973, 44–6. The black pine and above all the fir were important for shipbuilding (*Odyssey* 2. 425–426; Theophrastus *Historia plantarum* 5. 7. 1). Oak, ash, juniper and cypress were especially suited for carpentry (*Odyssey* 17. 339–340; 21. 43–44; *Historia plantarum* 5. 7. 4). The timber from the beech was used for woodwork (*Historia plantarum* 3.10); the osiers from the willows for wickerwork, including the production of shields (*Historia plantarum* 5. 7. 7).

[77] Rackham 1983, 347; 1996, 32.

[78] Sloane and Duncan 1978, esp. 76 with tabl. 6.10; Reese and Rose 2000, 491–5; Leguilloux 2000, 75; Dickinson 2006, 80–1. See also Buchholz *et al.* 1973, 30–70.

[79] Brothwell and Brothwell 1969, 53–5; Reese and Rose 2000, 560–70.

[80] Sloan and Duncan 1978, 70.

[81] Reese and Rose 2000, 495–560.

[82] Reese and Rose 2000, 571–642.

[83] On the importance of shellfish as a foodstuff, see Karali 2000.

[84] Reese 2000.

also when describing ships (*Odyssey* 11. 124; 23. 271). The importance of the purple industry in Greece, and especially in the Peloponnese, is confirmed by the famous passage in Ezekiel 27 which lists the many goods arriving from all over the Mediterranean in the harbour of Tyre. It mentions (27: 1) purple tapestries imported 'from the isles of Elisa' [the Peloponnese] and shows that the 'Laconian purple' praised by Pliny (*NH* 9. 127) and Pausanias (3. 21. 6) was already appreciated in the Archaic period and possibly earlier.[85]

d. *Mineral resources*

While Greece is not, in reality, as poor in mineral resources as it is often said to be, the difficulty faced by archaeologists and historians is to identify among the known ore deposits those exploited in antiquity.[86] Of course, most of the minerals that are commercially extracted in modern times were of no use in antiquity, such as antimony, barytes, bauxite, chromite, magnesite, or oil; even hard coal does not appear to have been used before the Hellenistic period (see Theophrastus *De lapid.* 16), unlike charcoal[87] which foundries used at least from the 5th century on, as the accounts regarding the making of the cult statues for the Athenian Hephaisteion prove.[88] Marble was of little or no commercial importance before the 7th century. On the other hand, ore deposits that are so modest as to be of no commercial value today, may have been easily accessible and therefore worth exploiting in ancient times. In particular, this appears to be the case for iron.

Iron ores occur very frequently almost everywhere in the world,[89] and the eastern Mediterranean is no exception.[90] They are widespread throughout Greece,[91] and it is probable that many of them were known and worked as early as the beginning of the Iron Age. It seems therefore most likely that its availability rather than its intrinsic qualities

[85] While the present version of the text dates almost certainly to the period of Nebuchadnezzar's siege of Tyre (584–572 B.C.), it is possible that the content goes back to the seventh and even the 8th century. For further references, see Lemaire 1987, 54 with n. 32.

[86] Pernicka 1987, 619–21 with fig. 5.

[87] In particular that made from chestnut wood (Theophrastus *Historia plantarum* 5. 9.2).

[88] *IG* I^2 371 III, l. 14.

[89] Serneels and Fluzin 2002, 25.

[90] Waldbaum 1978, 65–6.

[91] Marinos 1982. See also Wertime and Muhly 1980, 353, referring to the *Mineralogical Map of Greece*, published by the Geological Institute in Athens in 1963.

constitutes the main reason why iron prevails over bronze in the Aegean from the late 11th century on.[92] Iron deposits are particularly plentiful in central Euboea and north-eastern Boeotia,[93] and there was certainly no need for Euboeans to seek the ore overseas.[94] An often-quoted passage in the *Odyssey* (1. 183–184) suggests that there was even a surplus of iron production in 8th-century Greece, allowing some of it to be exported and exchanged for bronze (whether Temesa, the place where such exchanges are said to take place, is to be located on Cyprus or in southern Italy does not matter in our context).

For lead and silver, copper and gold a complete inventory of all deposits in the Aegean region that might have been known in ancient times, based on ancient literary sources, on surface surveys and, in the rare instances where such information is available, on archaeological fieldwork, has been published by E. Pernicka.[95] The following survey is mainly based on his work, but adds a number of elements that have become known since.

(1) Copper could be found in the deposits of the Laurion hills in south Attica. They were exploited, albeit on a modest scale, as early as the Bronze and Early Iron Age.[96] Copper was also extracted on Thasos from the Bronze Age on,[97] and probably on Seriphos and Siphnos as well.[98] However, the nearest supplier of importance was undoubtedly Cyprus, whose rich copper deposits were exploited at least from the 2nd millennium on.[99] The analyses carried out on a number of samples from Nichoria, though mainly of Late Bronze Age date, reveal that apart from the sources just mentioned, *i.e.* Laurion, the Cyclades and Cyprus, copper was also imported from Sardinia and possibly from the Troad.[100] According to Strabo (10. 1. 9), both copper and iron were produced by an extraordinary mine in the Lelantine plain near Chalcis, which had, however, been exhausted by his time, *viz.* the period of Augustus. It seems rather likely that his report is based on an invention created

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[92] Snodgrass 1971, 219–39; Waldbaum 1978, 73; Zimmermann 2002.
[93] Bakhuizen 1976, 45–7, 51–2, 57, fig. 10.
[94] *Pace* Jeffery 1976, 63; followed by S. Morris 1992, 141.
[95] Pernicka 1987, 647–78. Surprisingly, Stos-Gale and Macdonald (1991) appear to be unaware of this publication.
[96] Treister 1996, 23–4 with references.
[97] Stos-Gale and Gale 1992.
[98] Pernicka 1987, 667–74.
[99] Stos-Gale 1988; Zwicker 2000, 195 with further references.
[100] Stos-Gale *et al.* 1999.

to explain the name of the city, as Chalcis is reminiscent of *chalkos*, bronze, which is also reflected in Pliny's remark, that 'Chalcis takes its name from the fact that copper was discovered there' (*NH* 4. 64).

(2) There are over 50 smaller and larger lead deposits in Greece (including the islands and the coast of Asia Minor). Until Roman times, they were usually worked for their silver contents rather than for the lead itself.[101] Those in the region of the Pangaion mountains in Thrace,[102] on Thasos[103] and on Siphnos[104] were certainly exploited as early as the Bronze Age and again in the Archaic period. While positive evidence is wanting for the Geometric period, it is quite possible that knowledge of these mines survived through the intervening centuries. That the important deposits in the Chalcidice were worked before the 6th century is highly probable, but as yet unproven,[105] and the same can be said of those on Lesbos,[106] near Smyrna[107] and in southern Euboea.[108] We are on safer ground in the Laurion, where the famous mines, Athens's main source of income in the 5th century—following the discovery of a particularly important seam in 484 B.C.—were known as early as the 3rd millennium B.C. Though far from plentiful, the evidence for their exploitation in the Geometric period is unequivocal[109] and includes metallurgical analyses showing that lead from Laurion was exported to Nichoria[110] and silver as far as Egypt.[111]

(3) In return, any gold worked in Greece before the Archaic period was almost certainly imported from Egypt, which Homer mentions on several occasions as the country from which gold originates (for example *Odyssey* 3. 300–302),[112] unless it was acquired from Tyrian traders who, probably from the beginning of the 1st millennium, obtained it—as they

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[101] Meier 1995, *passim*.
[102] Unger 1987.
[103] Stos-Gale and Gale 1992; Meier 1995, 102–3.
[104] Gropengiesser 1986, 1–2; Meier 1995, 107–8.
[105] Meier 1995, 98–9. Stos-Gale and Macdonald (1991, 254–5 with fig. 1) fail to indicate on what evidence they base their (implicit) claim that this deposit was exploited as early as the Bronze Age.
[106] Meier 1995, 108.
[107] Meier 1995, 119–20.
[108] Meier 1995, 111.
[109] Meier 1995, 103–6; Musche 1998, 61.
[110] Stos-Gale *et al.* 1999.
[111] Fleming 1982.
[112] On the importance of Egypt (and Nubia) as main supplier of gold, see Ogden 1982, 11–3; and, more recently, Le Rider and Verdan 2002, 147 (Le Rider) with further references.

still did at Ezekiel's time (27. 22)[113]—from Arabia and from mysterious Ophir, perhaps to be sought somewhere in East Africa.[114] On present evidence, neither the gold mines on Siphnos (Herodotus 3. 57), nor those on Thasos, mentioned by Herodotus (6. 46–47) and rediscovered in 1979, nor indeed those in the Pangaion mountains—which in the 4th century became to the Macedonian kingdom what the Laurion mines had been in the 5th to Athens—were operational before the 6th century B.C.[115]

The only other important metal that does not occur at all in Greece and for which the Greeks depended on imports is tin,[116] 'the sources of which remain elusive and much sought after'.[117] Too soft to be of great value in its pure state, it is an essential ingredient for the manufacture of bronze, an alloy of copper and tin, usually with between 3% and 10%, but in later times up to 30% of tin, depending partly on its availability, partly on manufacturing traditions.[118] The only large and easily accessible tin deposits in Europe are to be found in the north-western part of the Iberian Peninsula, in Brittany in France, in Cornwall, and in the Erzgebirge between Saxony and Bohemia.[119] Whilst Herodotus states that the tin used by Greek metalworkers stems from the 'tin islands'—the Kassiteridas—he acknowledges his ignorance as to the whereabouts of these islands (3. 115), which strongly suggests that the metal did not reach Greece on a direct trade route, but was obtained through a number of intermediaries. Pliny (*NH* 34. 156–157) knew a legend according to which the Greeks first obtained tin from some islands in the Atlantic Ocean, but in his own time it came from Galicia and Lusitania on the Iberian Peninsula (*NH* 7. 57). This is the most likely source of supply already in the early 1st millennium.[120] Tin

[113] Ogden 1982, 14–5.
[114] Katzenstein 1997, 109.
[115] Thasos: Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1988; Koželj and Muller 1988; for Siphnos and the Pangaion, see above nn. 104 and 102 respectively. Ogden (1982, 15) mentions also gold from Arcadia as well as from the Haliakmon and Gallikos rivers—but again, it is far from certain that these deposits and occurrences were known and exploited in ancient times. For the time being at least, there is no evidence in support of the interesting proposal that the gold carried by the Gallikos river, suggestively called the Echedoros in antiquity, was what attracted Euboeans to the Chalcidice in the 8th century (Tiverios 1990, 323–5 with n. 25).
[116] Waldbaum 1978, 65–6; Treister 1996, 28.
[117] Stos-Gale *et al.* 1999, 117.
[118] See, for example, Bol 1985, 17 with references.
[119] Penhallurick 1986, 63, map 2.
[120] Penhallurick 1986, 132.

from the East, mentioned in literary records of the 2nd millennium, may have continued to reach the Levant, and hence Cyprus and the Aegean, even after the invasion by the 'Sea Peoples' and the destruction of Ugarit,[121] but by the 8th century, and the 6th at the latest, the western suppliers seem to be the main, if not the only ones, as Ezekiel's list of goods traded by Tyre suggests,[122] stating that tin was imported from Tarshish in Spain (*NH* 27. 12).[123]

One more natural resource worth mentioning is salt, the importance of which in the ancient world is often underestimated, as has recently been pointed out.[124] On the other hand, the claim made recently by Bouzek that a link exists 'between the human mental capacity and the use of salt'...as 'more salt is generally consumed by those who develop a more individual, intellectual way of thinking' must obviously be taken with a pinch of salt![125] Pliny (*NH* 7. 70–72), who demonstrates a great awareness of the vital importance of salt—without which civilised life would be unthinkable, he says (echoing Teiresias' words in the *Odyssey* 11. 123)—lists the best varieties available and the most important saltworks, including those of Oromenos in India. None of them is located in Greece, but he mentions Attic and Euboean salt as particularly pleasant for seasoning, whilst recommending the salt from Megara as a preservative for meat and fish. One may conclude from his indications that there was no shortage of salt in Greece.

The Population

a. *The Dark Age*

Recent research and various discoveries made in the last decades have made the era that followed the collapse of the Bronze Age palaces around 1200 B.C. and the disappearance of the Mycenaean civilisation less dark than it used to appear,[126] though what emerges in this

[121] Waldbaum 1978, 66.

[122] See above n. 85 for the date of the list.

[123] Unfortunately, I. Morris (2000, 217) does not reveal the source of information on which he bases his intriguing claim that 'central European tin was readily available in Macedonia'.

[124] Giovannini 2001, 36.

[125] Bouzek 1997, 213.

[126] As has been repeatedly observed (see, for example, Blome 1991, 45; Antonaccio 1995, 5), most emphatically by I.S. Lemos (2002, 225, for example). See also Muhly 2003, 23–4.

new light confirms for most parts of the country the picture of poverty, depopulation and isolation that Snodgrass and V. Desborough sketched some 30 years ago.[127] The brightest spot in this otherwise still rather desolate landscape is without a doubt Lefkandi on the island of Euboea. Its discovery, excavation and publication[128] have not only shown that recovery started at the very beginning of the 10th century, thus considerably earlier than had been assumed, but have also revealed that the process was triggered off by the resumption of contacts with the Levant.[129]

The Levantine city kingdoms appear to have survived relatively unscathed the crisis which radically changed the political landscape of the Near East around 1200 B.C. and which appears to be linked to the movement of the 'Sea Peoples' mentioned by Egyptian documents.[130] While the Hittite empire disappears—at the same time as the Mycenaean system collapses in Greece—and Ugarit and its kingdom suffer final destruction, the Canaanite city-states either escape altogether or, as may have been the case for Tyre,[131] suffer only temporary destruction from which they rapidly recover.[132] They retain, as they had in the Bronze Age, their political independence and cultural identity, especially with regard to their religious traditions,[133] and never unite to form a single state. As has often been observed, the name 'Phoenician' under which the 'Canaanites of the Iron Age'[134] are conventionally subsumed, has—strictly speaking—no correspondence in historical

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[127] I. Morris 1997, esp. 543; 2000, 195–207. The data have been interpreted in various ways (see Dickinson 2006, 93–8, for a recent summary), but most scholars agree that they 'point in the direction of a low population for much of the Early Iron Age' (I. Morris 2000, 98) and that most of the country experienced what one would term today a 'scharfe wirtschaftliche und demographische Rezession' (Blome 1991, 58), dropping back to a 'prähistorisches Kulturniveau' (Deger-Jalkotzy 2002, 47); *cf.* Snodgrass 2002, who draws attention to the numerous features which the Dark Age has in common with the Middle Helladic period.

[128] Popham and Sackett 1980; Popham *et al.* 1990; 1993; Popham with Lemos 1996; Evely 2006. For the cemeteries, see also Bräuning 1995. A convenient summary of all aspects of the site is offered by Thomas and Conant 1999, 85–114.

[129] Coldstream 1998; Lemos 1998; 2002, 225–7.

[130] Kuhrt 1995, 386–93; Niemeyer 2002, 177 with references (n. 1); most recently Moreu 2003.

[131] Aubet 1993, 25–6; Niemeyer 2002, 177 with references.

[132] Botto 1988, 117; Kuhrt 1995, 401; most recently Niemeyer 1999, esp. 170–1; 2002, 178; 2006, 144–6.

[133] Markoe 1997, 327–8.

[134] Bikai 1994, 31.

reality.[135] Nevertheless, the various cities, of which Aradus, Byblos, Berytus, Sidon and Tyre were the most important, were tied together by the *ciment culturel* which the common language and script formed,[136] and, as far as can be ascertained, they also shared a common material culture.[137] To use the term 'Phoenician' is therefore hardly more inappropriate or anachronistic than to talk about 'Etruscans' or 'Greeks' in the Early Iron Age. At any rate, at least for the time being there is no alternative, since neither the written nor the archaeological documents at our disposal are sufficient to allow the histories of individual cities to be traced or their material culture to be distinguished.[138] The recent attempt by R. Fletcher (2004) to identify traces of specifically Sidonian, respectively Tyrian, trading activities in the Mediterranean does not withstand closer examination and proves to be as misinformed as the proposal it emulates, put forth by B. Peckham a few years earlier (1998). It is based on the distribution maps of two types of Egyptianising amulets produced by Levantine workshops, both datable between the middle of the 8th and the middle of the 7th centuries. One, representing the 'Memphis triad' (Ptah, Sekhmet and their son Nefertem), extends roughly from the northern Levant to Etruria over Cyprus, Rhodes, the Aegean, Greece and South Italy, and is attributed to 'an apparent co-operation of some kind between "Greek" (probably mainly Euboean) and Phoenician (mainly Sidonian and northern Levantine) enterprises...due to a Sidonian lead'. The other type of amulet, the Wedjat-eye, is said to have been distributed by 'Tyrian ventures' in an area that stretches from Rhodes over the north-western tip of Sicily, Carthage, Sardinia, Ibiza and the southern coast of the Iberian Peninsula to Gadir. Fletcher, who claims that the evidence, 'if we would

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135 For the history of the name, see Aubet 1993, 5–11.

136 Salles 1991, 52. See also Gras *et al.* 1989, 28–32.

137 Ward 1997, 315; Markoe 1997, esp. 327–8; 2000, 143–66.

138 All that remains of the rich Phoenician literature and historiography and of the various annals and chronicles are a few quotations in works of Roman times, often at third hand, *i.e.* by authors citing Hellenistic predecessors who had been using Phoenician sources (see Aubet 1993, 22–5; Ward 1997, 313–4). The situation is not much better with respect to the archaeological record, as all main Phoenician cities are buried beneath their modern successors. The only material available from Tyre, for instance, stems from a small area excavated by P. Bikai in the early 1970s (Bikai 1978) and consists mainly of pottery. In Sidon, recent excavations (as yet unpublished) have, to my knowledge, brought to light material dating exclusively to the Bronze Age. Sarepta (modern Sarafand), the only site where excavations have been more extensive, was a city of minor importance, and work has concentrated on the area of the Roman harbour (see Koehl 1985; Anderson 1988; Khalifeh 1988; Pritchard 1988).

care to examine it carefully...is consistently in favour of northern Phoenician-Greek co-operation in early ventures',[139] echoes Peckham's unsubstantiated assertions that 'Sidonians were the first among the peoples of the Levantine coast to travel widely in the Mediterranean' and that 'they had a close connexion with the Euboeans'.[140] He is apparently unaware of the early Euboean pottery found at Tyre,[141] passes over the fact that 'from the time of Ethbaal until the end of the eighth century B.C.E. the city of Sidon with its dependencies was an integral part of the kingdom of Tyre',[142] and, worse still, seems to ignore that it was razed to the ground by Esarhaddon in 677 B.C.[143]—well before the alleged Euboeo-Sidonian venture came to an end. As he himself observes, the 'Euboeo-Sidonian' zone corresponds in fact with the area of circulation of North Syrian seals belonging to the Lyre-Player Group, which are likely to have been distributed by traders based at Al Mina,[144] the port of the Neo-Hittite principality of Unqi-Pattina.[145] It seems quite safe to assume that the same traders also exported the amulets of the Memphis triad, whilst Phoenicians, including Tyrians, were responsible for the diffusion of the Wedjat-eyes.

Literary tradition and archaeological data converge to suggest that already by the 11th century the Phoenician cities succeeded in reopening and soon extending the trade routes their Bronze Age predecessors had been exploiting.[146] Byblos and Sidon appear to have played a leading rôle at first, but were soon overshadowed by Tyre which assumes the leadership from the accession to the throne by Hiram I (969–936 B.C.).[147]

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[139] Fletcher 2004, 64.
[140] Fletcher 2004, 59.
[141] See below with n. 151.
[142] Katzenstein 1997, 132; see also Aubet 1993, 37.
[143] Aubet 1993, 259–60 with references.
[144] Boardman 1990a, 10–1; 1990b, 180–6, but believing that at least some of the traders were Greek, and more particularly Euboean, apparently unaware of the valid argument set forth by Martelli (1988) against this assumption. Generally, on the question whether Greeks resided at Al Mina or not, see most recently Descœudres (2002, 51–60) and Luke (2003, 23–30), both independently reaching the same, negative, conclusion.
[145] Kuhrt 1995, 410–1; Luke 2003, 11–2. Also Lehmann 2005, 84 (whose characterisation of Pithekoussai as a small, specialised trading site covering an area of about 4 ha, is wide of the mark: see below with n. 243).
[146] Culican 1966; Lemaire 1987 with references; Sherratt and Sherratt 1992; Aubet 1993, 25–7; Kuhrt 1995, 407–10; Markoe 2002, 29–34; Niemeyer 2002, 178.
[147] Markoe 2000, 32–4.

Exchanges with Cyprus had resumed already in the second half of the 11th century,[148] and it looks as if contacts with the Aegean, with Lefkandi in particular, were established even before Hiram's reign, as the archaeological evidence reveals at both ends of the link.[149]

In Lefkandi, the grave offerings of several tombs belonging to the Early and Middle Protogeometric periods, among which is the famous twin burial beneath the so-called *heroon* in the Toumba necropolis, include an impressive number of imported objects of Near Eastern, especially Levantine, and Egyptian manufacture.[150] Only marginally later and still before the middle of the 10th century, the first Euboean (most probably Lefkandian) pottery reaches Tyre[151] and a few other Levantine sites.[152] There can be no doubt that by the second quarter

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[148] Negbi 1992; Coldstream 2000, 21; Markoe 2000, 32.

[149] Markoe 32–3. It may be worth recalling that Chalcis remains a *terra* almost totally *incognita*, the ancient city being deeply buried under its mediaeval and modern successors (what is known about early Chalcis has been gathered by Kalligas 1989). One could easily imagine that in reality Lefkandi's development was but a faint echo of what happened in Chalcis.

[150] Popham 1994, 14–25; Coldstream 1998, 355; Lemos 1998 and 2002, 226–7. For the absolute chronology, see most recently Coldstream 2003b and the summary in Dickinson 2006, 20–3. Note that radiocarbon dates which have recently become available from Carthage (Docter *et al.* 2004) and Huelva (Nijboer and Plicht 2006) suggest that Phoenician presence in the West is likely to go back as far as the late 9th century—thus confirming the date of 814/3 B.C. given by the literary tradition for the foundation of the 'new capital' (Aubet 1993, 187–8). However, the chronology of the Greek pottery found at these sites, the earliest of which belongs to the second half of the 8th century, is in no way affected by these discoveries (*pace* Nijboer 2005), as R.F. Docter and H.G. Niemeyer themselves point out (Docter *et al.* 2004, 568–70). On the other hand, the recent proposal (Boardman 2006) that Euboeans might have visited the area before the foundation of Carthage by the Phoenicians loses in the light of this higher chronology a great deal of its attraction.

[151] Coldstream 1988, 39–40; 1998, 355; 2000, 17; Nitsche, 1990, 12–7 (stratum XI); Lemos 2002, 228–30.

[152] To the list given by Luke (2003, 32–4) of Greek Protogeometric and Geometric fragments found in the Levant (leaving aside North Syria), add, in the Late Protogeometric section, 2 krater and 1 skyphos fragments, all Euboean, from Tel Rehov (Coldstream and Mazar 2003) and from Tel Dor, also in Israel, 1 cup and 1 amphora fragment (Lemos 2002, 228); and add to the Sub-Protogeometric III section Tel Rehov with 2 Euboean and 1 Attic fragments (Coldstream and Mazar 2003). It seems fairly safe to assume that the Euboean lebes found at Tel Hadar (Coldstream 1998, 357–9; 2003b, 255, fig. 3) reached the eastern shore of the Sea of Galilee via Tyre, probably around the middle of the 10th century, *i.e.* at the very time Hiram I and Solomon signed their famous commercial agreements (I Kings 5:10–11; 9:10–14; 9:26–28; 10:22), one of which gave Hiram control over 20 cities in Galilee (I Kings 9:10–14). As Coldstream (2003b, 252–3) neatly demonstrates, the context in which the Greek vessel has been found is unlikely to 'overturn the applecart of early Iron Age chronology'—*pace* Luke 2003, 39.

of the 10th century B.C. a link between the Levant (Tyre) and Euboea (Lefkandi and probably nearby Chalcis) was established and that the ships sailed via Cyprus, as attested by Phoenician imports.[153] From here, the navigation route would have led to Naxos, Samos and Rhodes,[154] though so far none of these islands has yielded any archaeological evidence confirming this hypothesis.

Before attempting to find out what could have been the likely incentives that led to the establishment of the connexion, it might be useful to have a brief look at the two 'partners'. Tyre first, the seat 'of the great king Hiram I who reigned *ca.* 970–940 B.C., united the coastal Phoenician cities under his hegemony, and is credited with the beginnings of Phoenician maritime enterprise overseas'.[155] No physical remains of the city going back to his time are known, but the literary sources, including Herodotus' mention of two temples of Heracles (*i.e.* Melqart) (2. 44), allow of no doubt that it was a large and splendid urban centre.[156] Its fortification enclosed an area of approximately 30 ha.[157] The two harbours were rebuilt by Hiram I, who added to them huge shipyards,[158] providing the necessary infrastructure for what is 'considered to this day to be the first naval power in history'.[159]

At the other end, Lefkandi, a modest village, even if one assumes that its population was rather larger than what Snodgrass once estimated it to be on the basis of its cemeteries, *viz.* closer to 50 than to 500.[160] The hill, called Xeropolis today, on which the settlement was situated, rises parallel to the coast on a north-south axis to a maximum height of 17 m above the sea. Its flat top, about 500 m long and reaching a maximum width of 120 m, covers an inhabitable area of roughly 5 ha—but only a minute portion of this has been explored by the excavations that have focused instead on the burial grounds. At this stage it is impossible to gauge the extent to which the plateau was actually occupied, but excavations have recently resumed and are starting to

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[153] Coldstream 2000, 21.
[154] See Fletcher 2004, 70.
[155] Coldstream 2000, 20.
[156] Katzenstein 1997, 86–8; Markoe 2000, 196.
[157] See plan in Bikai 1978, pl. 59.
[158] Aubet 1993, 36.
[159] Aubet 1993. 153.
[160] Snodgrass 1983a; 1993, 39, recently followed by Muhly (2003, 25) who considers it as 'something of a kingdom, perhaps involving no more than 50 individuals'.

yield most promising results.[161] It seems quite probable that the chieftain who ruled over the little community around 1000 B.C. resided on the hill, in an apsidal-shaped hut built of timber posts and sun-dried bricks, covered with a thatched roof: the dwelling itself has not been found, but it is likely that it was replicated by the building erected in the cemetery known as the Toumba necropolis over the grave of a warrior and of a woman who, willingly or not, accompanied him in his death.[162] Assuming the memorial built over the dead leader's tomb was a reasonably faithful replica of the dwelling he had occupied during his lifetime, his residence must have impressed his fellow Lefkandians by its extraordinary dimensions (some 45 m long and 10 m wide), though it remains 'no more than a thatched hut built of sun-dried bricks and wooden posts, at risk of being blown over by any storm, without marble pavement or wall-paintings, lacking a central throne or a bath with running water,' as P. Blome puts it.[163]

The most striking feature of Lefkandi's geomorphology, considering its fame as the point of departure of major maritime enterprises and as the home of the seafaring Euboeans, the Phoenicians' 'equal trading partners',[164] is the absence of a proper harbour. Of the two small bays which open on either end of the Xeropolis hill, that on the west—used in the 1960s by caïques loading bricks from the nearby yards,[165] today

[161] Lemos 2005b; 2006.

[162] The fact that it is situated within a funerary area speaks strongly against the hypothesis that it served as the man's residence before becoming his gigantic funeral monument (*pace* Calligas 1988, 230–2; followed, for example, by Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 54–5, and, more recently, by Muhly 2003, 25). Antonaccio (1995, 11) has pointed out that, had the structure already been roofed when the burial took place, it would have been very difficult to excavate the pits without removing at least one of the poles supporting the ridge. Unfortunately, the stratigraphical evidence was to a large extent destroyed by vandals before scientific excavation took place, but traces of intense burning could still be observed below the floor of the building. They are more likely to be the remains of a funerary pyre than of an Amazonian-type barbecue (*pace* Coucouzeli 1999), suggesting that a cremation had taken place before the building was erected. See Popham *et al.* (1993, 99–101: Popham) for a detailed account as well as for a summary of the arguments in favour of the hypothesis that the building served first as a residence. What is certain is that the gigantic hut was demolished shortly afterwards to become part of a tumulus surrounded by subsequent burials. It never served as a 'heroön', as Antonaccio (1993, 51) has rightly pointed out.

[163] Blome 1991, 58: '…eben nur eine strohgedeckte Hütte aus Lehmziegeln und Holzpfosten, bei jedem Unwetter gefährdet, am Boden kein Marmor, an den Wänden keine Fresken, in der Mitte kein Thron, nirgends ein Bad mit fliessendem Wasser…'

[164] Coldstream 2000, 20.

[165] As Popham (1994, 12) reminisces, remarking on the difficulty to envisage the site 'as a thriving harbour town', now that the caïques are no more.

only as an anchorage for a few fishing boats and an ever growing number of yachts—could certainly have accommodated one or two vessels of the type known from the Askalon shipwrecks,[166] but it would have been utterly inadequate to serve as the home base of a merchant fleet, however modest in size, let alone of a naval force.[167] The bay on the east side is even smaller and shallower. It 'may have extended further inland in antiquity',[168] but it is equally possible that both bays were smaller in ancient times than they are now.[169] Considering that the excavators have always emphasised the importance of Lefkandi's marine activities, it is surprising that the geomorphological exploration of the bays, for which permission had been obtained at an early stage, was never carried out.[170] To recycle a nice expression coined by Boardman: 'one wonders about academic priorities'![171]

Summing up, one cannot help being reminded of the statement that, at the period under discussion, 'Greek communities were, by comparison with the Near East, poor, and their socio-political structures relatively underdeveloped',[172] and add to this that they were also still illiterate—though not for much longer, thanks to the increasingly intense contacts with the Phoenicians (see below), from whom they appear to have also taken over their weight system (ultimately of Babylonian origin).[173]

The question as to 'who took the initiative' to establish the link,[174] though of limited interest and probably bound to remain without a firm answer, has been attempted by numerous commentators. Most have come down in favour of the Lefkandians, for reasons that may be summarised as follows.

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[166] See Ballard *et al.* 2002; Stager 2003. For a general discussion of Late Bronze Age to Early Iron Age ships in the Mediterranean, see Giardino 1995, 259–68.

[167] Kalligas (1990) infers the presence of an important Lefkandian fleet from two representations of warships on vases found in the Toumba and Skoubris necropoleis datable to the second half of the 9th century (see Verdan 2006, 101, fig. 4 for illustrations; 97 n. 4 for references). Yet, as Verdan (2006, 101 n. 4) rightly points out, the link between pictorial motifs used by craftsmen and historical reality is usually very tenuous and difficult to define.

[168] Popham and Sacket 1980, 1.

[169] Popham and Sacket 1980, 371.

[170] Popham and Sacket 1980, 371.

[171] Boardman 2002, 1 n. 2. In the meantime, the problem has been elegantly glossed over by calling the little bays 'deux magnifiques ports naturels' (Kourou 2003, 82) or 'excellent harbours' (Lemos 2006, 525).

[172] Kuhrt 2002, 16.

[173] See Kroll 2001.

[174] Coldstream 1998.

(1) The Phoenicians would not have ventured into the western Mediterranean before having set up a colony at Kition on Cyprus.[175]
(2) If Phoenicians had travelled to the Aegean, their *keimelia* would not be concentrated in Lefkandi but would be found on other Greek sites as well.[176]
(3) Lefkandi lies on no major trading route and has nothing to offer that would not be available closer to the Levant.[177]

The first of these arguments has been seriously weakened by the fact that there is indeed evidence of Phoenician presence on Cyprus as early as the late 11th century,[178] whilst there is none before the very end of the same century to indicate that Euboeans stopped over on Cyprus on their journey to the Levant.[179] The second and third can be examined together, since it is obvious that, if a commodity could be identified that would make it worthwhile for a Phoenician vessel to sail to Euboea, both arguments would be invalidated at the same time.

It might therefore be helpful to try to identify the possible reason(s) leading to the establishment of contacts between Euboea and Tyre before attempting to find out who initiated them.

Surprisingly, most scholars have either brushed this fundamental question aside, filed it in the too-hard basket, or simply revealed their confusion.[180] Thus, the Greeks are said to have been attracted to the Levant by 'resources—perhaps not so much raw material as the exotica which were to have such an effect on their physical culture…', while the Phoenicians were seeking 'resources, although it is not clear what'.[181] More seriously, the silver from the Laurion mines has been considered as a possible attraction to Phoenician merchants,[182] a hypothesis that finds some confirmation in the silver exports to Egypt attested for the 8th century.[183] Another commodity they might have been looking for,

[175] Popham 1994, 28–30.
[176] Popham 1994, 30; followed, for example, by Lemos 1998; Boardman 2001, 36.
[177] Popham 1994, 30.
[178] See above n. 148.
[179] Coldstream 2000, 21.
[180] To attribute the wealth of the Lefkandian community in the 10th and 9th centuries to 'passing traffic in search of high value materials like the silver of nearby Lavrion' (Sherratt 1992, 365) exhibits a worrying ignorance of the geography of the region concerned.
[181] Boardman 2001, 36.
[182] Coldstream 1977, 66 (also 2000, 31); Niemeyer 1999, 175.
[183] Above with n. 111.

apart from slaves, was iron, in the production and technology of which Greece appears to have played an important rôle from an early stage, certainly preceding Cyprus,[184] contrary to long-held beliefs.[185] On the other hand, the exploitation of the Laurion silver mines appears, at least on present evidence, to have operated at a very modest level,[186] and, as mentioned above, iron is not a rare commodity anywhere in the world.

And yet, we need not be 'perplexed to discover what it was that attracted them to Euboea'.[187] Looking at the two sites and their economies provides a simple and obvious answer. At one end of the link, rural Lefkandi, situated next to the lush Lelantine plain, 'eine der üppigsten Kulturlandschaften Griechenlands',[188] capable of producing agricultural surpluses in such amounts that it became the cause of one of the most famous and longest-lasting wars in early Greece (whatever its precise chronology), involving a substantial part of the whole country.[189] At the other end, a large urban centre suffering from overpopulation and a chronic shortage of agricultural products. 'From the tenth century onwards, there are clear allusions to a deficit in foodstuffs in the territory of Tyre, a city that imported huge quantities of oil and cereals from abroad'.[190] According to the Hebrew Book of Kings,[191] Hiram I agreed to provide king Solomon with as much cedar and cypress timber as he wanted in exchange for an annual supply of 20,000 *kor* of wheat and 20 *kor* of olive oil.[192] No need therefore to wonder what attracted the Phoenicians to Euboea and why, after having offered the Lelantine farmers in exchange for their rural products (whether as gifts or as a result of quasi-commercial barter deals)[193] those bronze vessels, gold jewellery, faience figurines and glass beads that ended up as funerary

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[184] Zimmermann 2002.

[185] See, for example, Giangiulio 1996, 498; also, more recently, Dickinson 2006, 146–50 (still unaware of Zimmermann's findings).

[186] Mussche 1998, 61.

[187] Boardman 1990, 178.

[188] Philippson 1950–59, I.2, 605 (1951).

[189] See Parker 1997, 153–4; Walker 2004, 156–82.

[190] Aubet 1993, 56.

[191] I Kings 5:10–11.

[192] The equivalent of 8,000 tons of wheat and 8,000 litres of olive oil.

[193] On the fine line between the two, see Boardman 2002, 4. For the much firmer line that separates this type of exchange and actual trade, see below with nn. 347–348.

offerings in the tombs of the Lefkandian 'upper class', they returned to the Levant without touring the rest of the Aegean.[194]

It is difficult not to be reminded of the well-known episode in the *Odyssey*'s fifteenth book (402–483), when Eumaeus recalls his early childhood on Syros, the island producing wine, cattle, sheep and wheat in abundance. The tale does indeed 'ring true'.[195] The Phoenician traders have come not in search of metals, nor to buy slaves, but to fill their vessel with foodstuff which they barter against what Homer calls *keimelia*. When they leave, taking with them little Eumaeus' nurse who hopes to return to her wealthy parents' house in Sidon, she walks off with three cups belonging to the royal household (*Odyssey* 15. 466–470). If only she had known that such vessels would be interpreted by later commentators as having served to foster 'personal links between the élites of Lefkandi and Tyre'![196] Of course, not all vessels of which the remains have been found in Tyre and other Levantine sites had been 'pinched'—some of the pottery constituted perhaps a commodity in its own right,[197] whilst amphorae almost certainly were shipped not for their intrinsic value but as containers, probably of olive oil rather than wine.[198]

This first phase of the relationship between Tyre and Euboea, during which the contacts must have been very sporadic indeed (possibly only established by the Tyrians when in need of vital foodstuffs),[199] seems to have lasted for almost a century. Shortly before 900 B.C., Euboean pottery appears also on Cyprus (Late Protogeometric),[200] and not much

[194] Riis (1970, 164–5) is one of the very few scholars who have seriously considered the importance of rural products in the exchange for Oriental goods.

[195] Braun 1982, 6.

[196] See Coldstream 1996; 1998, 355; 2000, 17 with references.

[197] As seems to be the case for the plates decorated with pendent semicircles, which are much more popular in the East than at home (see Coldstream 2000, 23).

[198] Courbin 1993, esp. 105–6.

[199] One ought to remember that the 20 or so Greek pots found in Tyre and other Levantine sites cover a period of at least 50, possibly 100 years.

[200] See Coldstream 2000, 21; and, more recently, Lemos (2005a, 54), who explicitly draws attention to the fact that the Euboean imports on Cyprus are distinctly later than the earliest found in Tyre and rightly remarks that this 'could be important in the reconstruction of the earlier trade routes during this first stage of contacts'. However, she passes over the Phoenician imports on Cyprus which are contemporary with, or slightly earlier than, the first Phoenician imports in Lefkandi, and thus fails to recognise the Phoenician character of the first phase of contacts which by and large covers the 10th century.

later (Early Geometric I) on Naxos.[201] Phoenician and Cypriote pottery of the late 10th/early 9th century has been found at Kommos on Crete, and there is some evidence to suggest that some Phoenicians may even have settled on the island.[202] Phoenician *keimelia*, such as faience and glass beads, are now also reaching Athens, eastern Locris, Thessaly and the Peloponnese.[203] Clearly, the connexions are expanding fairly rapidly, and at least from this stage onwards the Lefkandians (and thus surely the Chalcidians) must have assumed a more active rôle, no longer limiting themselves to supplying rural products to visiting Phoenician vessels. In the northern Aegean, 'a network of trade contacts' can be traced thanks to the distribution pattern of a particular type of amphora,[204] 'made either somewhere in coastal Lokris or around the Pagasitic Gulf in southeast Thessaly'.[205] As I. Lemos suspects, it is most probable that grain 'from the plains of central Macedonia and Thessaly'[206] was among the most important commodities distributed by this system. In it Lefkandi plays a pivotal rôle, which is reflected by pottery from Thessaly and the northern Aegean found together with Near Eastern imports in some of its tombs:[207] it is part of the northern Aegean network on the one hand and retains by the same token its well-established relationship with the Phoenicians who thus gain access to the produce of the rich plains in the North. Four amphora fragments of Late Protogeometric date from Ras el-Bassit (found in later deposits) are most revealing in this context.[208] Of (most probably) Lefkandian manufacture, they are closely related to the Locrian group just mentioned by both shape and decoration. As P. Courbin has convincingly argued, they must have contained high-quality olive oil and are more likely, in his view, to have been imported by Phoenician traders than exported by Euboean merchants, shortly before 900 B.C.[209]

Half a century later, Attic pottery (Middle Geometric) starts to turn up throughout the Aegean—it is especially well represented at Knossos

[201] As shown by Karl Reber in a lecture given to the Genevan Association for Classical Archaeology on 14 December, 2006.
[202] Kourou 2003, 84 with n. 26; Stampolidis and Kotsonas 2006 (with references to the earlier literature).
[203] Lemos 2002, 226–7.
[204] Lemos 2001, 216–7.
[205] Catling 1998, 162.
[206] Lemos 2001, 216.
[207] See most recently Lemos 2005a, 54 with references.
[208] Courbin 1993.
[209] Courbin 1993, 109.

and Lefkandi, where the earliest imports go back to the late 10th century (Late Protogeometric)[210]—and also finds its way to Amathus and Salamis on Cyprus,[211] as well as to Tyre[212] and other sites in the Levant.[213] Barter deals of the kind that had been concluded with Lelantine farmers as early as the beginning of the 10th century in order to satisfy the Phoenicians' hunger for rural products, wheat and oil in particular, seem now also to be struck in Attica, as the goods in two well-known female burials most vividly illustrate. The first, of mid-9th century date, is the 'Tomb of the Rich Lady' in the *agora*,[214] recently rediscussed by Coldstream.[215] The second, in Eleusis, is known as the Isis grave after a faience figurine representing the goddess, and belongs to the turn from the 9th to the 8th century.[216] In each of them a locally made, extremely elaborate and carefully decorated terracotta granary model functions as a counterweight, as it were, to the numerous precious objects made of gold, ivory and faience found in the same tombs, most of which are of Levantine manufacture.

b. *Post tenebras lux*

On the basis of its pottery the so-called Isis grave in Eleusis can be attributed to the early 8th century with which a new era starts. Even in the more remote areas of Greece the Dark Age yields to a period of extraordinary dynamism which in Athens finds its expression in the emergence of a truly monumental style in vase painting of the so-called Ripe Geometric phase[217] (or 'Middle Geometric II' in the terminology widely used today by ceramologists), culminating in the creation of the large figurative pictures by the so-called Dipylon Master.[218] The sudden increase of archaeological evidence at all levels and in every respect also suggests that this turning point was linked to a marked growth in population—the precise reasons of which remain obscure, though one

[210] Coldstream 1996; Coldstream and Catling 1996, 716.
[211] Coldstream 2000, 25–6.
[212] Luke 2003, 33 with nn. 67–70.
[213] Luke 2003, 33 with n. 60 (Hama); Coldstream and Mazar 2003 (Tel Rehov).
[214] Smithson 1968; Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 13–14.
[215] Coldstream 1995.
[216] Coldstream 1977, 79.
[217] Kahane 1940.
[218] Coldstream 1968, 29–41.

suspects that an increase in rural output, partly at least due to improvements in agricultural productivity, must have played its part.[219]

One obtains a first idea of the change by briefly looking at the number of settlements known from more than funeral evidence and for which the published finds allow a reasonably safe and precise dating of their architectural remains:[220] while there are no more than about 20 such sites going back to the first half of the 9th century, there are 36 by 800 B.C. and 44 by the second half of the 8th century.[221]

Several regional surveys carried out in recent years confirm this overall picture and reveal that the rise in numbers starts almost simultaneously throughout the country.[222] In Boeotia, where J. Fossey has been able to locate 97 settlements ranging from the Early Bronze Age to the end of the Roman period, 18 sites are known from the Late Geometric period, against the 6 occupied during the Early and Middle Geometric period.[223] An even more dramatic picture is offered by Attica, where the number of sites (though only known from cemeteries) between the 9th and the middle of the 8th century outside Athens remains unchanged (5), before jumping at once to 20 in the Late Geometric period.[224] In the southern Argolid, the data collected by the Argolid Exploration Project reveal that after more than two centuries of virtually total abandonment recovery sets in around 900 B.C.[225] Though around 800 B.C., the number of sites (3) is still smaller than that known from the Middle Helladic period, a century later at least 16 sites are occupied, representing a density about half that of Mycenaean times. A similar picture is available for the Argolid as a whole, though it is less clear

[219] Noteworthy, in this respect, the observation made by the team of the Pylos Regional Archaeological Project, according to which 'after 800 B.C. olive cultivation increases sharply', whilst 'during the Early Iron Age the landscape experienced the least intensive human impact of the last 4,000 years' (Zangger *et al.* 1997, 593–4).

[220] The figures are based on the surveys published by K. Fagerström (1988), F. Lang (1996) and A. Mazarakis Ainian (1997), but leaving aside Macedonia, Thrace, Crete, Sicily and South Italy, as well as all the sites listed for which there is not enough evidence to distinguish between the various phases of the Geometric period. Also left aside are settlements that no doubt existed in the Geometric period, but for which no archaeological evidence is available that belongs to this period (for example Megara).

[221] The picture was already quite clear 40 years ago, on the basis of a much smaller sample. See Bouzek 1969, figs. 52 (9th century) and 65 (8th century).

[222] In most cases, the evidence is limited to surface finds in form of pottery fragments.

[223] Fossey 1988, fig. 52.

[224] See Mersch 1996, 242–5 with maps 4–6.

[225] Jameson *et al.* 1994, 229, fig. 4.4; 372–5, 548.

because of the difficulty in dating the various sites with precision: leaving the sanctuaries aside, 9 are classified as Submycenanean and/or Protogeometric, 25 as Geometric. Of these, 8 are said to belong to the Late Geometric period, whilst for the other 17 the chronological range has not been established.[226] Only in Achaea does recovery seem to have been delayed compared with other parts of Greece: quite densely inhabited in the Late Bronze Age,[227] the region remains very much in the dark for several centuries and does not re-emerge before the second half of the 8th century.[228] The only exceptions are Aegira, the *acropolis* of which might never have been completely abandoned,[229] though no architectural remains of the Iron Age precede the late 8th century,[230] and Aigion, where the earliest pottery found at the sanctuary of Artemis near Ano Mazaraki may go back to the 9th or even the 10th century.[231]

The rise is no less spectacular when one looks at sanctuaries and cult places: from fewer than 40 in the 9th century B.C. to almost 60 datable to the Middle Geometric period and about 120 in the second half of the 8th century.[232] In Attica alone, of the 16 pre-Archaic cult-places 6 were already visited in the 9th century, 8 in the first half of the 8th, and 15 in the later 8th century.[233] Furthermore, the number of dedications in all these sanctuaries also increases sharply over the same period. This is true not only for metal votives,[234] but for all kinds of offerings. In the sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia, for instance, the number of vase fragments climbs from 2,745 fragments in the 9th century (or 9,231 g) to 5,839 in the 8th (or 19,719 g).[235] In the peak-sanctuary dedicated to Zeus on Mt Hymettus, the first offerings—mainly vases—go back to Mycenaean times. Throughout the Dark Age, there

[226] Foley 1988, 260–3 with tabls. 1–2.
[227] Moschos 2002.
[228] Morgan and Hall 1996.
[229] See Bammer 2002, 240.
[230] Bammer 2002, 240 with fig. 5, revising the higher chronology set forth in earlier reports (cited by Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 165).
[231] Petropoulos 2002, 148–50; Gadolou 2002, 170.
[232] Based on the list given by Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 420–4 (see above n. 220).
[233] D'Onofrio 1995, 72, fig. 4, and gazetteer on pp. 83–6 (the latter allows distinction between Middle and Late Geometric, which the table in fig. 4 does not).
[234] Snodgrass 1980, 53; Treister 1996, 121–4.
[235] Morgan 1999, 152–3, 402–6. Note, on the other hand, that the figures given by Whitley (2001, 311 tabl. 12.1), for the bronze objects found in the same sanctuary (3 for the 10–9th centuries, 15 for the 8th, 82 for the 7th century) are meaningless, as hardly any of the pieces can be dated with sufficient accuracy.

are about 10 dedications per generation, until the beginning of the 8th century, when the number climbs suddenly to 50, then to 80 around 750 B.C. to reach its maximum of 300 in the second half of the same century before declining in the Archaic period.[236]

The increase in the material evidence and its expanded spatial distribution could mean one of two things: either, the number of individuals has remained the same but they have increased their output—for instance due to changes in technology and/or cultural behaviour[237]—or, the individual output has remained the same and the number of people has grown. It is likely that the reality reflected by the archaeological data was a combination of both reasons, though the increase in the number of settlements speaks rather in favour of demographic growth constituting the main factor.

Support for this interpretation also comes from the site of Zagora on the island of Andros, still the only Geometric settlement excavated to a sufficiently large extent to allow us to gain an idea of its overall development.[238] As J.R. Green has shown,[239] the settlement grew very rapidly from the time of its foundation in the early 8th century to its sudden and mysterious abandonment less than a hundred years later.[240] Its covered living space appears to have doubled every quarter of a century, which Green takes as reflecting a doubling of the population every generation, *i.e.* a demographic growth at an annual rate of over 3%. Even if one might disagree with his assumption that the living space available per individual remained the same during the period of occupation, the overall conclusion that Zagora's population must have at least

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[236] Langdon 1976. The way the figures are presented by Osborne (1996, 93, tabl. 4) is quite misleading: amalgamating the numbers for the late 8th with those of the 7th century a picture of continuous growth has been obtained which does not correspond with the real situation.

For the vases from Mt Hymettus that were offered to the Metropolitan Museum in the 1920s by the Greek government, see now *CVA Metropolitan Museum* 5 (2004), pls. 24–27.

[237] If one wanted to illustrate this point with an 'ethnoarchaeological comparison', one could point out that the material evidence witnessing to the existence of an Aboriginal camp-site in Australia prior to 1788 would be almost non-existent compared with what a corresponding site would include nowadays.

[238] Cambitoglou *et al.* 1988.

[239] Green 1990.

[240] The hypothesis put forward by C.A. Televantou (1996, 100), recently adopted by Coldstream (2003a, 407), that its inhabitants moved, together with those of Hypsele, to found the *polis* of Andros at the site known today as Palaiochora, is interesting, though for the time being impossible to verify, since the excavations at Hypsele are still largely unpublished and those at Palaichora not yet undertaken.

doubled or tripled in the course of the 8th century seems inescapable. It is equally probable, as Green points out, that this growth was due to internal factors, *i.e.* to an increasing number of surviving children per family, rather than to an influx of people from elsewhere—which would have led to the creation of new quarters rather than to the extension and subdivision of practically every existing house.

The settlement, limited on three sides by steep cliffs falling to the sea and on the fourth by a solid wall that separates it from the rest of the island, covered an area of about 5.5 ha. Of these, approximately 6% have been fully excavated,[241] exposing the remains of houses separated by streets as well as a fair portion of vacant land. Each of the roughly twenty dwellings uncovered must have housed a family of at least six (a minimal figure in view of the population growth just discussed). Assuming the investigated area is representative of the site as a whole—which the excavators, on the strength of trial trenches dug in various locations, consider to be the case—Zagora would have counted over 300 houses and thus accommodated a population of some 2,000 at the time of its greatest extent towards the end of the 8th century, just before it was abandoned.

Such a figure corresponds astonishingly well with the 5,000–10,000 inhabitants estimated by D. Ridgway for Pithekoussai in the Late Geometric period.[242] Its settlement site on Monte di Vico covers an area which is fairly precisely double that of Zagora, *i.e.* some 10 ha.[243]

Another correspondence may be worth noting, although this, too, may be no more than a coincidence. Assuming Zagora's population was growing at the rate proposed by Green, it would have been very small at the time of its establishment around 800 B.C., counting no more than 100–150 souls. This would tally well with the estimates Snodgrass has put forth with regard to Lefkandi's population in the late 9th century.[244] It would also correspond with the scarcity of remains dating back to this period.

Finally, the funerary data, the most controversial of all. The main difficulty one faces when trying to use cemetery populations to estimate

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[241] See Cambitoglou *et al.* 1988, 154–61, pl. 1.

[242] Ridgway 1992, 102. The much lower figure of 4,000–5,000 proposed by I. Morris (1996, 57) implies that Ridgway overestimated the number of burials.

[243] See Buchner 1975, pl. I; the figure of 600 ha [*sic*] given by Ridgway (1992, 83) should not have escaped the attention of the proof-reader.

[244] See above with n. 160.

the size of corresponding living communities is the obvious bias of our information sources, whether literary or archaeological, towards the upper classes. The difficulty is exacerbated by our ignorance regarding infant mortality and average lifetime of individuals. For simplicity's sake rather than on the strength of any evidence, most historians and anthropologists settle on a figure of 30, assuming that conditions in antiquity were similar to those of Europe before the 19th century.[245]

Taking as an example Athens during the Protogeometric period, to which about 200 tombs can be assigned,[246] one might reach the following estimates of its population between the middle of the 11th and the beginning of the 9th century:

1. 40 inhabitants—if one assumes that the burials represent the entire population, regardless of social class and age, *viz.* everyone was buried, and all tombs have been found.[247]
2. 160 inhabitants—as in 1, but with the additional assumption that for each buried individual there were 3 infants or children who were not formally buried in the cemetery, and whose remains have not been identified for one reason or other.
3. 320 inhabitants—same assumption as in 2, but with the further hypothesis that only the members of the upper classes were formally buried and estimating their percentage compared with the overall population (including non-citizens, but excluding slaves) as 50%, on the basis of the figures known in 431 B.C. (when the *hippeis* and *zeugitai* made up about half the citizen body).[248]
4. Needless to say, further assumptions and figures could be produced *ad libitum*, for instance by adding to the above figures a number of slaves.

The increase in the number of burials from about 800 B.C. onwards in Athens and in Attica in general,[249] as well as in the Argolid[250]—gradual at first, but at a rapidly increasing pace in the second half of the 8th century—was long seen as a firm proof of a substantial population increase during the 8th century.[251] Following I. Morris's demonstration

[245] See, for example, Starr 1977, 15.
[246] Whitley 1991b, 201–2. See also I. Morris 1987, 218.
[247] Number of tombs (200) divided by the cemetery's lifespan (150 years) = 1.33 (number of burials per year) multiplied with 30 (assumed average individual life span) = 40 (living population).
[248] See Gomme and Hopper 1970.
[249] Snodgrass 1977, 11–2; more recently Mersch 1996, 14, 243–5, maps 4–6.
[250] Snodgrass 1980, 23–4, fig. 4.
[251] Snodgrass 1983, 167–9; Green 1990; Sallares 1991, 124–9; Cawkwell 1992, 289. See also Cavanagh (1996, 660–2) for the North Cemetery in Knossos, where, however,

that changes in the number of archaeologically ascertainable burials over time may depend on other than demographic factors,[252] the fallacy of the argument is now generally recognised,[253] and the hypothesis of a demographic explosion taking place at the beginning of the Archaic period or shortly before can be dismissed without hesitation, as it rests on no firm foundation.[254]

To conclude: whilst the data at our disposal seem to indicate that the population was on the increase from the end of the 9th century and throughout the 8th, the information is neither clear nor detailed enough to provide a precise idea concerning the rate of this growth,[255] let alone to estimate the actual size of any region's or particular settlement's population, whether before or after 800 B.C., or to determine its composition according to age groups.[256]

The one and only point that can be made with confidence is that the population around 800 B.C., both in Greece as a whole and in its individual regions and particular settlements, was small in comparison to Classical and Hellenistic conditions and very tiny compared with that of present times. Indeed, some cultivable areas and entire regions appear to have remained uninhabited until the beginning and even the later part of the 8th century: after the Bronze Age, Thera[257] and Chios[258] do not appear to have been settled again before *ca.* 800 B.C.,

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one observes a double peak, a first around 800 B.C., the second contemporary with the one known from the Attic and Argive cemeteries.

[252] I. Morris 1987; 1992, 78–81; 1998a.

[253] See Snodgrass 1993, 31. Also, for example, Mersch 1996, 25, 84–5; Osborne 1996, 78; Mussche 1998, 29.

[254] Scheidel 2004, 183: 'Die Annahme einer Bevölkerungsexplosion vor oder am Beginn der archaischen Epoche entbehrt somit jeglicher Grundlage.'

[255] Entertaining but not to be taken seriously are the statistical gymnastics performed by Tandy (1997, esp. 51–3), who, after 'adjusting' Snodgrass's figures by applying to them I. Morris's ratios between adult and infant burials (as if Morris's observations concerning the growing number of people receiving a formal burial in the course of the 8th century were only relevant with regard to the number of children buried), comes up with the 'most accurate measurement so far of the population increase in eighth-century Athens and Attica' (p. 51), *viz.* a threefold increase of the population between 780 and 718 (*sic*) B.C., which corresponds with an annual growth rate of 1.9%.

[256] *Pace* Osborne (1996, 64), whose figures (for example, that 45% of the population were children and adolescents below the age of 18, about half of whom had lost their fathers) are as precise as the evidence on which they are based is vague and unspecified ('data from pre-industrial populations').

[257] Malkin 1997, 33–4.

[258] Boardman 1967, 250.

whilst much of Achaea[259] and of Corinthia[260] were still only sparsely occupied as late as the end of the Geometric period.[261]

The Economy

a. *Agriculture*

As is well known, the personal income according to which each Athenian citizen was assigned to one of the four tax classes introduced by Solon was expressed in terms of agricultural production, *viz.* of the quantity of wheat yielded by his estate. It shows that in the early 6th century agricultural production constituted by far the most important, if not the only, pillar of the Athenian economy.[262] It seems safe to assume that this was also the case for the rest of Greece, and even safer with regard to the Geometric period.[263] For the latter, our main sources of information are Hesiod's *Opera et Dies* (especially 382–492) and a number of remarks in the *Iliad* and in the *Odyssey*,[264] to which may be added a few passages from Archilochos. The literary evidence, combined with information provided by regional surveys and archaeobotanical studies,[265] shows that then, just as until very recent times, the main crops of the arable land were those that constitute the 'Mediterranean triad': cereals, olive and grape.[266]

Among the cereals, barley appears to have been more common than wheat,[267] while oats and rye, if grown at all, were used only as fodder for livestock.[268]

As for the cultivation of olive, there is some evidence suggesting that it had declined to a considerable extent after the fall of the Mycenaean system and that it did not fully recover before the 8th century.[269]

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259 See above with n. 228.

260 Morgan 1999, 467–82 with fig. 17.

261 See also Homer's description of the uninhabited, yet fertile island of Elacheia, well watered and provided with a perfect harbour (*Odyssey* 9. 116–141).

262 Osborne 1992, 23.

263 Richter 1968, 5–6 with references; Starr 1977, *passim*; Isager-Skydsgaard 1992, 9; I. Morris 1998c; Gallo 1999, 37–8.

264 For the question regarding the possibility of using the Homeric poems as a source of information about the period under discussion, see below with n. 379.

265 See Amouretti 1994, 72–3.

266 Heldreich 1877, 569.

267 Amouretti 1986, 36–41.

268 Kroll 2000, 62–4.

269 Amouretti 1986, 44–5; and see above n. 219.

Its expansion might therefore have contributed to the demographic growth in the 8th century, which we have mentioned above.[270] Almost as important as the olive is the grape, cultivated in Greece since Neolithic times.[271]

Yet, there are quite a number of other plants, both cultivated and gathered in the wild, that complement the 'Mediterranean triad'. In order of importance probably to be mentioned first is the fig, of considerable nutritional value due to its high sugar content. Dried, it keeps for a long time in very compact form and is thus particularly suitable on travels—which explains why it is found in tombs, no doubt as part of the provisions offered to the dead for the journey to the other world.[272] Archilochos (fr. 105) mentions it in a way that suggests it was not only part of the soldier's, but more generally of the poor man's diet. Other crops, such as apples, pears, quinces and pomegranates, are occasionally mentioned by Homer, but their cultivation appears to be much less widespread than that of the fig. In Odysseus' orchard there are only 13 pear and 10 apple trees, against 40 fig trees (*Odyssey* 24. 340–341).

Although they have hardly left any traces in the archaeological record and are passed over in silence by the early poets, it is likely that bitter vetch, lentils and other pulses, all protein-rich and easily stored, played a significant alimentary rôle already in the Geometric period, as they ascertainably did in later times, particularly for the poor.[273] To these may be added millet and flax, used to produce both linen and lindseed oil.[274]

Information about animal husbandry is even more scanty than that concerning crops.[275] Still, Homer's and Hesiod's remarks,[276] combined with a (still very small) number of archaeozoological studies,[277] permit no doubt that stock breeding played an important rôle in the production of food. Whether its part, compared with that of arable farming, had

[270] Sallares 1991, 306.

[271] Kroll 2000, 66.

[272] See, for example, the 9th-century B.C. tomb in the *agora* (Young 1949, pl. 66.4).

[273] Sarpaki 1992, 70–5; Garnsey 1992, 152; Amouretti 1999.

[274] Amouretti 1999.

[275] Isager and Skydsgaard 1992, 83–4.

[276] See Ballarini 1999 on pig and sheep breeding in the *Odyssey*.

[277] See the references in Amouretti 1994, 90 nn. 45–6, to which may be added Sloan and Duncan 1978 (Nichoria), Reese and Rose 2000 (Kommos in Crete), Snyder and Klippel 1999 (Kastro in Crete), and Studer and Chenal-Velarde 2003 (Eretria).

been even greater in the preceding centuries, as some have claimed[278] and others have denied,[279] need not concern us here.[280] The rearing of goats, sheep, pigs and cattle was certainly widespread,[281] but the available data are too sparse to allow any generalisations to be drawn with regard to possible changes in the ratios between the various species.[282] All of them were primarily bred for their meat, goats and sheep also for their milk and their wool, cattle for their hides, whilst cow and ox could also be used as draught animals, as were mules and donkeys. The horse, on the other hand, served only as a mount, and its possession was therefore limited to the upper classes,[283] such as the *hippeis* in Athens or the *hippobotai* in Euboea.[284]

Honey being the only available sweetener in antiquity, its production was of considerable importance. It was often gathered from wild bees, and Homer does not appear to know any other than wild honey, while a passage in Hesiod's *Theogony* (594–599) bears testimony to the existence of apiculture at least by the end of the 8th century.[285]

Poultry-farming, on the other hand, seems to have been limited to geese (*Odyssey* 19. 536–543).[286] The silence observed by the literary witnesses preceding Theognis with regard to hens and cocks[287] corresponds with the absence of their representations in the visual arts

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[278] For example Snodgrass 1971, 378–9.

[279] For example Cherry 1988, 26–33; Jameson *et al.* 1994, 376; Foxhall 1995, 245.

[280] The issue might one day be settled with the help of chemical analyses of human skeletal remains (see I. Morris 1992, 98).

[281] Richter 1968, 32–76.

[282] The analyses carried out by Reese and Rose (2000) on the more than 27,300 mammal bones from the Iron Age sanctuary at Kommos in Crete show that ovicaprids prevail from the earliest phase (*ca.* 1020–750) and increase their share compared with the bovids in course of time. In Kastro, also in Crete, the ovicaprids prevail even more overwhelmingly (almost 80% versus 8% bovids). In Nichoria, on the other hand, the bovids continuously increase their share at the expense of sheep and goats (Sloane and Duncan 1978). The proportion of pig bones compared with ovicaprids and bovines declines in Nichoria in the course of time, while it steadily increases at Kommos.

[283] Note its rarity in the bone material from Nichoria (Sloan and Duncan 1978, 74) as well as from Kastro (Klippel and Snyder 1991; Snyder and Klippel 1999). Its virtual absence among the animals identified in the sacrificial remains in both Kommos (Reese and Rose 2000) and Eretria (Studer and Chenal-Velarde 2003, 180) is of course hardly surprising.

[284] Aristotle *Politica* 4. 3. 1–2. See Sallares 1991, 311–2; Isager and Skydsgaard 1992, 85–6.

[285] Richter 1968, 84–7; Buchholz *et al.* 1973, 181–90.

[286] Surely not simply kept as pets, *pace* Richter 1968, 83–4.

[287] Murray 1980, 81.

before the Archaic period.[288] If the two terracotta birds from a child's grave in the Kerameikos[289] are really meant to represent cocks, as has been suggested,[290] the craftsman who created them had obviously never seen such animals in real life and must have assumed they looked like pigeons—which they most probably are meant to be. The archaeozoological record leads to the same conclusion: apart from an eggshell found in an 8th-century B.C. dump in the sanctuary at Kommos, no chicken remains predating the 7th century seem to be known.[291]

As for dogs, the earliest representations of which go back to the third quarter of the 8th century,[292] they undoubtedly played an important rôle as pets and as guard-, sheep- and hunting dogs,[293] but were sometimes also slaughtered.[294]

Agriculture in the Geometric period was certainly not limited to subsistence farming.[295] Grave-goods—occurring in the majority of tombs, even though rarely as abundantly and luxuriously as those of the 'rich lady' mentioned above, and not always including objects that allude so clearly to farming as the chest in her grave, or the sickle in a somewhat earlier warrior tomb in the Kerameikos[296]—show that at least some farmers produced surpluses with which they could acquire non-essential goods. One such farmer was Hesiod—according to himself not among the wealthiest, and yet his estate is large enough to produce surpluses (475–478, 600–607) that he may be able to export (631); he

[288] Brann 1962, no. 412, and p. 81 with comment to no. 437. To the references given there could be added the examples listed by Coldstream (1977, 316 n. 20), none of which predates 700 B.C., with the possible exception of the Boeotian krater *CVA Providence*, pl. 8.1, where the two birds are, however, unlikely to be 'a hen and a cock'.

[289] Kübler 1954, 245, gr. 50, no. 1308.

[290] Coldstream 1977, 313; followed by Isager and Skydsgaard 1992, 95.

[291] Reese and Rose 2000, 566.

[292] See, for example, the bronze group Olympia 1106 representing a stag attacked by three dogs (Schweitzer 1969, pl. 190).

[293] See, for example, *Odyssey* 14. 29–40; 16. 4–5; 17. 61–62, 291–317; 19. 429–340. The dog bones found in a tomb of the second half of the 9th century in the Athenian Agora might have belonged to the pet of the deceased, a woman in her late forties (Smithson 1974, 324 n. 27, 362).

[294] Sloan and Duncan 1978, 74; Snyder and Klippel 1999; Studer and Chenal-Velarde 2003, 180.

[295] Gallo 1999, 95–6.

[296] Kübler 1954, 234, no. 38 (the sickle, inv. M 54 pl. 166, erroneously called a *Messer*).

possesses a few slaves (459, 470, 502, 573, 597–598, 607–608, 766),[297] hires a couple of workmen (441–444, 602–603), can afford some perfume (522–523), and enjoys wine imported from Byblos (589).[298]

The evidence at our disposal does not allow a more precise picture to be painted. Whether the farm plots in the Geometric period were rather small compared with modern conditions,[299] just as they were in Classical times (when literary sources suggest that they were averaging 40–60 *plethra, i.e.* 4–6 ha, and rarely exceeding 400–500 *plethra*),[300] whether they were mostly owned and worked by small independent farmers, as has often been claimed,[301] or, on the contrary, controlled by a small, wealthy élite, as others have proposed,[302] we cannot say. Even for Attica in the 5th and 4th centuries, for which the available information is much more plentiful than for other regions and earlier periods, the evidence does not allow us to answer the most basic questions:[303] we do not know whether most of the agriculture was labour-intensive and therefore largely dependent on the availability of slave-labour, as has been argued,[304] or on the contrary mainly operated by the landholder and the members of his family, assisted at harvest times by seasonal workers.[305] As for the total area of cultivable land available in Attica in the Classical period, it has been estimated between 40,000 and 100,000 ha by some,[306] while others take the figures established by the census carried out in 1961 as the best-available guideline: of the 161,530 ha available in total, 56,330 were classified as arable land and 39,900 as

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[297] They represent a possession of considerable value if Homer's indications are any guide. See, for example, *Odyssey* 1. 431, where the price of a nurse amounts to 20 head of cattle.

[298] Considering his dislike of seafaring, it is more likely that he bartered it from a visiting Phoenician merchant, perhaps on a visit in Chalcis, rather than having bought it himself in Byblos.

[299] Which is the conclusion arrived at by Osborne (1996, 66), after estimating the amount of land a single person can attend to when reaping cereals with a sickle, and also by Foxhall (2003), who calculates the amount of time required to plough the land with a pair of oxen.

[300] Hanson 1998, 43, 213.

[301] See, for example, Jameson 1992, 140–6.

[302] For example Osborne 1992, 21–5; 1996, 66; Foxhall 1992, 155–9.

[303] See the most pertinent remarks by M. Muhn in the discussion of Osborne 1992 in Wells 1992, 26.

[304] Halstead-Jones 1989; Osborne 1996, 50–1.

[305] Sallares 1991, 309.

[306] See Foxhall 1992, 156.

pastures.[307] For Greece as a whole, we are left with no more than sheer guesswork.[308]

b. *Crafts and 'Trade'*

In the Homeric epics, and still for Hesiod, practically all socio-economic activities are centred around the farm, where most manufactured goods are being produced either by the farmer and his wife themselves, or by the members of their household, the *oikos*. Odysseus' 'palace', located in the middle of the 'city' as suits a 'royal' residence, is but a large farmhouse, as the manure heap next to its entrance clearly indicates (*Odyssey* 17. 297–299). Odysseus himself, besides fulfilling his duties as 'king' and warrior (*Odyssey* 18. 375–378) and successful farmer (*Odyssey* 18. 365–374) is also a perfect carpenter (*Odyssey* 5. 243–261; 17. 340–341; 23. 189–201). His wife spins her own wool and weaves all the clothes the household requires (*Odyssey* 15. 516; 17. 98; 19. 139–147), as does Helena in Menelaus' palace (*Odyssey* 15. 104). Eumaeus, in addition to managing the large piggery and supervising four herdsmen (*Odyssey* 14. 24–26), makes himself useful as shoemaker in his spare time (*Odyssey* 14. 23). The only independent, full-time professionals are those whose products or services are not only in high demand, but also requiring a specialised knowledge that could only be acquired by means of a long period of apprenticeship. These conditions apply mainly to medical practitioners, bards, seers and builders (*Odyssey* 17. 384–386; *Opera et Dies* 25–26)—all of whom might have been itinerant—as well as to the resident metalworkers (*Odyssey* 18. 326–327), sometimes blacksmith and jeweller in one (*Odyssey* 3. 432–434), shipbuilders (*Odyssey* 5. 249; 9. 126) and potters (*Iliad* 18. 599–601; *Opera et Dies* 25–26).

The craft of the lastmentioned is the one about which archaeology provides the most plentiful information, though almost exclusively concerning its products and their use: mainly as funerary and, to a lesser extent, votive offerings, while finds from domestic contexts are less abundant and much less well preserved.[309] While pottery kilns going back to the Bronze and the Early Iron Age have been discovered in

[307] Sallares 1991, 294, 310–3.

[308] Amouretti 1986, 26–8.

[309] More than a third of a century after its publication, J.N. Coldstream's *Greek Geometric Pottery* (1968) is still the standard work on the ceramics of the period of concern.

several sites,[310] few can be firmly dated to the 8th century,[311] and to date no traces of any potter's workshop going back to the Geometric period have been reported.[312] What has been said about the potters' quarter in Corinth applies to the craft throughout Greece: 'Characterisation of activity... during the eighth and early seventh centuries rests largely on extrapolation from later evidence.'[313]

In fact, for the whole of the Archaic period, the information about the organisation of this craft is almost entirely indirect, stemming either from the pottery itself or from comparisons with modern workshops presumed to have retained traditional working methods.[314] It is symptomatic that in the Proceedings of the international colloquium held in Athens in 1987 on potters' workshops in the pre-Hellenistic period, the term 'workshop', like its French, German and Italian equivalents *Werkstatt, atelier* and *bottega*, is used synonymously to designate the building in which pottery was manufactured (regardless of the number of craftsmen involved) as well as any number of vessels grouped together on the basis of typological and/or stylistic features and considered to be the products of one single potter (and/or painter in the case of

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[310] Unfortunately, the list given by M. Seifert (1993, 99–105) is incomplete and riddled with errors. Of the five entries given for the Geometric period (nos. 40–44), the first two (nos. 40–41: Argos) are in fact of Protogeometric date (see Cook 1961, 65, nos. E1–2); the third entry (no. 42: Elis) is best deleted as its chronology, and indeed its very existence, are most doubtful; also to be taken off the list is no. 43: two of the four kilns belonging to the 7th-century workshop in Prinias (see Rizza *et al.* 1992). Finally, she appears to be unaware of the publication of the last example (no. 44: Torone) by Papadopoulos 1989, who mentions (p. 43) further early kilns in Dodona and Naxos.

[311] Torone: Papadopoulos 1989; 2003, 205–6; Viglatouri (Euboea): Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1998, 72–3.

[312] To my knowledge, the earliest remains of a potter's workshop, datable to the first half of the 7th century, are those found under the later Tholos in the Athenian Agora: Brann 1962, 110–1 with fig. 9 and pl. 40.628–632; Monaco 2000, 175–9, n° A XI/XII pls. 5–7. (Crielaard [1999a, 54] believes that one of the buildings of oval ground plan dated to the Late Geometric period found in Miletus might have served as a potter's workshop, but the evidence—a bin and some storage pits—hardly warrants his claim [see Voigtländer 1986, 37–8].) The small workshop, identifiable owing to the presence of a kiln and some misfired pots, appears to be part of a larger dwelling, but its very poor state of preservation does not allow any further conclusions to be drawn. Considerably more informative is the large complex at Mandra within the territory of Prinias on Crete, dated between the second half of the 7th and the beginning of the 6th century (see Rizza *et al.* 1992, esp. 147–53; and below). The late-6th-century workshop discovered at Phari on the island of Thasos, about which a preliminary report was presented some time ago (Blondé and Perreault 1992, 11–40) awaits full publication (see also Perreault 1999).

[313] Morgan 1994, 323.

[314] See Scheibler 1983, 72–133 with further literature.

painted pottery) or of a group of craftsmen working closely together (be it in a master-apprentice or creator-imitator relationship or in a partnership).[315]

Yet, despite these shortcomings a number of facts emerge reasonably clearly. Those that are of importance in the present context may be briefly summarised as follows. To start with, by 800 B.C. Greek fine ware (as opposed to coarse cooking ceramics) has reached again, and in some aspects clearly surpassed, the technical and aesthetic quality it had possessed in the Bronze Age until the end of the Mycenaean period. Attic pottery in particular has acquired the properties that will characterise it until the Classical period in terms of clay preparation, potting technique and pyrotechnology,[316] but also, and perhaps more importantly, as one of the main vehicles of artistic expression.

Compared with the range of vessel shapes produced at the *floruit* of the Attic ceramic industry in the late 6th and early 5th centuries, the potters' repertoire around 800 B.C. is already remarkably complete. Most shapes are designed to store and transport wine, to mix it with water and other ingredients, and finally to consume it, others serve as oil and perfume containers.[317] In terms of decoration, the system created at this stage will be adhered to for the next four centuries, ingeniously combining two distinct decorative formulae. The first, that uses the vase as a canvas and covers much of its surface with a large figurative scene, goes back to the Mycenaean period[318] and was occasionally taken up in Cretan workshops in the 9th century.[319] The second was created at the beginning of the Geometric period around 900 B.C. and consists of a network of rectilinear motifs, drawn with great precision and arranged so as to emphasise the vessel's structure. As a result of this combination, the picture is henceforth firmly linked to the vessel as a body, a link that will remain a characteristic feature of figuratively

[315] See Blondé and Perreault 1992, *passim*.

[316] On all these aspects, and especially for the often-described three-phase firing process that produces the contrast between red (oxidised) clay ground and black (reduced) paint, see Noble 1966; also Scheibler 1983, 73–82, 98–107. On the construction of the kilns and their temporary nature, see Papadopoulos 2003, 201–9.

[317] For a brief survey of the main shapes, see Coldstream 1991, 39–40.

[318] The earliest examples come from Cyprus and date to the late 14th or early 13th century: see, for example, two kraters now in the British Museum in London (Demargne 1964, figs. 348–349). A unique latecomer is the famous 'warrior vase' from Mycenae, now in the National Museum in Athens (Demargne 1964, figs. 331, 336).

[319] See, for example, the krater illustrated by Coldstream 1991, 44, fig. 15.

decorated pottery in Athens right to the end of its production in the late 4th century.

Perhaps even more relevant to our investigation is the extraordinary homogeneity that characterises the potters' products both typologically and stylistically. The very tight sequence in the development of Greek ceramics that allows an individual vessel to be dated within a span of often no more than 10–20 years, is not the result of archaeologists' wishful thinking. It is based on a large number of stratigraphical observations and reflects a degree of social cohesion and conformity which is difficult to imagine in our modern world in which the search for individual expression and originality has become almost obsessive. It is certainly also due to the very small number of craftsmen involved as well as of the modest size of their clientele. According to Coldstream, there were probably no more than four workshops active in Athens's potters' quarter around the middle of the 8th century, each employing between one or two and, at the most, half a dozen craftsmen.[320] Mainly on the strength of a few representations on vases, I. Scheibler considered that in the 6th and 5th centuries most workshops were small family businesses, comprising usually between five and eight, and very rarely more than a dozen people.[321] Her conclusions seem to tally rather well with the information provided by the—very modest—archaeological evidence available to date, in the Athenian Agora and at the outskirts of Prinias in Crete,[322] where according to the reconstruction by F. Tomasello, the kilns—two small and two large—each occupied one of four open spaces, while a relatively small covered area served as both workshop and area where the finished vessels were left to dry before being fired. It is difficult to imagine the small complex, covering altogether an area of no more than 120 m^2 (a good deal of it taken up by the kilns), accommodating more than four potters and painters and their output.

A last point worth emphasising in our context concerns the numerous typological, iconographic and stylistic links that exist between the ceramics produced in the various centres throughout Greece from the late 9th century on. Considering that there was a constant demand for pottery and that the necessary raw materials were easily available,

[320] Coldstream 1968, 29–53.
[321] Scheibler 1983, 110–2.
[322] See above n. 312.

it is not surprising that major settlements produced their own pottery. Yet, what is remarkable is the degree to which these various 'schools' are interrelated with regard to both shapes and decoration. On the other hand, the differences are distinct enough to exclude the hypothesis that potters might have travelled from place to place. Rather, the close connexions between the various centres show that interregional communications were again fully re-established.

With regard to the other important group of *demiourgoi*, the metalworkers, our information is even more fragmentary than that concerning the potters. Nothing is known about the methods by which the early ore deposits were exploited and whether the mines were privately owned or run by the community on whose territory they were situated, nor do we possess any information about the means by which the ore, in whatever shape, reached the workshops, where it was smelted, forged, cast and worked.[323] In Asine, the presence of slag associated with pottery of the Geometric period shows that iron was produced at the latest from the 8th century onward, perhaps even earlier,[324] and the analysis of a number of slag fragments has revealed that the ore was imported from the nearby Hermione mines, situated some 30 km to the east.[325] The forge itself, however, has not been found.[326]

In his study of the *Griechische Bronzegusswerkstätten*, published in 1990, G. Zimmer lists no more than four sites dating back to the Geometric period in which metalworking was carried out, *i.e.* Lefkandi in Euboea, Akrovita, Nichoria and Olympia in the Peloponnese. To these can now be added the Late Geometric foundry discovered under the *pronaos* of the temple of Athena Alea at Tegea,[327] a Protogeometric furnace in Argos used for the extraction of silver,[328] the remains of bronze- and iron-working facilities in the sanctuary of Athena at Philia in Thessaly,[329] and, next to the temple of Apollo at Eretria, the workshop housed in an apsidal building dating to the second half of the 8th century and equipped with a casting pit.[330] Recent finds, among them copper and

[323] Treister 1996, 33.
[324] Backe and Risberg 1986.
[325] Backe *et al.* 2000–2001.
[326] *Pace* Zimmermann 2002, 2 n. 7 (also erroneously dating the slag to the 7th century).
[327] Østby 1994, 60.
[328] Piérart and Touchais 1996, 21–2.
[329] Kilian 1983.
[330] Huber 1991.

iron slags as well as clumps of burnt clay and fragments of crucibles and tuyères, fully confirm the presence of metalworkers in the Eretrian sanctuary during the Late Geometric period,[331] thus dispelling the doubts expressed by C. Risberg.[332] In Kommos, iron working in the sanctuary may well have started in the 8th and even 9th centuries, but the remains of the forge itself and the shaft-smelting furnace are not datable before the 7th century.[333]

The remains found in the workshops show that the metalworkers were blacksmiths and bronze founders in one. While iron is the preferred metal for all tools and weapons that require sharp edges, bronze prevails again for all other objects, in particular for dress accessories (such as fibulae and pins), armour and votive offerings (such as statuettes, tripods and cauldrons). Clearly, tin, that had become difficult to obtain during the Dark Age, is again readily available.

On the other hand, the products of the early metal workshops, predominantly votive offerings found in sanctuaries and consisting mainly of tripods and statuettes representing various animals as well as human figures, witness to the emergence of several main manufacturing centres from the early 8th century onwards, each developing its own distinctive repertoire and style,[334] which argues against the assumption that the workshops were operated by itinerant craftsmen.[335] The most important of these early centres are Argos, Sparta, Olympia and Corinth in the Peloponnese, Athens, Thebes, Delphi and Eretria in Central Greece, Pherai and Philia in Thessaly.[336]

The metalwork, just like the potters' products, passed no doubt directly from the craftsmen to their customers. That metal workshops are frequently associated with sanctuaries[337] may of course be explained by the fact that much of their output was destined to be offered as votives to the gods; more importantly, it indicates that sanctuaries, probably in

[331] See Verdan 2002, 130.
[332] Risberg 1992, 37–9.
[333] Rehder 2000, 81–4.
[334] Treister 1996, 38–52.
[335] Treister 1996, 77–8. The only reasonably well-preserved metalworking complex of the 8th century, in Pithekoussai on Ischia (see Zimmer 1990, 24 for references), consists of a workshop and an adjoining residence, both of which clearly present a permanent character.
[336] Rolley 1983, 52–64.
[337] Risberg 1992; Treister 1996, 76, 122.

the wake of Phoenician models, have become the centres of commercial activity, assuming the rôle once played by the palaces.[338]

Neither Homer nor Hesiod know of resident merchants or of shopkeepers. When goods change hands they are usually precious objects, received as gifts—like the silver- and goldwork and the special ingredients that Menelaus and Polybus, king of Thebes in Egypt, and their wives, offer each other (*Odyssey* 4. 125–136, 227–229), or the textiles and Phoenician silver cup that Telemachus receives from Helena and Menelaus (*Odyssey* 15. 110–129).[339] Other products may be bartered, as the iron that Athena, disguised as Mentes, sets out to exchange for bronze in Temesa (*Odyssey* 1. 183–185). Agricultural surplus, too, is usually bartered by the farmers themselves, without involvement of middlemen. Euneos from Lemnos, 'prince' and farmer in one like Odysseus, obtains from Menelaus, Agamemnon and the other Achaeans a whole range of goods for his large delivery of wine: bronze, iron, hides, cattle and slaves (*Iliad* 7. 467–475). The procedure appears to have been still the same in Hesiod's time, as clearly emerges from the advice he offers his brother Perses (*Opera et Dies* 618–694). A further means of acquiring goods is frequently mentioned in both *Iliad* and *Odyssey* and consists of piracy and raids.[340] Pictures representing battles raging near beached warships are among the earliest to be painted on Geometric vases,[341] and when they appear on large funerary kraters below the representation of the deceased, laid out on his bier, it is tempting to interpret them as allusions to the deed(s) by which he made the fortune that his monumental grave-marker commemorates.[342] The dedications of Villanovan and Early Etruscan arms and armours in Olympia, of which the earliest are contemporary with the first Greek vases found in southern Etruria, *i.e.* going back to the beginning of the 8th century, are most likely to be celebrating the successful completion

[338] Sherratt 1992, 362–7.

[339] For a detailed examination of such gift exchanges between Euboean and Cypriote 'aristocrats', see Crielaard 1993 (with further references).

[340] See, for example, *Iliad* 6. 414–428; 20. 188–194; *Odyssey* 9. 39–61; 14. 216–234; and, for an attack that goes wrong, with most of the raiders captured and ending up on the slave market, *Odyssey* 14. 262–272.

[341] See the skyphos Eleusis 741, going back to the first quarter of the 8th century (for good illustrations of both sides, see Schweitzer 1969, pls. 27–28).

[342] See, for example, the krater New York 34.11.2: Schweitzer 1969, pl. 34. See below with n. 471.

of such raids. As H.-V. Herrmann rightly emphasises, they are certainly not the result of commercial exchanges.[343]

The picture which emerges from the poems of Homer and Hesiod is not contradicted by the archaeological evidence: on the contrary, there is no trace anywhere in Greece of the Geometric period of buildings that could be interpreted as having served as shops or storehouses, in contrast to the Levant with its well-known type of tripartite warehouse that goes back to the 11th century[344] and which spreads to the Phoenician colonies in the West well before the end of the 8th.[345] To apply terms such as *Handelszentrum* to any 8th-century site in Greece,[346] even to Athens or Lefkandi, where imported objects have been found in considerable numbers and whose pottery was in turn widely exported, is grossly misleading as it obfuscates the basic fact that trade in the modern sense of the term, as 'purchase and movement of goods without the knowledge or the identification of a further purchaser',[347] is virtually impossible in a pre-monetary society.[348]

Except for tin, the exchanged goods were not essential and mattered more on the socio-political than on the purely economical level.[349] What we can gather from Homer and Hesiod, combined with the burial offerings mentioned above, show clearly that the imports were mostly luxury items or goods the consumption or possession of which was considered to add to one's prestige, such as precious textiles (*Iliad* 6. 288–292), jewellery and other *exotica* from the Levant and from Egypt,[350] or wine of a special vintage, such as the drop from Byblos that Hesiod enjoys (*Opera et Dies* 589). Such goods were bartered for agricultural

[343] Herrmann 1983, 287.

[344] See Kochavi 1998 with the earlier literature, to which add Shiloh 1970, 180–3.

[345] Niemeyer 1990, 480–2 with fig. 13; Aubet 1993, 261.

[346] Kopcke 1990, 91.

[347] Snodgrass 1983b, 26.

[348] What has been said about the situation in the 12th century (Deger-Jalkotzy 2000, 60), applies to the entire Geometric period: 'Die Interaktionen, die zum Besitz von Metallen, *keimelia* und sonstigen Gütern für den Bedarf aristokratischer Lebenshaltung führten, lassen sich nicht als "Handel" bezeichnen, nicht im Sinne des regulären Güterverkehrs, wie er zwischen den grossen Kulturstaaten des 2. Jdts. v. Chr. bestanden hatte, und schon gar nicht im modernen Sinn. Oikos-Wirtschaft, Fehlen des Schriftgebrauches, Mangel an Verwaltungsstrukturen boten keine Voraussetzungen für den Aufbau von Handel als einem formalen Wirtschaftszweig.'

[349] Or, as L. Foxhall proposes (1998, 300–8), the movement of goods was due much more to desire than to need.

[350] As mentioned by Homer (for example *Odyssey* 4. 614–618; 15. 116–118, 459–461) and attested by the archaeological record (see Coldstream 1995, 397–8).

surpluses or slaves: the catalogue of Tyre's imports and exports (Ezekiel 27: 12–24), mentions Greece as a main supplier of slaves, and the importance of the slave trade as early as the 8th century is confirmed by numerous passages both in the *Iliad* (for example 7. 475) and the *Odyssey* (8. 525–531; 14. 340–342).

Pottery, which thanks to its exceptional preservation occupies a predominant place in all archaeological discussions (whether one likes it or not), is certainly important as an indicator of exchange patterns,[351] yet was probably only in very exceptional cases traded in its own right.[352] Amphorae and aryballoi were transported because of their content, be it wine, oil, or perfume, while fine ware, to an overwhelming extent made up of vessels used for preparing, serving and drinking wine, travelled mainly to be used at the *symposion*, either by its owner who carried it with him, or by new adepts of the custom to whom such vessels may have been offered as gifts or sold with the wine.[353] The recent claim that Greek pottery was exported as a commodity rather than for its function,[354] leaves the question unanswered why, except for the transport vessels, almost all exported pottery belongs to the realm of the *symposion*.

The—admittedly not very numerous—indications we have about pottery prices in later periods,[355] show that the economic value of ceramics was negligible, a conclusion reached also by C. Morgan on the basis of a careful analysis of Corinth's ceramic production.[356] She rightly repeats once again the old warning that a direct link between the place where an object has been manufactured and the place to

[351] As succinctly put by R.M. Cook: 'Exported pottery, . . . while showing the existence of trade, is only a rough guide to its volume and even to its origin: but it is the best guide we have' (1946, 80)—thus summarising half a century beforehand the recent, unnecessarily repetitive 'pots-by-and-for people' discussion.

[352] See above n. 197; and for references to recent literature discussing whether or not (painted) pottery was traded as a commodity, see Walker 2004, 181 n. 229.

[353] In the West, where no indigenous *culture du vin* was known before the arrival of the Greeks, such pottery occurs in much larger quantities than in the East which, as Foxhall (1998, 301) remarks, had its own wine-drinking customs. These required drinking vessels that distinguish themselves quite clearly from the Greek ones: they are 'relatively small, often roughly hemispherical, without handles and usually without any flat base' (Boardman 2002, 6–7). In the East, therefore, Greek vessels were only used by the Greeks themselves and by Levantines, presumably belonging to the upper classes, who had converted to the Greek *symposion*.

[354] Crielaard 1999b.

[355] See, for example, Vickers 1992.

[356] Morgan 1994.

which it has been exported cannot be taken for granted, especially when the object in question is a clay vessel.[357] Remains of wrecked ships show that in general the goods to be traded were of various origins, making it impossible to identify the provenance of the vessel or of its owner on the basis of the cargo.[358] Yet, this is of course not to say (as has sometimes, and rather noisily, been postulated), that there is never a direct connexion between manufacturing place and findspot of an exported object. If, for example, pottery from a centre known for its seafaring activities is found all over the Aegean, on Cyprus and in the Levant, it seems pretty safe to assume that it reached these destinations on ships coming from this very place—in this particular case Athens in the second half of the 9th and the first half of the 8th centuries.[359]

The Recovery of Literacy

Whatever the precise nature and the volume of the bartered or exchanged goods were, there is general agreement about what constitutes the most important outcome of the re-established relations between Greece and the Near East: the creation of the alphabet and thus the return of literacy. When, where and for what initial purpose the 'anonymous benefactor', as Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff called him,[360] transformed the West Semitic (Phoenician) syllabary into a script that succeeds in expressing the sound of spoken language by means of a very limited number of signs,[361] is still debated,[362] but there can be no doubt that he was fluent in both Phoenician and Greek,

[357] To judge from a recent paper by Osborne (1998), the appeal is likely to go unheeded, as have its numerous antecedents (such as that of Descœudres in 1976, 15—apparently too subtle for Papadopoulos 1997, 195).

[358] Ampolo 1994, 30–1; Treister 1996, 99–100; Osborne 1996, 53–4. The two 8th-century wrecks recently discovered off the coast of Askalon seem to provide the exception that confirms the rule. Apparently of Phoenician origin, they carried a rather homogeneous load consisting of hundreds of Phoenician wine amphorae and probably of timber from the Lebanon (see Ballard *et al.* 2002; Stager 2003).

[359] *Pace* Coldstream (2000, 26), who considers it more likely that the Attic vessels were conveyed in Euboean ships. For other examples, see Boardman 1996, 156.

[360] v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1928, 9: 'unbekannte Wohltäter der Menschheit'.

[361] Powell 1997, 12–8.

[362] See Nenci 1998, 582 n. 19 for references to some of the more recent contributions to the discussion.

and there are reasons to believe he had a thorough knowledge of the Cypriote syllabary.[363]

Until recently, it was widely assumed that the ingenious invention had taken place around the middle of the 8th century, mainly because no inscription datable to before the second half of the 8th century was known.[364] Recent archaeological discoveries, foremost among them a jug found in a tomb of the Osteria dell'Osa necropolis at Gabii in Latium bearing a short, but distinctly Greek, graffito, make such a late chronology untenable.[365] It was buried at the very latest in the first quarter of the 8th century, thus providing the inscription with a much firmer *terminus ante quem* than is usually available for graffiti which may have been placed on a pot a long time after it was manufactured.[366] Several vase inscriptions of Late Geometric date from Pithekoussai, Eretria and Ithaca which are painted rather than incised,[367] also suggest that the

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[363] Woodard 1997, *passim*. The *opinio communis*, according to which the alphabet is the result of a single creative act, has recently been challenged by Csapo and Geagan 2000, defending a position that had been taken up by R.M. Cook and A.G. Woodhead in 1959. Their claim that 'letterforms adapted from the Semitic alphabet do not all point to the same phase of that alphabet's development', would, if substantiated, constitute a hefty argument against the assumed *Uralphabet*. On the other hand, the remark that 'the likelihood that the great variety of Greek alphabets were each ultimately derived from a single stroke of creative genius seems no greater than the chance that all the oriental refinements of Geometric and Orientalizing Greek art should be traceable to the teachings of a single Phoenician craftsman' is surely not meant to be taken seriously. The main argument in favour of v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff's hypothesis remains the unlikeliness for such an extraordinary invention to have been made twice or even several times (see on this and other reasons in favour of the single *Wohltäter*, Baurain 1997). And is the 'traditional scholarly bias in favor of individuals, Greeks, linear derivation, and rapid exploitation' which Csapo and Geagan castigate (2000, 134 n. 12) really more 'ideologically comfortable' than their scepticism towards the creativity of individuals, Greek or otherwise?

[364] See, for example, Carpenter 1933; Jeffery 1961, 46; 1982, 823; Coldstream 1982, 272.

[365] *Pace* Baurain 1997, *passim*, and Whitley 2001, 128–30.

[366] Bietti Sestieri 1992, 184–5; Holloway 1994, 112–3 (with further references); Ridgway 1994, 42–3; Coldstream 1994, 49; Ampolo 1997, 211 n. 2, 212 n. 5 (with further references); Peruzzi 1998, 19 (my thanks to Manuela Wullschleger for drawing my attention to this publication). See now also Johnston 2003, 263 (with further references). This important inscription, the Greek character of which is beyond doubt (*pace* Osborne 1996, 109), appears to have escaped the attention of Agostiniani (1996, 1167, 1170).

[367] d'Agostino 2003, 76–7; Johnston 2003, 263; Kenzelmann-Pfyffer *et al.* 2005, 59–60, nos. 1–2. To which may be added two graffiti which, like the painted inscriptions, were written before the vases were fired: Kenzelmann-Pfyffer *et al.* 2005, 60, no. 3, 74–5, no. 62.

introduction of the alphabet must go back at least to the first half of the 8th century, since they imply that by about 730 B.C. even potters mastered the art of writing (whilst graffiti are most likely to have been scratched on the clay vessels by their owners). Craftsmen are unlikely to have been among the first to acquire this skill, just as clay vessels are unlikely to have constituted the earliest material on which to write. At first, papyrus must have been the most common support, adopted from the Phoenicians together with the script,[368] but the mention of a letter written on a folded tablet in the *Iliad* (γράψας ἐν πίνακι πτύκτῳ) in the context of Bellerophon's story (6. 169), suggests that wax-coated tablets were also used from an early stage.[369] From an archaeological point of view, the transmission must have taken place at the very latest in the second half of the 9th century, which would tally with the conclusions arrived at by some scholars on palaeographic grounds.[370] However, a higher date, possibly to the 10th century or even the late 11th—which would coincide with the very first contacts between Tyre and Euboea—could not be excluded (unlike the mid-2nd millennium date proposed by M. Bernal)[371] and has indeed been forcefully advocated on linguistic grounds from both a Greek[372] and a Semitic point of view.[373]

If a date around 1000 B.C. for the ingenious invention were to prove correct, the choice with regard to where it took place would be dramatically reduced by the archaeological evidence presented above. Intense enough contacts to generate the necessary linguistic knowledge,[374] but also the need for such an innovation, would have occurred in two

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[368] See Lewis 1974, 85 (my thanks to Paul Schubert for providing me with this reference) and, more assertively, Ruijgh 1995, 36–8. On the importance of Byblos as supplier of Egyptian papyrus as early as the 11th century B.C., see also Aubet 1993, 26.

[369] Assuming the passage does not allude to a Mycenaean tablet (see Kirk 1990, 181–2 with further references).

[370] See McCarter 1975 and, more recently, Amadasi Guzzo 1991, with a good summary of the various arguments; also Powell 1991a. According to Wachter (1998, 351), the similarity between Greek *kappa* and *tau* and Phoenician letters of the mid-9th century provides a *terminus post quem* around 850 B.C. for the creation of the alphabet. However, considering the extremely small number of early Phoenician inscriptions and the almost complete lack of firmly dated ones the argument is not as conclusive as it may at first appear.

[371] Bernal 1987; 2001, 324–5.

[372] See already Ullmann 1934. More recently above all Rujigh 1995, 26–36; 1996 (cited by Nijboer 2005, 256–7 n. 2).

[373] In particular Naveh 1982, 177.

[374] *Cf.* Osborne (1996, 107), who does not provide any argument in favour of his assumption that the 'close mixing of Greeks and Phoenicians' was only possible 'in

places only: Phoenicia (Tyre) and Euboea (Lefkandi and/or Chalcis).[375] This conclusion bears a striking resemblance to the ancient tradition, reported by Herodotus (5. 57–58), according to which the alphabet, the *phoinikeia grammata*, as the Greeks called it, was invented by immigrant Phoenicians who had first settled in Boeotia, whence some of them, and in particular the family of the Gephyraeans, later moved to Eretria and finally to Athens.

For whatever initial purpose the alphabet was created,[376] it corresponds with the emergence of a common Greek artistic language, based on the formulaic approach to reality that characterises the 'geometric mentality' since its first appearance in the 10th century. Like the 'Geometric' style in art, it evolves to form, by the middle of the 8th century, distinct local variations, which remain nevertheless clearly linked to each other by their common origin.

The Socio-Political Structure

a. *Literary Evidence*

As D. Roussel remarks, the picture that emerges from the ancient texts concerning Athens's social organisation in the Archaic period is rather confusing.[377] It is, therefore, hardly surprising that so many hypotheses exist with regard to the socio-political organisation of the early Greek communities. They have been fuelled partly by ethnographical comparisons,[378] but above all by various interpretations of the literary sources, in particular the Homeric poems. Most historians seem nowadays to agree with the view first expressed by M.I. Finley that the general social background against which their narrative is placed belongs to the time when the poems were composed, rather than to the Late Bronze Age

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an eastern Mediterranean milieu, whether in the Levant or in Cyprus', rather than in Greece—where certainly Herodotus imagined it to have occurred.

[375] As had already been proposed, but for very different reasons, by Marek 1993.

[376] See for a brief survey of the various hypotheses, Wirbelauer 2004.

[377] Roussel 1976, 193: 'L'idée que l'on peut se faire, d'après les textes anciens, de la façon dont étaient organisés les Athéniens à l'époque archaïque…est des plus confuse.'

[378] See, for example, Qviller 1981; Whitley 1991a–b; Donlan 1998, *passim*, esp. 57. On the once trendy comparisons between the Homeric *basileis* and Melanesian 'Big Men', see Thomas and Conant 1999, 52–7; more critically, Carlier 1999, 55.

to which the events of which they sing hark back.[379] Both *Iliad* and *Odyssey* provide, according to this opinion, useful information about the real-life society of the Early Iron Age and in particular about its economy[380]—though no one denies that the picture contains some elements stemming from earlier periods as well as a number of later interpolations.

Opinions diverge, however, when it comes to establishing a more precise time frame for this 'Homeric society'. The problem is threefold: first, there is no agreement with regard to when the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were given the shape which they have, by and large, kept up to this day; second, there is debate as to how much time separates the period of their composition from that of the society they describe. The third question concerns their final editing in written form, though this need not concern us here.[381] The issue has been muddled by the frequent resorting to what one may call 'shuttle argumentation', using the epic texts to interpret the archaeological evidence which is then taken as confirming the historicity of the Homeric society. Thus, 'the picture emerging from the Homeric songs of a primitive aristocratic society whose main concerns were cattle, feasting and women'[382] is seen to tally very well with the archaeozoological results obtained at Nichoria[383] which suggests the presence of 'a band of herdsmen with very little agricultural production',[384] while in turn Nichoria's 'archaeological evidence...is good validation of the Homeric picture'.[385]

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[379] Finley 1954; 1957.

[380] See, for example, I. Morris 1986; Ulf 1990, 232; v. Reden 1995, 14; Donlan 1997a–b; Thomas and Conant 1999, 50–7; Crielaard 2000a; also Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 359 n. 821 for further references. *Contra* Coldstream (1977, 18; 2003a, 18), who maintains that 'Homeric society cannot be assigned to any single period'; echoed by Dickinson (2006, 239–40).

[381] Until recently the answer given to this question often depended on the date assigned to the adoption of the alphabet, which most Classical scholars placed around the middle of the 8th century (see above with n. 364). As discussed above, such a date is considerably to low, and it is doubtful whether the editing of the Homeric poems can be directly linked to the reintroduction of writing, *pace* Powell 1991; 1997; Latacz 2000, 2.

[382] Fagerström 1988, 35–6.

[383] See above with n. 282.

[384] Fagerström 1988, 35–6.

[385] Thomas and Conant 1999, 57. It must be emphasised, on the other hand, that the publication of Nichoria itself, by W.A. McDonald *et al.* (Minneapolis 1978–83), constitutes an admirable methodological model. It strictly adheres to the archaeological

Among the scholars who have attempted to define the social background depicted in the Homeric epics without relying on archaeological data, Finley arrives at a date in the 10th to 9th centuries, whilst K. Raaflaub,[386] followed by Donlan,[387] places it around 800 B.C. C.J. Ruijgh concludes from a detailed linguistic analysis that the poems must precede both Hesiod and Archilochos, and by rather more than just half a century,[388] and points out that a date late in the 9th century would be in agreement with Herodotus' statement that Homer (and Hesiod) had lived 400 years before his own time (2. 53. 2). It is further supported by what appears to be the geographical frame within which the epic events unfold. Beyond the Aegean, the Homeric world seems to correspond fairly accurately with the areas covered by the commercial network operated by Phoenician seafarers since the 11th century: it includes the Levant, Egypt, Libya and Sicily—but not Italy, nor the Black Sea.[389]

We may therefore take the society described in the Homeric epics as a reasonably reliable reflexion of the one that prevailed in Greece around 800 B.C., on the eve of the colonisation movement. It is a culturally and linguistically homogeneous community, politically subdivided into a large number of small entities, each governed by a leader, or a group of leaders called βασιλεῖς which one might translate as 'chieftains' rather than 'kings' or 'princes', since their authority and power do not appear to be hereditary.[390] Rather, they are based on their personal ἀριστεία: their physical, intellectual and moral excellence, as well as on their wealth.[391] Whilst the son of a βασιλεύς has a good chance to become a chieftain, too, there is no explicit right of inheritance and he will have to prove his worthiness. The *basileis* have no absolute power:

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evidence throughout its interpretative chapter in which the Homeric epics are not even mentioned in passing.

386 Raaflaub 1993, 44–6; 1997a, 646–7.

387 Donlan 1997a, 649; 1998, 53.

388 Ruijgh 1995, 21–4; 1996 (cited by Nijboer 2005, 256–7).

389 Ruijgh 1995, 24. Amazingly, none of the author's arguments are mentioned, let alone discussed, by Crielaard (1995) in a paper printed in the same volume, published under his own direction. In particular, Crielaard fails to adress the important point raised by Ruijgh concerning the silence in both poems about Italy and the Black Sea, which seems difficult to explain in any other than a chronological way. Instead, his dating of the 'Homeric world' to the late 8th or early 7th century is based on the very type of archaeological argument shown by Ruijgh to carry very little weight.

390 See Antonaccio 1995, 15. For the Mycenaean origin of the term and its probable meaning, 'local leader', or 'local official', see I. Morris 1999, 63–5; Carlier 1999, 54.

391 Ulf 1990, 12–5, 122.

they report quite frequently to the δῆμος, the assembly of all warriors (λαός) who gather in the ἀγορά. Although the assembly's rôle is primarily of an advisory nature, its actual power is considerable, as there is little that the leaders can undertake without the *demos*' agreement and co-operation.[392] It is also the *demos*' prerogative to deny anyone who has committed an outrage, and especially manslaughter, his τιμή, his right to be respected (also in terms of physical safety), thus forcing him into exile.[393] The *demos* embodies the *communis opinio* which even a *basileus* would be ill-advised to ignore.[394]

The basic element on which the 'Homeric society' rests is the οἶκος which 'is simultaneously house, family, work force and property'.[395] The wealth of an *oikos* is basically derived from agricultural and stock-breeding activities,[396] and its position in the social hierarchy is manifested by the number of members it comprises (servants, workmen, herdsmen and slaves in addition to the nuclear family), as well as the luxuries of its household,[397] which it has exchanged against some of its surpluses, either as a result of a voyage by one of its members, most probably the head of the *oikos* himself,[398] or by a barter deal with visiting Phoenician merchants (*Odyssey* 15. 402–484).

Of considerable importance were also various types of warrior associations, ἑταιρεῖαι.[399] They could be quite small, comprising a number of friends and/or relatives assisting a leader of the same age (as in the case of Telemachus' expedition to search for his father: *Odyssey* 3. 362–363), or include warriors of identical origin (such as Achilleus' Myrmidons, or Odysseus' companions on his return to Ithaca).

Whilst there is general consensus about this general framework, the debate is quite lively with regard to Homer's concept of the πόλις, its definition and origin.[400] Two main 'schools' can be distinguished, a

[392] Ulf 1990, 91–8.
[393] Ulf 1990, 37.
[394] Ulf 1990, 46.
[395] Richter 1968, 8–12; Donlan 1989, 133.
[396] Even the seafaring Phaeacians on Scheria owe their wellbeing to the fertility of the land and the mild climate (*Odyssey* 7. 117–132).
[397] Ulf 1990, 184, 190.
[398] See above for Euneos' barter deal with the Achaeans (*Iliad* 7. 467–475).
[399] See Donlan 1998.
[400] See the detailed account in Wagner-Hasel 2000, 59–73. For the ancient terminology, see most recently Hansen (1997a; 1997c; 1998, 17–34, with references to earlier literature), coming to the conclusion that the word *polis* in ancient times was much more diversely used than in the strict sense of 'city-state'.

'primitivist' that essentially argues that the Homeric society remains based on the *oikos* as the 'dominant social and ethical unit', but that at the same time the *polis* makes its 'appearance in rudimentary outlines',[401] and a 'modernist' for which the Homeric community already possesses the characteristics of the Classical *polis*.

According to the former view, the communities as they are described in the Homeric epics are typically made up of loosely connected small groups of households (*oikoi*), forming what might be termed village-states.[402] The small size of the community implies a high degree of social homogeneity and cohesion, as the numbers of citizens are insufficient for separate groups to form.[403] Others assume on the contrary that the distinct social stratification, as it is known from Classical *poleis* such as Athens, has its origin in the Geometric and possibly Protogeometric period, when 'an élite that saw itself as a group of equals' emerged 'relatively quickly after the Mycenaean collapse'.[404]

For the 'modernists', the Homeric community can be described as 'an early forerunner of the classical *polis*, but much more than an "embryo"'[405] where citizenship and land holding are firmly linked to each other.[406] A *polis* without territory is unthinkable, as 'landholding is the principal qualification for full membership of the political community'.[407] At the same time, and unlike the Phoenician city-states ruled by kings, the Greek *polis* is not necessarily a 'city' in the architectural sense—its essential feature are its citizens who constitute it.[408]

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[401] v. Reden 1995, 14.

[402] See, for example, Snodgrass 1993; I. Morris 1994; Bintliff 1999.

[403] See esp. Geddes 1984; Snodgrass 1993, 39.

[404] See notably I. Morris (1998b), who describes the structure as threefold, with citizens, women and slaves forming the main layers, while the metics form a fourth class that shares some elements with the citizens, others with the women. Bintliff (1999, 51–4) distinguishes also three layers: the upper class of the *basileis*, the middle class of the *agathoi*, and finally the *kakoi* to whom belong the subsistence farmers as well as the dependent labourers. A totally different system is advocated by Sallares (1991, 164–85, 200–1), according to whom the *polis* structure was based neither on social criteria nor on kinship, but on age groups.

[405] Raaflaub 1993, 46–59; 1997, 629–33 (with references to earlier literature, esp. p. 629 n. 25), 641–6.

[406] Roussel 1976, 43–4; Raaflaub 1993, 59; Bravo 1996, 538–44; Hansen 1998, 52–83; Gallo 1999, 37.

[407] Bintliff 1999, 48.

[408] Raaflaub 2004.

b. *Archaeological Evidence: the Settlements* (Fig. 1)
It seems not unreasonable to expect that the two types of communities just described would manifest themselves differently in their material culture, and that these differences would leave detectable traces in the archaeological record. Thus, archaeology ought to be able to participate in the debate between the 'primitivist' and the 'modernist' view about the early *polis*.[409]

If, as has been claimed—but without providing or referring to any concrete evidence—, the remains of Geometric sites were exhibiting a 'degree of planning or other centralised activity', or if indeed 'the model of settlement . . . changed from one of sporadic centrifugal growth to one of regular layout',[410] the 'modernist' case would no doubt gain in strength, and the conclusion that such planning was the result of 'some kind of central authority that was concerned with the community as a whole' be almost unavoidable.

The sites where settlement remains have been identified that can be dated with some confidence prior to the middle of the 8th century are not very numerous, yet their occurrence is fairly evenly spread over the country, and although the evidence is disappointingly thin, the picture which it provides turns out to be rather clearer than one might have feared. The main sites are Athens, Eleusis and Thorikos in Central Greece, Viglatouri near modern Kyme on Euboea, Minoa on Amorgos in the Cyclades, and Argos, Asine and Nichoria in the Peloponnese.[411]

In Nichoria, a representative portion of the Geometric settlement has been uncovered.[412] According to the excavators, the Early Iron Age village was established some time in the 10th century, to be abandoned

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[409] See Brun (1999, 31–2) on the potential of archaeology to contribute to the knowledge of the origin and development of the early state. Morgan and Coulton (1997), on the other hand, express their scepticism. They point out that still in the Archaic and Classical periods, when the archaeological evidence is vastly more abundant than in the previous periods, it proves impossible to grasp the difference in the material remains between a settlement historically known to have been a *polis*, and one which was not.

[410] Snodgrass 1993, 30–1.

[411] The architectural remains on the *acropolis* of Aegira, which were at first believed to go back to the first half of the 8th century, have recently been shown to belong to the late 8th century (see above n. 230).

[412] McDonald *et al.* 1983. For a useful summary, see Thomas and Conant 1999, 32–59. Note, however, that the statement on p. 40, according to which 'in all categories, materials and designs are essentially local' can no longer be upheld (see above with n. 100).

no later than the second half of the 8th. Around 800 B.C., it may have counted some 200 inhabitants, most of whom lived in small, single-room dwellings of apsidal ground plan, with wattle-and-daub walls erected above a low stone socle. One house stands out by its size (8 × 16 m), the complexity of its interior arrangement, the presence of a porch in front of the main room, and its central location. Not surprisingly, it has been interpreted as the local chieftain's residence[413] as well as 'a center for cult activities'.[414]

In Asine, at least one apsidal building can be dated to the Middle Geometric period.[415]

Thanks to extensive surveys and excavations carried out in the last decades by both the French School and the Greek Archaeological Service, a reasonably clear picture emerges of Argos at the beginning of the 8th century.[416] The evidence, apart from the remains of a 9th-century apsidal house and four furnaces (see above), is limited to pottery finds, wells and tombs, but there can be no doubt that the settlement consisted of at least four distinct nuclei, each with its own cemetery.

In Athens, remains of a building complex going back to the late 9th or early 8th century have survived on the Areopagus.[417] It consisted of a large building of oval ground plan (11 × 5 m) to which at least two smaller, possibly rectangular, structures were attached. Stone benches appear to have run along the walls of the main building, where parts of the earthen floor and of a central hearth could also be identified. The original function of the complex, destroyed at the very latest towards the end of the 8th century, was probably residential, but it looks as if its site might have become a cult place from the 7th century on.

Remains of a somewhat similar complex, but made up of four smaller rectangular units, have been observed under the later Teleusterion at Eleusis.[418] The construction seems to go back, at least partly, to the Late Bronze Age, but according to the excavator Geometric potsherds (unpublished) show that by about 800 B.C. or even earlier the building was (again) inhabited. At some later stage, possibly around the middle of the 8th century, the complex was surrounded by a rectangular peribolos

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413 Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 78–9.

414 Thomas and Conant 1999, 52.

415 Dietz 1982, 32–3, 53–4, plan II; Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 107, figs. 229–230.

416 Hägg 1982; Protonotariou-Deïlaki 1992; Piérart and Touchais 1996, 22–3; Touchais and Divari-Valakou 1998; Vink 2002.

417 Burr 1933; recently re-examined by D'Onofrio 2001.

418 Mylonas 1961, fig. 4; Mazarakis Ainian 1997, figs. 166–171.

wall. According to Mazarakis Ainian, this signals the transformation of the residence into a cult building.[419]

Furthermore, some walls, possibly belonging to houses of the Geometric period, have been uncovered in proximity of the southern necropolis at the foot of the Eleusinian *acropolis*, but no details concerning their chronology or function are available.[420]

Thorikos is so far the only site in Central Greece that provides unequivocal evidence of a residential complex going back to the Early Geometric period.[421] It comprised a number of units, all of modest size and apparently of rectangular ground plan, of which two are well enough preserved for their layout to be reconstructed.[422] They are contiguous, with the southern one composed of a main room, measuring 5 × 6 m, and a porch (5 × 3 m), while the larger unit on the northern side, with stone benches along some of its walls, measures 9 × 6 m. It opened onto an enclosed courtyard on its western side and was apparently used for the extraction of silver.

In Oropos, on the other hand, the recently excavated quarters are undoubtedly of residential character, but do not appear to be earlier than the Late Geometric period.[423]

On the other side of the Euboean Gulf, Chalcis has so far only yielded a number of tombs and walls dating to the Protogeometric and Geometric periods, but no substantial remains of the settlement itself.[424] (As far as I am aware, the maps reproduced by Mazarakis Ainian 1997, figs. 99–100, are purely hypothetical.)

In Lefkandi, the only residential building known for a long time of which the ground plan could be at least in part reconstructed dates to the Late Geometric period.[425] The recently resumed excavations on Xeropolis have led to the discovery of important remains of the Submycenaean, Protogeometric and Sub-Protogeometric settlement, suggesting that it was perhaps never completely abandoned after the end

[419] Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 149–50, 347–8.

[420] Mylonas 1961, fig. 5; 1975, 4.

[421] In Mitrou in eastern Locris, recent excavations have brought to light a large apsidal-shaped building of Protogeometric date. However, the site—apparently occupied without interruption since Neolithic times—was definitely abandoned before the start of the Geometric period (Zahou and Van de Moortel 2005).

[422] Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 146–7, figs. 160–162; Mussche 1998.

[423] Mazarakis Ainian 1998.

[424] Andreiomenou 1998, 156–61 (with references).

[425] Popham and Sackett 1980, 14–25 with pls. 5 and 8a.

of the palatial period, and above all that the dwellings of the people buried in the various cemeteries surrounding the site might well have stood on the hill itself.[426]

In Eretria, traces of a habitat going back to the Neolithic and to the Bronze Age have been found here and there but there is no evidence of a re-occupation in the Iron Age before the second half of the 9th century, when a warrior was buried in the area of the temple of Apollo, after being cremated on site.[427] Found in a later context, an amphoriskos (possibly stemming from a washed-away tomb) can be assigned to the same period.[428] Next come four tombs, all probably of the second quarter of the 8th century: one an infant's inhumation found beneath the 4th-century House IV,[429] the other three adult cremations discovered near the shore in the south-western part of the site.[430] They probably belong to the so-called West necropolis, partly excavated by K. Kourouniotis at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century, most tombs of which belong to the Late Geometric and Archaic periods.[431] An extremely rich deposit of the same period, possibly belonging to the (partly burnt) offerings from a cremation burial, was discovered in 2003 south of Eretria's *agora* by the Greek Archaeological Service and presented to the Colloquium on 'Oropos and Euboea in the Early Iron Age' in Volos in 2004 (see above n. 367) by Dr Athanasia Psalte.

The sudden emergence of several nuclei, each made up of a number of huts (mostly of apsidal or oval ground plan), all at the same time around the middle of the 8th century B.C. or a decade or two before, suggests that as a main settlement Eretria was created in one single act, practically at the same time as Pithekoussai was established in the West, and S. Verdan wonders whether until then the occupation may have been of an intermittent nature.[432] The 'foundation' could have been the result, either of a decision to voluntarily abandon a previous site (or sites) proving too small or otherwise unsuitable, or of a forced departure from the previous place(s), for example in the wake of a military defeat. (A 'Homeric model', if one is required, is handsomely

426 Lemos 2005b; 2006.
427 Müller 1985; 1996, 107–11; Friedemann 1995, 108–18; Blandin 2000.
428 Themelis 1978, 75–6; Mazarakis Ainian 1987, 3 n. 1; I. Morris 2000, 239.
429 Reber 1993, 130–1.
430 Andreiomenou 1981, 192–6; 1998, 154.
431 Kourouniotis 1897; 1898; 1903.
432 In Le Rider and Verdan 2002, 134.

provided by king Nausithoos' decision to leave with his Phaeacians the Hypereian country and settle on the island of Scheria, to escape the constant threat of the Cyclopes: *Odyssey* 6. 4–8.) Both the much discussed mention of an earlier Eretria by Strabo (9. 403; 10. 448)[433] and Velleius Paterculus' statement (1. 4. 1) that Eretria (and Chalcis) were founded not long before Cumae was established, could reflect some memories of such an act. Considering the numerous clues that point in its favour,[434] K. Schefold's propoal that Eretria was founded in the wake of the Lelantine War and the subsequent abandonment of Lefkandi, remains the most convincing interpretation of the literary and archaeological evidence.[435] At the same time, the importance of a second Mycenaean settlement, situated some 10 km east of Eretria on a low coastal hill not dissimilar to Xeropolis, ought not to be underestimated, as D. Knoepfler has pointed out on a number of occasions.[436] It is almost certainly to be identified with Amarynthos, mentioned twice on Linear-B tablets from Thebes, where Eretria's principal sanctuary is known to have been located, consecrated to Artemis Amarysia. A series of trial trenches excavated in 2006 has revealed that after the end of the Mycenaean period the site was soon re-occupied. A scenario explaining the gradual abandonment of Lefkandi in the course of the 8th century on the one hand and, on the other, the fact that Eretria's main sanctuary remained throughout its existence at a distance of 10 km *fuori mura*, would be that the city was founded as the result of a *synoikismos* of the two earlier settlements, neither of which is endowed with a proper *acropolis*, nor with a good harbour—which are both characteristic features of Eretria's geomorphology.

Thus, the only site Euboean site with identifiable residential remains pre-dating the Late Geometric period is situated on the Viglatouri Hill in Central Euboea, probably to be identified with ancient Oikalia.[437] The site was occupied from the Early Bronze Age until about 730 B.C., when it was abandoned for unknown reasons.[438] According to the pottery finds, the Geometric settlement dates to the first half of the 8th century. The part that has been excavated (and published) so

[433] See Mazarakis Ainian 1987, 21 n. 83 for references.
[434] Conveniently listed by Auberson 1975, 13–4.
[435] Schefold 1966, 108.
[436] See most recently Knoepfler 2004, with references to earlier literature.
[437] See Knoepfler 1997.
[438] Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1998.

far comprises a number of small rectangular dwellings, a workshop complex with two pottery kilns and, in the centre, a larger building of oval ground plan, preceded by a small paved area and surrounded by an enclosure wall. It served, according to the excavator, most probably a cultic rather than a residential purpose.

On the islands, the apsidal houses in Antissa on Lesbos, once believed to date to the 10th or 9th centuries B.C.,[439] have long been shown to be no earlier than the late 8th century.[440]

Important architectural remains have also been brought to light on the *acropolis* of Koukounaries, on the northern coast of Paros. They include a large apsidal-shaped house said by the excavator to date from the early 9th century and to have been replaced by a rectangular building around the middle of the 8th, itself rebuilt on a larger scale towards 700 B.C. Several smaller rectangular houses are also said to go back to the 2nd half of the 8th century.[441] To date none of these remains have been properly published, and no evidence is available concerning the proposed chronology.

Most promising are the remains uncovered by recent excavation at Xobourgo on the island of Tenos. The settlement, originally established as a fortified refuge at the very end of the Bronze Age, continued to be inhabited throughout the Dark Age and the Geometric period, as the burials attest, and finally became the centre of the cititizen-state of Tenos from the Archaic period onwards. No traces of the Geometric dwellings have survived later building activity.[442]

Architectural remains going back to the Geometric period have been reported from Ayios Andreas on the island of Siphnos, but no details have as yet been published.[443]

Minoa on the island of Amorgos presents under its ruins of the historical periods some relatively well-preserved vestiges of the Early Iron Age. The *acropolis* had been inhabited in the Neolithic period, but not during the Bronze Age: the Geometric settlement is thus a new foundation datable to the late 10th century. The most important remains that can be assigned to this first phase (10th–8th centuries) are a small cemetery occupying an almost rectangular terrace on the

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439 Lamb 1930/31, 166.
440 See Fagerström 1988, 88; Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 91.
441 Schilardi 1992; 2002; Mazarakis Ainian 1997, figs. 320–322.
442 Kourou 2002.
443 Preliminary reports by B. Philippaki 1978; 1980. See also Fagerström 1988, 80.

southern slope of the hill (12 burials covering the period from *ca.* 900 to 700 B.C.), a rock-hewn flight of stairs leading towards the top of the *acropolis*, and above all a rectangular building standing within an enclosure wall. Inside the building, a pit was found, filled with ash and various offerings.[444]

All settlement remains just mentioned share a number of features. To start with, the dwellings are freestanding, built of sun-dried bricks (exceptionally of mud and reeds, such as the huts in Nichoria), resting on a low socle made of unhewn stones or rubble and covered with a thatched roof. Most of them are single-roomed or composed of three to four single-room units. They are mostly of curvilinear, oval or apsidal ground plan, though the rectangular type, which is to become predominant from the late 8th century on, is known from early times (for example at Thorikos, Viglatouri, Minoa). The floors are of beaten earth and the hearths are simple, open fireplaces. In summer, some of the activities could be carried out in the open, but in wintertime, sleeping, cooking and eating, and all other forms of social intercourse would have taken place in the one single room.

In a number of sites where the remains of more than one dwelling have survived, one house stands out by its size, its location, or other features. They have been interpreted as the residence of the community's leader or 'ruler'. According to Mazarakis Ainian, some of them were transformed into cultic buildings during the following period, *i.e.* in the second half of the 8th century.[445]

It is noteworthy that almost without exception the buildings had a relatively short life span (of a century at the most, often no more than one or two generations). Once a dwelling had to be modified, for whatever reason, it was apparently easier to rebuild it anew nearby rather than repair or enlarge the old one. In the case of curvilinear buildings there was practically no alternative, as any alteration or enlargement of the existing structure would have been extremely difficult. Such practical considerations may, however, not provide the full explanation of a phenomenon which is suggestive of a certain fluidity or lack of permanence that can also be observed at the level of entire settlements. Snodgrass has drawn attention to the fact that several settlements were abandoned

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[444] Marangou 1996; 2002.
[445] Mazarakis Ainian 1997, *passim*, esp. 287–305.

'with some abruptness at a point within the Early Iron Age',[446] and to the examples he enumerates can now be added Hypsele on Andros,[447] Viglatouri on Euboea,[448] Oropos on the Attic coast opposite Eretria,[449] and Mitrou in eastern Locris.[450] Some of these settlements appear to have had a rather brief life span, which has prompted J. Whitley to claim that they formed a special category of 'unstable settlements', 'characteristic of a particular kind of social organisation' for which he finds an analogy in the so-called 'big-man systems' in Melanesia.[451] He considers them to be quite distinct from 'stable settlements', such as Athens or Argos.[452] The proposal does not stand up to scrutiny,[453] and fails to take into account the lack of permanence that can also be observed within so-called stable settlements, as we have seen above, and which corresponds to the absence of any firm definition of the settlement's extent and of its internal spatial organisation. Symptomatically, none of the sites known—with the exception of Athens, whose Acropolis retained its Mycenaean fortification—is endowed with a wall that would encompass and firmly delimit the entire settlement. Nor does any of the sites feature an overall plan, continuous building lines, or any street grid (the relatively regular street pattern in Zagora at the end of the 8th century is the result of the agglutinative mode of construction and expansion, not of a conscious decision). The absence of any urban planning is particularly evident in the fact that there is neither a clear distinction between the inhabited areas and those used as burial grounds, nor between sacred and profane, let alone public and private.[454]

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[446] Snodgrass 1987, 172–3, 189.
[447] Televantou 1996; 1998.
[448] Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1998.
[449] Mazarakis Ainian 1998; 2002a–b.
[450] See above n. 421.
[451] Whitley 1991b, 346–50.
[452] Whitley 1991b, 352–61.
[453] One of its main pillars, Lefkandi, had been inhabited from the later Early Bronze Age on, *i.e.* for a period of well over a millennium before its abandonment around 700 B.C. (see Evely 2006, 304 [S. Sherratt]) and cannot in earnest be said to have existed for a 'relatively short time', nor is there any evidence to back up the claim that in the Early Iron Age Lefkandi had 'settlement foci' that lasted 'no more than one or two generations'. The results produced by the recently resumed excavations on Xeropolis suggest very much the opposite (see Lemos 2005b; 2006). Another 'unstable settlement', Zagora, proves equally reluctant to fit the model of the 'big-man society' of Melanesian type. We know when the settlement was abandoned, and perhaps even why (see above n. 240), but its origins remain to be determined.
[454] A point rightly stressed by Vink (2002, 56) with respect to pre-750 B.C. Argos.

c. *Archaeological Evidence: the Cemeteries* (Fig. 1)

Athens remains the only site for which there is sufficient evidence to trace the history of its cemeteries during the Geometric period. However, what we know about other, less well explored settlements suggests that they developed along similar lines.[455] As Morris has shown,[456] the main stages of this development can be summarised as follows:

1. The Acropolis, which had been used as a burial ground in the Bronze Age and still during the Submycenaean phase, remains completely free of tombs (even of children's burials) from the Protogeometric period onwards;
2. The number of cemeteries which had remained fairly steady (at 12) throughout the 9th century starts to decrease quite rapidly in the 8th to just six around 700 B.C., which is all the more noteworthy as, in the same time span, the overall number of Athenian burials grows at a massive scale, from 27 per generation in the first half of the 8th century to 71 around 750 B.C. and to well over a hundred in the last quarter.[457]
3. The gradual disappearance of adult burials in the area later to be enclosed by the city wall, so that by around 700 B.C. only one cemetery is still in use within the limits of the Classical city.

The first conclusion which one is tempted to draw from these observations, is that the Acropolis ceased to be used as a residential area from an early stage, *viz.* from the Protogeometric onward, which raises the question as to when it started to have a religious function. A *terminus ante quem* is provided by the reports of Herodotus (5. 70–71) and Thucydides

[455] See I. Morris 1987, 179–83.

[456] I. Morris 1987, 62–9 with figs. 17–18. I did not have the time to check Morris's data and figures myself, nor the resources to have them verified, let alone update them. The discrepancies that exist between some of his figures and, for instance, the map given by Travlos (1983, 325), as well as the fact that his lists of sites (pp. 228–33) do not always tally with the sites entered on the plans themselves, raise the suspicion that the exercise might well be worth the effort. See, for example, the easternmost cemetery on figs. 17a–b, which corresponds with the nos. 64–66 of the lists (area of today's Syntagma Square): belonging to the Submycenaean and Protogeometric periods according to the plans, containing not a single burial earlier than the 6th century B.C. according to the lists. The Makroyianni burial ground, placed too far to the north on figs. 17–18, has according to the list (no. 52) yielded only Late Geometric tombs—yet it appears on the maps of all periods, except the Middle Geometric one. The cemetery near the Eridanos spring, Protogeometric according to the map, is not listed at all and can therefore not be identified (it cannot be no. 33, as this is said to be a settlement). The biggest surprise is provided by the Olympieion cemetery (no. 63 of the list)—which is located on the left bank of the Ilissos (*cf.* the map Kourou 2003, 81, fig. 13, where it has returned to its right spot).

[457] According to I. Morris 1987, 73, fig. 23.

(1. 126; 5. 71) about Cylon's failed attempt to seize power in 632 B.C., as both imply that the Acropolis at that point in time served not only as military stronghold, but also as sanctuary. Apart from two column bases that have been tentatively attributed to an early temple,[458] no traces of this first sanctuary have survived *in situ*, but its existence is attested to by the votive offerings found between 1885 and 1889 in the fill of the terrace created at the beginning of the 5th century to build the first Parthenon. Their testimony is quite clear and permits hardly any doubt that it goes back to the middle of the 8th century at the latest.[459]

One essential feature of the *polis*, *viz.* its function as a religious community protected by a patron deity,[460] is thus certainly in place in Athens by 750 B.C., which seems also to be the case in a number of other settlements, notably Samos and Eretria.[461]

Around the Acropolis, the dead continue for quite some time to be buried in cemeteries spread all over the area, often not far from where they had lived, as can be gathered from the proximity of filled-in wells—frequently the only element signalling the existence of a dwelling—and tombs in the area which became, from the late 6th century, the city's civic centre.[462] This suggests that at the beginning of the 8th century Athens, rather than forming a single agglomeration, was still made up of a cluster of small villages or hamlets, each possessing its own burial ground. However, the process of abandoning them in favour of larger cemeteries was about to start, and by 700 B.C. only six large necropoleis remain in use, all except one[463] situated outside the later city-wall.[464] It obviously entails a conscious decision to separate the area occupied by the living from the zones set aside for the dead and implies that some time during the 8th century a socio-political system

[458] Nylander 1962.

[459] For the pottery, see Graef and Langlotz 1909, esp. pls. 8–10; for the bronzes, De Ridder 1896. See also Hurwit 1999, 87–94; Holtzmann 2003, 33–40.

[460] See, for example, Ampolo 1996, 340.

[461] For Samos, see Gruben 1996, 395–6 (with the earlier literature). For Eretria, Gruben 1996, 392–3 (but note the error in the caption to fig. 7, where the mid-8th century 'Daphnephoreion' is dated to the 'IX–VIII secolo'); C. Bérard 1998, 149–52; *contra* Mazarakis Ainian 1997, esp. 102.

[462] See Brann 1962, 125–31, pl. 45.

[463] At Erechtheiou-Kavalotti Street. See I. Morris 1987, 229–31 with fig. 61.37 and 40.

[464] For small children burial within the inhabited area, and even within dwellings, remained possible right to the end of antiquity.

emerged capable of making and enforcing decisions affecting the community as a whole.[465]

A closer look at what was no doubt the largest—and what is today certainly the best-known—of these cemeteries, the Kerameikos, allows a few more conclusions to be drawn and some of the points already made to be confirmed. Whilst, on average, no more than four ceramic vessels and two metal objects were placed in adult tombs at the beginning of the Geometric period, these figures increase very substantially in the first half of the 9th century to peak in the second quarter, with eleven and five pieces respectively.[466] The increase is due on the one hand to a larger number of objects in most tombs and, on the other, to a few extraordinarily rich burials, of which the famous 'Tomb of a Rich Athenian Lady' on the north slope of the Areopagus is the most outstanding example.[467] Is it justifiable to assume that such rich graves belong to individuals who in life had been wealthy and occupying a more important position in the social hierarchy than those buried with few or no grave-goods? Here again, a look at the 'Homeric society' provides a plausible answer that saves us resorting to ethnographic models or to 'common sense'—usually evoked in the absence of any firm evidence or convincing clues. In both *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, social differences are clearly reflected in the funerary rites and manifested by the tomb itself and its marker, its size, as well as the grave-goods it contained: death emphasises and perpetuates, rather than obliterates, social status.[468]

From the late 9th century on until the end of the 8th the average number of grave offerings decreases steadily. This is not to say that the tombs are no longer reflecting social differences, or that social differences were less distinct in the 8th than they had been in the 9th century. Rather, the rich tombs distinguish themselves no longer by their

[465] A similar situation can be observed in Corinth, where the small burial grounds of the Early and Middle Geometric periods are abandoned in the course of the 8th century in favour of the main necropolis in the north of the future *polis* (Williams 1994, 33). Nothing suggests that 'by the early eighth century Corinth had expanded to the size of a major Geometric city' (Coldstream 2003a, 85).

[466] My thanks to Eliane Brigger for providing these figures on the basis of the data published in the relevant volumes of the series *Kerameikos. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen*, 14 vols. (Berlin 1939–1990).

[467] See above with nn. 214–215.

[468] The relevant passages have been assembled by I. Morris (1987, 46–7). On the denial of burial, obviously the socially most degrading treatment, see the literature cited by d'Agostino (1996, 438 n. 8).

(invisible) contents, but by the (very ostentatious) vessels placed on top of the tumulus (kraters on male, belly-handled amphorae on female tombs) which in the course of the 8th century become truly monumental grave-markers.[469] In her detailed study of warrior tombs in Greece between the 10th and the 8th century B.C., A. Bräuning shows that it is precisely around 800 B.C. that Athenian warriors are no longer given their weapons in their tombs. Instead, painted representations of sea or land battles make their first appearance on the clay vessels set up as grave-markers, later to be replaced by pictures of unrealistically luxurious funerary processions.[470] It looks as if the heads of the wealthy families, now that they were no longer buried in their own plots but in larger community cemeteries, wanted to make sure that they were still clearly standing out. It could imply that the various small communities, each with its own chieftain, had merged into a single, larger one, with a number of potential leaders competing with each other.

Conclusions

To conclude, let us now revert to our starting point and briefly reexamine, in the light of the foregoing survey, the main reasons to which the colonisation movement of the 8th and 7th centuries has been attributed.

Colonisation for Commercial Reasons

Movement and transfer of goods in the first half of the 8th century, mostly in the form of gift exchanges, barter deals, or votive offerings, concern mostly luxuries or small amounts of other commodities. Trade in the proper sense of the term does not exist in this pre-monetary economy. With regard to raw materials, including metals, Greece was almost completely self-sufficient. Only tin had to be imported, but the quantities required were limited and certainly insufficient to necessitate the setting up of colonies all over the Mediterranean—none of which could be said to be near a 'tin route' anyway. Copper, the other ele-

[469] Kübler 1954, 35–7; Knigge 1988, 21. I suspect that it is not simply due to an oversight that I. Morris (1992, 128–44) passes over these 8th-century forerunners of the Archaic funerary *kouroi*.

[470] Bräuning 1995.

ment required to manufacture the all-important bronze, was available in limited quantities only and some of it may have been imported from Cyprus. There is evidence to suggest that rather than importing the two elements separately bronze ingots were acquired in exchange for iron which was abundantly available. To conclude with Treister,[471] metal trade as a main motive for the colonisation movement can be safely and definitively ruled out.

As for rural products, 8th-century Greece was not only self-sufficient in every respect, it produced surpluses that could be exported in exchange for various luxury items, mainly jewellery, but also for precious textiles and papyrus.

There is no evidence of any kind to suggest that the 'colonies' in Sicily and southern Italy, founded in the Geometric and early Archaic periods, were providing their mother cities with any goods at all, and even less to suggest that the motherland's prosperity—or, indeed, survival—depended on such supplies.[472]

Colonisation as a Result of a Climatic Disaster

That severe droughts occurred frequently throughout Greek history is undeniable.[473] Indeed, a seven-year drought is mentioned as the main reason why the Therans sent out a group of *apoikists* to North Africa (Herodotus 4. 151. 1) and, according to Plutarch (*Moralia* 772C), Syracuse had been founded by the Corinthians for the same reason. The food shortage in Chalcis which several ancient authors name as the factor that led to the foundation of Rhegion (Strabo 6. 1. 6; Antiochus *FGrHist* 555 F 9; Heraclides Lembos)[474] may well have been the result of a drought, often the main reason for such disasters.[475] Yet, the proposal to consider drought as the 'root cause of colonisation' in general creates more problems than it solves. To start with, Athens which is said to have suffered from one prolonged drought[476] or several periods of

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471 Treister 1996, 181.

472 *Pace* Tandy (1997, 230) who mistakes Geometric Greece for 19th-century Europe or the United States in the 20th and 21st enturies, when he declares that 'The new wealth that was generated abroad came under the control of the elite [*sic*] still at home...'

473 Panessa 1991, 523–615.

474 For whom, see Panessa 1991, 680.

475 Panessa 1991, 626.

476 Camp 1979.

drought[477] is precisely the one major *polis* in Central Greece that did not participate in the early colonisation movement. Euboea's almost frantic colonising activity on the other hand, with over ten colonies in the space of a generation following the setting up of Pithekoussai some time before 750 B.C., comes to a sudden halt after the founding of Leontini and Catane, dated to 729 B.C. according to traditional chronology (though some of the foundations for which no date is recorded might of course belong to later periods). Was Euboea henceforth never hit by a drought again, while neighbouring Andros, just like Corinth, continued to suffer from bad climatic conditions throughout the Archaic period? The theory encounters even more severe problems when one starts considering the secondary colonies in Sicily and Italy. The three colonies founded by Syracuse in the middle of the 7th and at the start of the 6th centuries, Acrae, Casmenae and Camarina, are so close to the mother city that they would have suffered just as badly if it had been affected by severe climatic problems.

Colonisation as a Result of Overpopulation

Although there can be little doubt that the beginning of the 8th century marks the start of a real population growth, the once popular notion of a 'demographic explosion' has long been laid to rest, and there is no evidence to suggest that there was a 'sharp rise in population' in the early 8th century that would have 'put pressure on the land'.[478] Even settlements that were later to become big urban centres, such as Argos, Corinth, Athens, or Eretria are, still in the second half of the 8th century, composed of loosely connected hamlets, separated by vast expanses of vacant land. The same applies on a country-wide scale, as entire regions remain uninhabited right to the end of the century. Overpopulation in the modern sense of the term cannot have been the main reason for the colonisation movement. This conclusion is confirmed by the indications provided by the literary sources according to which the numbers of *apoikists* were small and, furthermore, that they were, in most cases, male.[479] The departure of such groups would

[477] Cawkwell 1992, 298.
[478] Donlan 1989, 144.
[479] Cawkwell 1992, 291, 295. From an archaeological point of view, the question whether, as a rule, *apoikists* arrived with their Greek wives or married native women, remains open (see Shepherd 1999, esp. 294–8 [with the earlier literature]).

have eased demographic pressure only very marginally and only for a very short period of time.

Colonisation and the Emergence of the Polis

The sparse archaeological remains at our disposal are obviously insufficient to lead to a firm conclusion with regard to the two competing views about the character of the Homeric *polis* as summarised above. Looking at the settlement remains, one is tempted at first to declare the 'primitivists' to be in the right: there is no trace of any centralised activity or overall planning to be detected throughout the 8th century, let alone at its beginning. Yet, turning to the funerary evidence, particularly in Athens, where the record is less rudimentary than elsewhere, there are signs suggesting that the villages which had hitherto existed side by side were starting to merge and to form a single community, protected by one divinity to whom the very centre of the settlement is dedicated. Also around the middle of the 8th century, Eretria seems to have been founded as a single, large settlement, occupying from the outset the entire plain between the *acropolis* in the north and the harbour in the south. Thus, a connexion between the start of the colonisation movement and the beginning of the process which leads to the creation of the Greek *polis* is undeniable in chronological terms. It seems at least possible that the link is not coincidental and that in fact the socio-political crystallisation process which results in the creation of the *polis* constitutes one, if not the main, cause of the colonisation movement. It looks indeed as if the very nature of the nascent citizen-state was at the root of the phenomenon.[480]

For, not only has every *polis* its territory and this territory is owned by the citizens that make it up, but also the citizens themselves are defined as such by the fact that they own the territory of the *polis*. There is no citizenship without land holding. Thus, the (fictitious) Cretan Castor in the *Odyssey*, being the son of a concubine, comes away empty-handed when his half-brothers decide, after their father's death, to distribute the inheritance among themselves (*Odyssey* 14. 199–234). He has no choice and takes to the sea to make a living.

How close to reality Homer's fiction may have been is illustrated by the fate of the '*nothoi* of Kynosarges' in 5th-century Athens. Born of

[480] To put it with Mertens 2006, 15: 'Der Kern der Problematik liegt im Wesen des griechischen "Bürgerstaats" selbst, der Poleis wie der Stammstaaten.'

non-Athenian mothers between 469/8 and 451/0 B.C., these Athenians were excluded from citizenship by a law passed in 451 which limited citizens' rights to sons whose parents were both Athenian.[481] As S.C. Humphreys has pointed out,[482] many of these disfranchised and disinherited young men belonged to leading Athenian families. They faced the same choice as their counterparts in the 8th and 7th centuries, to live as outlaws or emigrate and create their own *polis*, and one may wonder how many of them were among the *apoikists* who founded Thurii in 443 (Diodorus 12. 10–11). For them just as much as had been the case in the 8th century, the pain of leaving their homes must have been alleviated by the attraction exerted by the foreign lands and by the hope of large gains about which seafarers were reporting.

The unconditional link between political rights and land holding, but also the fact that the *polis* concept is based, as already Burckhardt rightly emphasised,[483] on tight civic discipline, on the principle of unanimity and absolute loyalty from its citizens,[484] makes it necessary for its size to be restricted.[485] Plato proposes a figure of 5,040 households as the upper limit (*Leges* 740E), which Raoul-Rochette regarded as a number so exact that it seemed bizarre.[486] Whatever the rationale of the figure, it may in fact not have been his own invention. It is worth mentioning Megara Hyblaea in this context, founded in 729 B.C. on a previously unoccupied site covering an area of about 60 ha. As H. Tréziny has shown,[487] the whole area of the *polis* to be covered by the future city was subdivided into plots of almost identical size of about 120 m^2 from the outset—which means that from the start the plan was to accommodate fairly precisely 5,000 households.

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[481] See Humphreys 1974.
[482] Humphreys 1974, 94.
[483] Burckhardt 1902, 79–82.
[484] Plato recommends getting rid of dissidents by sending them out to found a colony (*Leges* 736A).
[485] Burckhardt 1902, 73.
[486] Raoul-Rochette 1815, I, 18.
[487] Tréziny 1999.

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FOUNDATION STORIES

Jonathan M. Hall

Approaches to Foundation Accounts

In affirming that '[t]he colonies have their beginning, not in the mists of the dark ages, but in the full activity of history,'[1] Thomas Dunbabin was rehearsing a famous historiographical distinction formulated almost exactly a century earlier by George Grote. Eschewing the tendency of his contemporaries to recover historical trace-elements from myth, Grote argued that the 'legendary' period of Greek history, while feasibly containing a kernel of historical truth, was essentially 'unknowable', and that Greek history (in the Rankean 'scientific' sense) only began with the foundation of the Olympic Games in 776 B.C.[2] With this watershed established, the planting of Greek settlements in the West, conventionally dated by both literary and archaeological evidence to the second half of the 8th century B.C., inevitably constitutes one of the first truly historical chapters of Greek history. As a result, the literary accounts that describe the circumstances and act of foundation are deemed qualitatively superior to those recounting earlier migratory movements in spite of the fact that the Greeks themselves adopted the same terminology to describe the Dorian migration into the Peloponnese or the Ionian settlement of Asia Minor as they did for the plantation of new homes in the West.[3] So, for example, John Graham notes that

> [w]ith some over-simplification, one might say that the literary sources for the Archaic period present *real historical* evidence, even though they are partly contaminated by *legendary elements*, whereas those for the migratory period are all *legend*, even if a *kernel of truth* is concealed somewhere within them (my emphasis—JMH).[4]

[1] Dunbabin 1948, 452.
[2] Grote 1859, vii.
[3] Mazzarino 1966, 10; Graham 1983, 2; Malkin 1987, 4; 1994, 15–45; Hall 2002, 91.
[4] Graham 1982a, 83.

This approach to colonial foundation stories may conveniently be labelled 'historical-positivist'—positivist, not for the more pejorative connotations of credulous *naïveté* that are fashionably associated with this slogan (a point to which I shall return in closing), but in the sense that the literary testimonia are regarded as valid, empirical data from which we may derive the 'facts' of Greek settlement overseas.[5] Historical-positivists are perfectly aware that the exegesis of literary texts is far from straightforward and that, for the most part, our literary accounts for settlements overseas—both those written from a contemporary perspective and those that retrospectively narrate the circumstances of the earliest foundations—rarely predate the 5th century.[6] Yet they find it difficult to believe that details concerning the date of foundation, the identity of the *oikist* (founder), the provenance of the original settlers and the procedures for establishing the new settlement could have been invented entirely *ex nihilo*. In addition, archaeological evidence is marshalled to demonstrate 'that the literary record is on the whole thoroughly trustworthy'.[7]

Adherents to the historical-positivist approach tend to privilege literary sources over material evidence,[8] but there is an archaeological variant. In *The Greeks Overseas*, currently in its fourth edition, John Boardman openly declares that his interests lie more with the archaeological record than with literary accounts, and in his methodological discussion of available sources he ranks contemporary 'monuments and objects' above the 'near-contemporary evidence' of ancient historians.[9] Yet in his discussion of the Western settlements, he notes that

> the Spartans sent to found Tarentum [Taras] were illegitimate children, born in a time of war when the Spartans had sworn not to return until victorious, but had yielded to the complaints of their women and sent some youngsters home on compassionate leave. The children, grown up, came to resent their lack of rights, fomented revolt, and were packed off to found a colony.[10]

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[5] Osborne (1998, 251–2) rightly points out that 'colonisation' is not an entirely appropriate term to describe the movements of Greek peoples from the 8th century, but since it has become conventional usage and since the perpetual search for synonyms becomes tedious after a while, it is here retained for the sake of convenience.

[6] *Cf.* Miller 1970, 64.

[7] Graham 1971 (2001), 6.

[8] Graham 1971 (2001), 3–4.

[9] Boardman 1999, 10–1.

[10] Boardman 1999, 163.

Needless to say, there is little in the material record that would suggest this reconstruction of events. Graham argues that 'the only safe procedure is to use first the literary sources, however exiguous, simply because they are explicit, and to interpret the much more abundant, but inarticulate, material evidence under their guidance'.[11] Boardman might reasonably dispute the priority accorded the literary sources here, but would still nonetheless appear to interpret the material evidence from within a set of assumptions determined by the accounts of ancient authors.

While the historical-positivist approach to foundation stories is undoubtedly that which is most familiar to students of antiquity, it is not the only way in which the literary accounts have been interpreted. Scholars of a more philological persuasion—we may call them 'poeticists'—have contended that 'the scarcity and problematic nature of the sources available to us' means that 'we may never know "what really happened"',[12] and have therefore concentrated more on the foundation narratives themselves rather than the 'historical truth' that they may (or may not) convey. Carol Dougherty has drawn attention to the 'narrative patterns' or 'plots' that characterise many foundation stories: the Delphic Oracle is consulted in response to a civic crisis and Apollo sanctions a colonial venture which resolves the original crisis and comes to be memorialised through the cult of the *oikist* in the new settlement.[13] Far, however, from reflecting a 'real' state of affairs in the past, these narrative patterns can in turn 'shape the way "history" itself is represented and subsequently remembered'.[14] Similarly, Claude Calame maintains that the Greeks did not recite foundation stories for their 'congruence with factual truth' but for the 'moral coherence' contained within the narrative.[15] In examining the various tales told by Pindar, Herodotus, Menecles of Barca, Apollonius of Rhodes and Callimachus for the foundation of Libyan Cyrene, Calame argues that the foundation story is always in the process of transformation and can never, therefore, refer to exterior events that can be reconstructed and arranged in chronological order on the basis of material facts and documents. Rather, the reorientation of the narrative is determined by

[11] Graham 1982a, 92.
[12] Dougherty 1993b, 179.
[13] Dougherty 1993a, 15.
[14] Dougherty 1993b, 185–6.
[15] Calame 1990, 278.

the function that it assumes in the text that conveys it as well as by the 'pragmatic perspective' of that framework.[16] In their underplaying of extratextual referents, poeticists typically have little use for archaeological evidence.

Archaeological evidence plays a greater rôle within a third approach to foundation stories, which in other respects shares the scepticism of the poeticists. Unlike historical-positivists, however, adherents to this approach attempt to understand the archaeological record on its own terms rather than through the lens of the literary texts, thus seeking to avoid what Anthony Snodgrass has termed the 'positivist fallacy', which confuses archaeological prominence and historical importance.[17] Robin Osborne notes how, from the archaeological point of view, the distinction that modern historiography draws between *apoikiai* supposedly founded by a single city (for example Megara Hyblaea) and *emporia* established by visitors of various origins (for example Pithekoussai) is seldom reflected in the earliest material assemblages, which appear equally mixed in both cases.[18] This prompts him to question whether 'the classical model of settlement abroad—state-led, at a pre-chosen site, for military and/or agrarian ends—can reasonably be retrojected to the earlier archaic period'.[19] In his view, initial ventures overseas were probably far more haphazard than the later foundation stories suggest, often undertaken by a motley assemblage of settlers from more than one region in mainland Greece. Such diversity of origins does occasionally find expression in the literary testimonia, but modern historians have tended to privilege 'only one of a number of cities to which the ancient sources make reference' on the anachronistic assumption that 'only one city can have been responsible for a foundation'.[20] At the same time (and in contrast to the somewhat more synchronic approach of the poeticists), the historical value of such foundation stories is not entirely jettisoned, but the difference from the historical-positivists resides in the fact that such accounts are treated not as distant echoes of a 'real' initial act of foundation but as the structuring elements by

[16] Calame 1996, 164.
[17] Snodgrass 1983, 142–6; 1987, 37–8.
[18] Osborne 1998, 259.
[19] Osborne 1998, 255. *Contra* Graham 1982a, 143: 'the majority of Greek colonies were established as public ventures, duly decided upon by an act of state in the founding (mother) city.'
[20] Osborne 1998, 267; *cf.* Mazzarino 1966, 115–6; Snodgrass 1994, 2.

which an overseas settlement eventually came to invent its own past under specific political, social and cultural conditions.[21] I shall refer to adherents to this approach as 'historical-constructivists'.

One particular aspect in which these three approaches differ is with regard to the formulaic 'patterns' that foundation stories are taken to display. Historical-positivists interpret these to indicate that there were conventional, ritually sanctioned procedures that were regularly followed in establishing a settlement overseas. Poeticists consider the patterns to be due instead to the format of the *ktisis* genre—in other words, to the shaping of historical tradition rather than genuine historical events *per se*. Historical-constructivists, on the other hand, may be more inclined to regard these patterns as a mirage of modern historiography. Yet all too often, there is a tendency to formulate generalising observations on the basis of a mere handful of foundation stories. My intention in the next section is to subject such generalisations to a more systematic scrutiny of the available literary evidence. For reasons of manageability, I have limited my investigation to Italian colonies. The analysis has been conducted on a database of 27 colonial sites—14 in Sicily (Acrae, Acragas, Camarina, Casmenae, Catane, Gela, Himera, Leontini, Megara Hyblaea, Mylae, Naxos, Selinus, Syracuse, Zancle) and 13 in Magna Graecia (Caulonia, Croton, Cumae, Dicearchia [Puteoli], Locri, Metapontum, Parthenope [Neapolis], Pithekoussai, Poseidonia [Paestum], Rhegion, Siris, Sybaris, Taras).[22] The information provided for each of these sites by literary notices of varying lengths (247 in all) has been arranged according to four variables: (i) date of foundation; (ii) identity of the *oikist*; (iii) provenance of the first settlers; and (iv) further narrative details about the circumstances of foundation.[23] In the third section, I consider the credibility of such traditions, and in the fourth I present as a case-study the evidence regarding the foundation of Taras. The reason why Taras has been singled out is due in part to

[21] Osborne 1998, 264–5; Nafissi 1999, 252.

[22] References to the literary traditions are taken from Bérard, Nenci and Vallet 1977–1996, though since this series remains unfinished, the traditions for Pithekoussai, Rhegion, Selinus, Siris, Sybaris, Syracuse and Taras are taken from Bérard 1957.

[23] In a minimal number of cases, this information has been simplified: for example, there are scores of notices concerning the foundation of Taras, many of them provided by ancient commentators, which simply allude to the city's foundation by the Partheniai without adding further information. Since they are clearly not derived from independent sources, the less informative notices have been omitted in the interests of economy.

the particularly rich stock of literary traditions concerning its establishment but also because ongoing excavations and the reorganisation of the National Archaeological Museum of Taranto have greatly increased our archaeological understanding of the city's earliest years.

The Nature of Colonial Foundation Stories

Table 1 summarises the information available for the 27 colonial foundations under consideration, indicating how many sources provide details for each of the four variables. Ideally, one might apply quantitative techniques to draw inferences about the parameters of early Archaic colonial ventures on the basis of the statistical sample at our disposal, but there are two reasons that militate against this procedure. First of all, it is not always easy to know whether or not two authors who provide the same information are drawing upon independent sources. For example, the fact that both Thucydides (6. 4. 3) and Diodorus Siculus (8. 23) name the joint *oikists* of Gela as Antiphemos of Rhodes and Entimos of Crete does not endow their testimony with increased validity if—as is likely—Diodorus has derived his information from Thucydides or if both have obtained their accounts from a third source such as Antiochus of Syracuse. Secondly, omissions of information under one or more variables need not be significant. Thus, Thucydides (6. 4. 4) tells us that Acragas was founded 108 years after Gela by the Rhodians of Gela under the leadership of Aristonous and Pystilos, that it took its name from a nearby river and that it adopted the institutions (*nomima*) of its metropolis. Ps.-Skymnos (292–293) notes simply that it was founded by Gela, but that need not mean he was unaware of the other details provided by Thucydides—merely that such extra information was not immediately germane to his purpose. Correcting for these complications would require an exhaustive exercise in *Quellenforschung* which is beyond the scope of the present chapter. Instead, I am largely concerned in this section not so much with the congruence between foundation stories and historical actualities but with attempting to provide a more balanced and representative characterisation of the extant literary traditions.

The first thing to note is that our literary documentation for colonial foundations is not actually as replete as is sometimes supposed. Irad Malkin expresses a commonly held view when he affirms that '[m]ost Greek colonies preserved for posterity the names of their founders,

Table 1
Number of Sources Offering Information on Colonial Foundations

COLONY	DATE	OIKISTS	SETTLERS	OTHER
Acrae	1		2	
Acragas	2	1	9	1
Camarina	3	1	3	
Casmenae	1		1	
Catane	2	3	2	
Caulonia	1	4	7	2
Croton	5	22	5	14
Cumae	3	2	20	3
Dicearchia	1	3	4	
Gela	2	9	4	8
Himera	1	1	3	1
Leontini	2	3	6	3
Locri	3	1	10	6
Megara Hyblaea	4	4	5	2
Metapontum	3	6	11	7
Mylae	1		2	
Naxos	4	9	5	3
Parthenope	1		10	3
Pithekoussai	1		2	1
Poseidonia			3	
Rhegion	1	2	6	5
Selinus	3	1	4	
Siris	1		6	1
Sybaris	2	2	8	3
Syracuse	4	12	3	7
Taras	8	10	17	14
Zancle	2	3	5	2

the names of their mother cities, and the dates of their foundations'.[24] Yet in only 17 of the 27 cases (63%) is information available for all four variables. Furthermore, in just seven of these 17 instances (41%; 26% of the total) are all four variables provided by the same author,[25]

[24] Malkin 1994, 127. See also Dunbabin 1948, 11; Miller 1970, 194; Malkin 1987, 189.

[25] Acragas: Thucydides 6. 4. 4. Cumae: Velleius Paterculus 1. 4. 1. Locri: Ephorus 70 *FGrHist* 138. Megara Hyblaea: Thucydides 6. 3–4. Naxos: Thucydides 6. 3. 1; Ephorus 70 *FGrHist* 137; Skymnos 270–277. Syracuse: Ephorus 70 *FGrHist* 136. Taras: Antiochus 555 *FGrHist* 13; Diodorus 8. 21; Eustathius *ad* Dionysius Periegeta 376; Servius *ad* Virgil *Georgics* 4. 126; *Aeneid* 3. 551, 6. 773; Acro *ad* Horace *Carmina* 2. 6.

and even in these cases the information may be at variance with that provided by other sources. For example, Thucydides (6. 4. 1–2) tells us that at about the time of the foundation of Naxos, Syracuse, Leontini and Catane, Lamis led an expedition from Megara to Sicily, settling a site named Trotilon on the River Pantakyos, before joining the Chalcidian inhabitants of Leontini. Having been expelled from Leontini, he established a settlement at Thapsos where he died, but his companions were forced out of Thapsos and were settled on land nearby by the Sicel king Hyblon, prompting them to name their new community Megara Hyblaea. Thucydides goes on to say that the colony was founded 245 years prior to its destruction by Gelon of Syracuse—yielding a date of *ca.* 728 B.C. on our reckoning (see further below). The Megarian origin of the settlers is also affirmed by Ps.-Skymnos (277) and Polyaenus (5. 5), but Strabo (6. 2. 4) refers more vaguely to 'Dorians', and Ephorus (70 *FGrHist* 137) notes that while most of these Dorians originated from Megara, some came from elsewhere. A foundation date approximately 30 years earlier than that recorded by Thucydides is provided by the Syrian and Armenian versions of Eusebius' *Chronica*,[26] while Polyaenus dates the settlement of Trotilon to *after*, not before, the Megarians' expulsion from Leontini. Furthermore, Ephorus, Ps.-Skymnos and Polyaenus all attribute the foundation not to Lamis—who, in Thucydides' account, had in any case died before the final settlement was realised—but to Theocles, credited by Thucydides (6. 3. 1–2) with the establishment of the Chalcidian cities of Naxos, Leontini and Catane but not Megara Hyblaea.[27] Even Theocles' origins are a point of contestation: Thucydides (6. 3. 1) implies that he was a Chalcidian and this is stated explicitly by Hellanicus (4 *FGrHist* 82) and Stephanus of Byzantium (*s.v.* Catane), but the *Suda* (*s.v.* elegeinein) and the *Etymologicum Magnum* (327. 6–10) say that he hailed from the neighbouring Euboean city of Eretria, while for Ephorus (70 *FGrHist* 137) and Ps.-Skymnos (270–277) he was an Athenian.

As Table 1 shows, the fullest information that we possess for colonial foundations regards the provenance of the first settlers. In the case

[26] Miller (1970, 36) suggests that the Eusebian date of 758/7 refers to the initial settlement at Trotilon, but this would still represent a tradition entirely different from that of Thucydides, for whom Naxos, founded *ca.* 734 B.C., was the earliest Greek settlement on Sicily.

[27] Thucydides notes, however, that the inhabitants of Catane themselves regarded their founder as Euarchos; *cf. Schol.* Callimachus fr. 43.

of the Sicilian settlements, very little disagreement emerges between sources. The three exceptions are: (i) Himera, whose settlers are said to have originated variously from Catane, Callipolis, Zancle, Mylae and Syracuse;[28] (ii) Mylae, for which either Catane and Callipolis (Skymnos 287–288) or Zancle (Strabo 6. 2. 6) are listed as alternative metropoleis and (iii) Gela, for which some authors propose a mixed Rhodian-Cretan foundation and others a purely Rhodian one.[29] As Table 2 reveals, however, it is an entirely different matter with the foundations on the Italian mainland where at only Taras and Dicearchia does the provenance of the first settlers receive univocal attestation—Lacedaemonians in the former case and Samians in the latter. Typically, modern scholars—especially historical-positivists—have found ways to explain away the divergences and hence to determine the more significant 'core-element' of the first settlers. Sometimes the attestation of different settlers is taken to indicate a subsidiary, and generally short-lived, constituency within the founding group: this may be the case with the Eretrians at Cumae and Pithekoussai,[30] the Troezenians at Sybaris (and possibly Poseidonia)[31] and perhaps the Aeolians at Cumae—unless their presence was conjectured by ancient authors on the basis of the homonymy between the Campanian settlement and the city of Cumae/Cyme on the Anatolian seaboard. In the case of Epizephyrian Locri, the oscillation between Eastern (Opuntian) and Western (Ozolian) Locrians as providing the founding-party may simply mean that the first settlers were drawn from both central Greek regions. Sometimes, however, divergent accounts of the settlers' provenance are attributed to later inventions that were elaborated within the context of specific historical circumstances. For example, the attestation of Messenians among the first inhabitants of Rhegion is often suspected to be an invention

[28] Catane and Callipolis: Skymnos 289–290. Chalcidians from Zancle and Syracusan refugees: Thucydides 6. 5. 1. Zancleans from Mylae: Strabo 6. 2. 6.

[29] Rhodian-Cretan: Thucydides 6. 4. 3 (implied); Diodorus 8. 23; Artemon 569 *FGrHist* 1. Rhodian: Herodotus 7. 153; Callimachus *Aetia* fr. 43. 47; *Etymologicum Magnum* 225. 1.

[30] Alternatively, the attestation of Eretrians might possibly be a reflexion of the competing claims between the neighbouring Euboean cities of Eretria and Chalcis which, in both ancient and modern historiography, have given rise to the tradition of the 'Lelantine War'. For discussions of the war's historicity, see Fehling 1979; Tausend 1987; Parker 1997.

[31] Pais (1894, 533–40) and Bérard (1957, 216) argued that the Dorians, attested by Solinus (2. 10) at Poseidonia, are Aristotle's Troezenians, expelled from Sybaris by the Achaeans.

Table 2
First Settlers of Colonies on the Italian Mainland

Caulonia	Achaeans from Croton
	Locrians
Croton	Achaeans
	Achaean *nostoi*
	Spartans
Cumae	Chalcidians
	Aeolians of Cymae/Cyme
	Eretrians
	Euboeans
	Thespiadai of Sardinia
Locri	Opuntian (Eastern) Locrians
	Ozolian (Western) Locrians
	Spartans
Metapontum	Achaeans
	Achaean *nostoi*
	Pylians
Neapolis-Parthenope	Chalcidians from Cumae
	Rhodians
Pithekoussai	Chalcis
	Eretria
Poseidonia	Sybaris
	Dorians
Rhegion	Chalcidians
	Messenians
Siris	Ionians of Colophon
	Achaean *nostoi*
	Trojans
	Rhodians
Sybaris	Achaeans
	Troezenians
	Rhodians
	Locrians

designed to legitimate the pedigree of Anaxilas, the early 5th-century tyrant of Rhegion, whose great-grandfather was said to have originated in Peloponnesian Messenia,[32] while the tradition that Pausanias (3. 3. 1) preserves concerning the Spartan foundation of Locri and Croton

[32] Pausanias' early dating for Anaxilas (4. 23; *cf.* Antiochus 555 *FGrHist* 9) is generally discounted on the basis of Herodotus 7. 164. 1 and Thucydides 6. 4. 6. See Pearson 1962, 421; Asheri 1983, 32.

probably emerged in the context of the mid-6th-century hostilities between the two Italian cities that erupted in the Battle of Sagra, in which the Locrians attributed their victory to the aid of the Spartan heroes, the Dioskouroi (Theopompus 115 *FGrHist* 392; Justinus *Epitome* 20. 2. 10).[33]

In addition, some variant traditions have been dismissed as mythical fantasies. This is most obviously the case with the Trojans of Siris and the Achaean *nostoi* (returnees from the Trojan War) who are credited with settlements at Croton and Metapontum, as well as in the territories of Croton, Sybaris, Siris and perhaps Neapolis-Parthenope.[34] In fact, the traditions concerning the *nostoi* are particularly associated with the Achaean colonies of South Italy and play on the double-meaning of 'Achaioi' as (i) the inhabitants of the northern Peloponnesian region of Achaea during the historical period, and (ii) the 'pre-Dorian' populations of Greece during the Heroic Age—*i.e.* Homer's Achaeans.[35] The latter, more expansive sense would include the Rhodians under the command of Tlepolemus who are said to have landed in the vicinity of Sybaris and Siris as well as the Pylian followers of Nestor who are credited with the foundation of Metapontum. For those who are reluctant to accept that these traditions of 'Heroic Age' settlers can be correlated with finds of Mycenaean material in the West,[36] these mythical variants simply represent an attempt on the part of self-consciously young foundations to equip themselves with a deep historical pedigree to equal those of their peers in mainland Greece.[37] Thus stripped of elements that are either inconsequential trivia, later politically motivated inventions or mythical embellishments, the narrative accounts for the

[33] See Huxley 1980, 34–6; Malkin 1994, 62–4.

[34] For various interpretations of the Trojan element at Siris, see Huxley 1980, 38–9; Moscati Castelnuovo 1989, 19–27, 50; Malkin 1998, 228–31; Hall 1999, 389–92; 2002, 64–5; forthcoming. The Homeric hero Philoctetes is associated by Strabo (6. 1. 3) and [Aristotle] (*De Mirabilibus Auscultationibus* 107) with the indigenous cities of Chon, Crimisa and Petelia within the territory of Croton, and is supposed to have died aiding the Rhodian king Tlepolemus whose crew had landed in the territory of Sybaris and Siris (*cf.* Strabo 6. 1. 14). It is probable that these were the same Rhodians with whom the earliest settlement at Neapolis was associated (see Strabo 14. 2. 10; Stephanus of Byzantium *s.v.* Parthenope).

[35] Bérard 1957, 154; Goegebeur 1985; Hall forthcoming.

[36] The Mycenaean hypothesis has been advanced *inter alios* by Bernabò Brea 1957, 128; Sjöqvist 1973, 13; Pugliese Carratelli 1983, 8. *Contra* Cassola 1953, 279; Guzzo 1990, 141; Mele 1995, 427–9; Malkin 1998, 179. See now, however, Papadopoulos 2001, 439–44.

[37] *Cf.* Malkin 1994, 133.

colonial foundations in mainland Italy are pared down to reveal just four groups of historical settlers: the Chalcidians (Cumae; Neapolis; Pithekoussai; Rhegion); the Achaeans of the northern Peloponnese (Caulonia; Croton; Metapontum; Poseidonia; Sybaris); the Locrians (Locri); and the Ionians of Colophon (Siris).

Yet this tactic of separating historical from non- or quasi-historical testimony is precisely that which Osborne criticises (see above). That the attribution of a colony to a particular group of founders may fulfil a precise historical function in the later history of the settlement is beyond doubt. It can hardly be contingent that the inhabitants of Metapontum should have attributed the foundation of their city to Pylians when the Colophonian settlers of neighbouring Siris were also proclaiming Pylian origins—suggesting, perhaps, a climate of claims and counter-claims during the relatively short period (*ca.* 630–550 B.C.) in which both cities co-existed.[38] Rather, the point is that the only reason why variant traditions have survived in the literary record—sometimes over many centuries—is that they *all* served a meaningful function at some time or another. To maintain that literary traditions preserve the historical truth of a colony's origins while simultaneously drawing arbitrary distinctions that ancient authors refused to make between more and less credible accounts is, I would suggest, untenable from a methodological point of view and risks misunderstanding the purpose of foundation stories.

This is not to say that there can never be a congruence between historical actuality and a particular foundation account, but rather that the literary testimonia on their own—especially in cases where variant traditions appear—should not be forced to conform to modern 'commonsensical' notions. Ideally, one would turn to an external category of evidence such as archaeology, though here it is important to avoid falling into the discredited fallacy that traded pottery 'need…tell us anything about the movements of the people who made it'.[39] Imported Corinthian wares, for example, are represented in significant quantities among the earliest material assemblages at most colonial settlements regardless of the supposed origins of the colony in question.[40] Similarly, a recent study by John Papadopoulos has concluded that Achaean ceramic imports and

[38] Hall 2002, 65; forthcoming. *Cf.* Malkin 1998, 210–3. Colophon's Pylian origins are already noted by Mimnermus fr. 9 West.

[39] Graham 1971 (2001), 3.

[40] Boardman 1999, 163, 170–1, 173, 176, 184.

imitations are found not only in those Italian cities traditionally recorded as Achaean foundations but also in other parts of southern Italy (Locri and Taras) as well as in eastern and south-eastern Sicily; Papadopoulos further notes that most of this pottery dates to the 7th or to the early 6th century—*i.e.* some time after the traditional foundation dates for the Achaean colonies.[41] That said, Euboean material is found among the earliest pottery at Chalcidian sites such as Pithekoussai, Cumae and Naxos,[42] so one might be tempted to accept that Chalcidians were at least present in some numbers in eastern Sicily and the sites around the Bay of Naples. But the question that then arises is whether the identification of early Archaic Rhodian wares at Sybaris might allow us to consider the legends concerning Tlepolemus as reflecting an early Rhodian presence alongside Achaeans in the city.[43] What is at stake is a point of method: the archaeological evidence is seldom conclusive, so the decision to either invoke or to refute the equation of 'pots and people' is all too often guided by literary evidence which has itself already been selected and filtered by modern assumptions.

To those familiar with the history of the Archaic Greek mainland, it may come as a surprise that the next variable for which we are most fully informed concerns the date of foundation. Indeed, some kind of chronological indication is furnished by at least one source for all but one of the 27 settlements. Information about the date of foundation may be expressed in one of five ways. (i) An absolute numerical date may be given based on an external chronological scheme (39.7% of instances). This is most obviously the case with the dates provided by the various versions of Eusebius' *Chronica* which synchronised the major historical events of the Greek world with a biblical chronology based on years 'after Abraham' (1 Abr. = 2016 B.C.). Now lost, the colonial entries in the *Chronica* have to be carefully assembled from Jerome's Latin edition of the work, three Syriac editions of the text, two Armenian translations of a lost Syriac edition and the *Chronographia* written by the Byzantine excerptor George Synkellos.[44] Alternatively, Olympiad dating may be used to date a settlement: thus Diodorus Siculus (13. 62) dates the foundation of Himera to the 33rd Olympiad of 648 B.C.

[41] Papadopoulos 2001 (for the date, see pp. 406–7, 438).
[42] Boardman 1999, 166, 168–9.
[43] For Rhodian wares at Sybaris, see Morgan and Hall 1996, 202 with n. 208.
[44] See Miller 1970, 8–12.

(ii) An author may date a colony by giving a defined numerical interval between its foundation and that of another (17.5% of instances). Provided that we have a 'fixed point' relating at least one settlement in the series to an absolute chronological scheme, we are able to calculate a precise numerical date for the foundation. For example, Ps.-Skymnos (357–360) states that Sybaris existed for 210 years; since we can fairly confidently date its destruction by Croton to 510 B.C. we arrive at a foundation date of *ca.* 720 B.C.[45] The best-known example, however, of this method of dating is the brief account of Greek colonial foundations that Thucydides provides by way of introduction to his narrative of the Sicilian Expedition (see Fig. 1). Here, the settlements of Naxos, Leontini, Catane, Gela, Acrae and Camarina are all dated in relation to the foundation of Syracuse, while Selinus is dated in relation to Megara Hyblaea, Acragas in relation to Gela and Casmenae in relation to Acrae. Since, however, Thucydides approximately synchronises the foundations of Leontini, Catane and Megara Hyblaea, and since we are told that Megara Hyblaea had existed for 245 years by the time of its destruction in 483 B.C., we are then able to calculate a foundation date not only for Megara Hyblaea but for all the other colonies listed in Figure 1.

(iii) An author may provide a less precise relative date by reference to another foundation (17.5% of instances). Antiochus (555 *FGrHist* 10) says that Croton was founded after Sybaris while Strabo (8. 7. 5) says that it was contemporary with Syracuse. Similarly, Ephorus (70 *FGrHist* 138) states that Locri was founded soon after Croton and Syracuse, and Livy (8. 22. 6) notes that Cumae was founded after (and by) Pithekoussai.

(iv) Alternatively, an approximate date may be given via an external referent such as a war or the reign of a king (15.9% of instances). A number of authors date the expedition to Taras to the time of the First Messenian War, and Strabo (6. 1. 6) also assigns the foundation of Rhegion to this period, while Pausanias (3. 3. 1) dates the establishment of Locri and Croton to the reign of the Spartan king Polydoros. (v) Finally, an author may count by generations (9.5% of

[45] The date of Sybaris' destruction is given by Diodorus Siculus (11. 90. 3), who places it 58 years before the archonship of Lysikrates at Athens (453/2 B.C.). According to Herodotus (6. 21. 1), Sybaris was already abandoned by the time of the Sack of Miletus in 494 B.C.

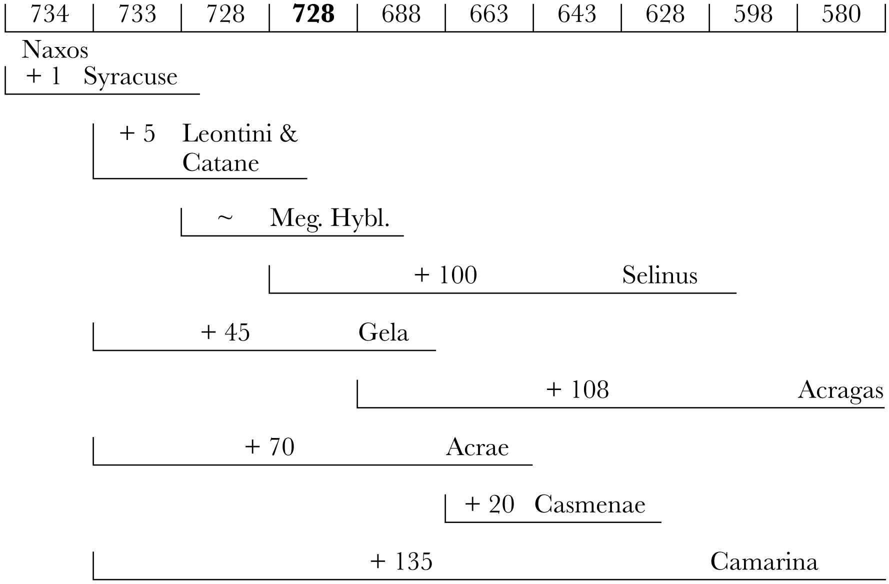

Fig. 1. Thucydides' calculations of Sicilian foundation dates.

instances)—either backwards, as when Pausanias (4. 23. 6–10) asserts that Messenians arrived in Rhegion four generations before the rule of Anaxilas, or forwards, as when Ephorus (70 *FGrHist* 137) dates the foundations of Megara Hyblaea and Naxos to the tenth generation after the fall of Troy.

The chronological information that our sources provide for foundations overseas constitutes one of the key linchpins for promoting the credibility of such accounts—especially when correlated against the earliest archaeological material on a site—and will be considered further in the next section. For now, it is enough to note that the literary testimony for foundation dates is by no means uniform—especially with regard to the settlements on the Italian mainland. In fact, of the 15 colonies for which foundation dates are provided by more than one source, general agreement (*i.e.* allowing for a margin of estimation of about 15 years) as to chronological origins is met in only seven (46.7%) cases: Sybaris; Acragas; Camarina; Catane; Gela; Leontini; and Naxos. Among the Sicilian colonies, Syracuse is dated to 733 B.C. by Thucydides (6. 3. 2) and 736 B.C. according to Jerome's edition of Eusebius, but to 757 B.C. by the Parian marble (31), while the date given by Thucydides

(6. 4. 2) for Selinus (628 B.C.) is 22 years later than the date of 650 provided by both Jerome and Diodorus Siculus (13. 59).[46]

As in the case of the settling parties, the information for the foundation dates of colonies on the Italian mainland is even more variable than for Sicily.[47] For example, the date of 710/709 B.C. assigned to Croton by Jerome and Dionysius of Halicarnassus (2. 59) is not inconsistent with Antiochus' statement (555 *FGrHist* 10) that Croton was established after Sybaris and could even be stretched to meet Pausanias' date within the reign of the early 7th-century Spartan king Polydoros. But Strabo (6. 2. 4) synchronises it with Syracuse and Naxos, the latter being founded by Theocles in the tenth generation after the fall of Troy. Since Strabo is here following Ephorus (70 *FGrHist* 137), who appears to have dated the sack of Troy to 1140 B.C., he clearly believed that Naxos (and consequently Syracuse and Croton) was founded close to the Thucydidean date of 734 B.C. if we allow for a 40-year generation. Such a lengthy generation—say, from 740–700 B.C.—could embrace all these variant datings. But Strabo—perhaps following Antiochus (see 6. 1. 12)—actually makes Archias, founder of Syracuse, and Myskellos, founder of Croton, exact contemporaries. Even more intractable is the case of Cumae—founded, according to Livy (8. 22. 6), *after* Pithekoussai but, according to Strabo (5. 4. 4), the oldest foundation in the West. Indeed, Eusebius dates it impossibly early to 1050 B.C. and Velleius Paterculus (1. 4. 1) also seems to entertain a high date in noting that it was founded soon after the Athenian colonisation of Chalcis and Eretria and the Spartan settlement of Magnesia in Asia.[48] Finally, while most authors seem to concur broadly with Jerome's date of 706 B.C. for Taras, the ancient commentators Servius (Virgil *Georgics* 4. 126; *Aeneid* 3. 551; 6. 773) and Acro (Horace *Carmina* 2. 6) note that its *oikist*, Phalanthos, was eighth in line from Heracles; since Heracles was believed to have lived *at least* one generation prior to the Trojan

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[46] Dunbabin (1948, 437) hypothesises that the chronographer followed by Diodorus Siculus and Jerome accidentally omitted Himera from his list of foundations, assigning its date to Selinus and Selinus' date to Lipara. Alternatively, Miller (1970, 36) argued that Diodorus' source counted 100 years from the initial Megarian settlement at Trotilon rather than the establishment of Megara Hyblaea (see above).

[47] According to Dunbabin (1948, 436), the Eusebian dates for the Sicilian foundations are close enough to the Thucydidean ones to suggest that they derive from them.

[48] The other Italian colonies that do not display overall consensus as to foundation date are Locri (679 according to Jerome [*cf.* Pausanias 3. 3. 1], but seemingly earlier for Ephorus 70 *FGrHist* 138) and Metapontum (after Sybaris for Antiochus [555 *FGrHist* 12]; after Taras for Strabo [6. 1. 15]; 771 B.C. in the Syriac edition of Eusebius).

War then this would date the foundation of Taras to three—possibly more—generations (*i.e.* at least 100–120 years) before Naxos.[49]

Named *oikists* are mentioned in the foundation stories for 20 of the 27 colonies (74.1%). However, in eight of these cases various alternative founders are given. Again, the phenomenon of variant *oikists* is more common on the Italian mainland (Caulonia; Croton; Metapontum; Rhegion; Sybaris; Taras) than on Sicily,[50] though the establishment of Gela is variously attributed to Antiphemos of Rhodes and Entimos of Crete (Thucydides 6. 4. 3; Diodorus 8. 23; Artemon 569 *FGrHist* 1),[51] Gelon, son of Etna and Himeros (Hellanicus 4 *FGrHist* 199; Proxenos, in Stephanus of Byzantium *s.v.* Gela), or Deinomenes (*Etymologicum Magnum* 225. 1). As in the case of the provenance of the original settlers, modern scholarship tends to filter out supposedly 'historical' founders by discarding figures who are evidently mythical or eponymous. So, for example, greater credibility is normally attached to the name of Typhon of Aegium, designated by Pausanias (6. 3. 12) as the founder of Caulonia, than it is to either the nymph Cleite (Lycophron *Alexandra* 993–1007) or to the eponymous Caulon (Servius *ad* Virgil *Aeneid* 3. 553). Similarly, the respective claims of Heracles or Croton to have founded Croton are normally waived in favour of those of Myskellos of Rhypes.[52] Certainly Myskellos carries the vote of the overwhelming majority of the sources that inform us of Croton's *oikist* (18 out of 22, or 81.8%),[53] yet there are still grounds for caution. For all the seeming plausibility attached to Myskellos, it is Heracles who is represented and

[49] Apollodorus (*Bibliotheca* 2. 6. 4) places Heracles in the generation before the Trojan War.

[50] *Cf.* Dunbabin 1948, 23.

[51] Only Antiphemos is mentioned by Herodotus (7. 153), Aristainetos (in Stephanus of Byzantium *s.v.* Gela) and Philostephanus (in Athenaeus 7. 297).

[52] The eponymous Croton is credited with the foundation of the colony in Heraclides Lembos (68) and *Schol.* Theocritus (*Idylls* 4. 32), while both Diodorus Siculus (4. 24) and Iamblichus (*Vita Pythagorae* 50) state that it was Heracles who founded the city but that he named it after a local (presumably eponymous) hero. Ovid (*Metamorphoses* 15. 12–59) attributes the foundation to Myskellos, but says that it was carried out at the command of Heracles.

[53] Hippys 554 *FGrHist* 1; Antiochus 555 *FGrHist* 10; Skymnos 323–325; Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Antiquitates Romanae* 2. 59. 3; Strabo 6. 1. 12; Diodorus 8. 17; *Schol.* Aristophanes *Nubes* 371; *Equites* 1091; Ovid *Metamorphoses* 15. 12–59; Herodian 188. 26; Arcadius 54. 13; Stephanus of Byzantium *s.v.* Syracuse; *Suda s.v.* Archias, Myskellos; Ps.-Lactantius Placidus *Fav. Ov.* 15. 1; Eustathius *ad* Dionysius the Periegete 369; Solinus 2. 10.

described as founder on Crotoniate coin issues from 420 B.C. onwards.[54] Furthermore, the exploits associated with supposedly 'historical' *oikists* may be just as fantastic as those connected with mythical founders: Pausanias (10. 13. 10) recounts that Phalanthos was carried to Taras on the back of a dolphin. Normally, tales such as this are dismissed as romantic embellishments which 'in no wise impugns the historicity of the fact and date of the foundation',[55] yet it is probably more accurate to regard all *oikists*—both 'historical' and 'legendary'—as heroes, situated on the other side of a 'temporal horizon in another world'.[56]

Finally, despite a relatively widespread belief that 'it was part of the ritual of founding a colony that the founder should ask the blessing of the Pythian Apollo before setting out',[57] consultation of the Delphic Oracle is mentioned in connexion with just five (18.5%) of the 27 colonies—Croton, Gela, Rhegion, Syracuse and Taras (the foundation of Neapolis-Parthenope is credited to an anonymous oracular command). In the case of Gela, the settlers are simply told to fight with the indigenous populations of the area (Artemon 569 *FGrHist* 1; Pausanias 8. 36. 2; *Schol.* Pindar *Olympian Odes* 2. 70—*cf.* Diodorus 8. 23),[58] while in most accounts of the foundation of Taras Delphi's rôle is incidental at best. For Rhegion, Antiochus (555 *FGrHist* 9) states that the Chalcidians were ordered by Delphi to tithe their population, and Diodorus Siculus (8. 23; *cf.* Heraclides Lembos *Politeiai* 25) adds that they were told to found their city 'where the female weds the male'. The most detailed account of a Delphic consultation comes, however, in Diodorus' version of the foundation of Croton (8. 17), where no fewer than three responses are given to Myskellos. The first simply instructs him to found Croton; the second provides a route map to the chosen location; and the third—delivered when Myskellos asks whether it would not be better to found Sybaris—orders him to be content with what he has

[54] See Head 1911, 96–7; Bérard 1957, 154; Leschhorn 1984, 29; Giangiulio 1989, 71–72, 102–3.

[55] Dunbabin 1948, 447 n. 3 (citing Schweitzer 1918, 29 n. 1).

[56] Veyne 1988, 18; see Morris 1996, 52.

[57] Dunbabin 1948, 38. *Cf.* Graham 1982a, 144: 'every foundation story had to have its oracle'.

[58] According to Theopompus (115 *FGrHist* 358; *cf. Etymologicum Magnum* 225. 1), the Delphic response is supposed to have elicited laughter (*gelas*), thus accounting for the name of the settlement, though Thucydides (6. 4. 3) derives the toponym from a local river.

been assigned.[59] Other versions, however, tell how Myskellos consulted the Delphic Oracle in the company of the Corinthian Archias: asked to choose between wealth and health, Archias opted for the former and Myskellos for the latter.[60] The synchronisation of the foundation of Croton and Syracuse does not match the usual chronology offered for each (see above), and as Dunbabin noted, this particular narrative probably entered into currency in the late 6th and the 5th century when both cities were at their zenith (and Croton had established its reputation as a medical centre).[61]

Within this small group of narratives featuring oracular commands, there are certain structural replications. Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Antiquitates Romanae* 19. 1) records that the Partheniai were commanded to found the city of Taras 'where a goat dips his beard in the sea'. The injunction is considered fulfilled when the settlers happen upon a wild fig tree entwined with a vine whose tendrils droop into the sea (a play on the linguistic similarity between *tragos* ['goat'] and *epitragoi* ['vine-shoots']). Yet this is essentially a variation of a story presented by Diodorus Siculus (8. 23), Dionysius of Halicarnassus (19. 2) and Heraclides Lembos (*Politeiai* 25) for the foundation of Rhegion, in which the colonists are instructed to settle 'where the female weds the male'. They eventually identify their future home at a location where they encounter a vine (of feminine gender in Greek) entwined around a wild fig tree (of masculine gender).[62] Pausanias (10. 10. 6), on the other hand, recounts that the Partheniai were ordered to found Taras 'where water falls from a clear sky (*aithra*)'—a story presented by the Scholiast to Aristophanes (*Nubes* 371) in connexion with the foundation of Croton where the oracle is fulfilled when Myskellos meets a tearful woman named Aithra.[63] For the most part, however, the 'patterns' that are sometimes considered to constitute the 'poetics of colonisation' are simply not represented in the case of these Western settlements and such further details that are provided by authors tend to be rather mundane. Thus, for Caulonia we are merely told that it was formerly called Aulonia (Strabo 6. 1. 10; Stephanus of Byzantium *s.v.* Aulon,

[59] The third response is the only one given by Hippys (554 *FGrHist* 1) and Antiochus (555 *FGrHist* 10).

[60] Strabo 6. 2. 4; Stephanus of Byzantium *s.v.* Syracuse; *Schol.* Aristophanes *Equites* 1091; *Suda s.v.* Archias; Eustathius *ad* Dionysius the Periegete 369.

[61] Dunbabin 1948, 447.

[62] Heraclides, however, substitutes a holm oak for the fig tree.

[63] In Pausanias' version, Aithra is the name given to Phalanthos' wife.

Caulonia); for Locri, it is said that the initial settlement was at Cape Zephyrion;[64] and Acragas is simply reported to have taken its name from a local river and to have adopted the institutions (*nomima*) of its metropolis Gela (Thucydides 6. 4. 4). In particular, the motif of the polluted *oikist* who founds a colony as an act of expiation—a theme on which Dougherty has shed much illumination[65]—is attested only in connexion with the foundation of Syracuse.[66]

What I hope to have shown in this section is that, at least for the 27 Italian colonies currently under consideration, there is no such thing as *a* typical foundation story. Certainly, it is possible to detect some structural affinities within the corpus but there is less evidence for a broader 'poetic' that later shaped and structured such accounts to formulate a *ktisis* genre.[67] At the same time, however, the historical-positivist argument for the fundamental credibility of the narratives encounters difficulties when confronted with the existence of sometimes markedly variant versions for the basic 'facts' of foundation. Such variability is more visible in the case of the colonies on the Italian mainland, and is probably a consequence of the fact that Thucydides—whose historical credentials were already recognised in antiquity—proved to be an authoritative source for the origins of the cities in Sicily. Yet that only raises the question of how Thucydides and his contemporaries came by their information, and it is to this that we now turn.

The Credibility of Foundation Stories

In assessing the historical value of foundation stories, a crucial question that needs to be—but is seldom—asked is how episodes that are supposed to have taken place in Italy during the 8th and the early 7th century were remembered reasonably accurately when the Greeks of the mainland were so woefully incapable of recalling or recording events of

[64] Ephorus 70 *FGrHist* 138; Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Antiquitates Romanae* 19. 4; Avienus *Descriptio Orbis Terrae* 511–514; Priscian *Per.* 358–361; Dionysius the Periegete 364–366.

[65] Dougherty 1993a, 31–41; 1993b.

[66] Diodorus Siculus (8. 10), Plutarch (*Moralia* 773) and *Schol.* Apollonius of Rhodes (*Argonautica* 4. 1212) tell how Archias was required to expiate the murder of Actaeon.

[67] Graham (1982a, 87) notes that *ktiseis* (foundation narratives) became more common in the 5th century.

this period. Although no overall agreement exists, many scholars doubt that Hippias of Elis, who compiled a list of Olympic victors towards the end of the 5th century, was drawing on earlier, official records of victories—especially since it does not seem to have occurred to previous writers that they might reckon time by Olympiads.[68] As a consequence, little trust has been placed in the early stretches of the list, including even the traditional date of 776 B.C. for the inauguration of the Games.[69] As Moses Finley once pointed out, there is little reliable information in Herodotus' *Histories* that could be said to predate the mid-6th century.[70] Given that historical memory in non- or partially-literate societies tends to extend on average to about three generations,[71] this too would lead us to infer that it was not until the second half of the 5th century that Greeks of the mainland developed anything like a modern Western notion of historical consciousness. Why, then, should we assume that matters were any different among the Greek colonies of the West?

There is a further paradox. At the junction between a generally annalistic consciousness and a more timeless, mythic consciousness lies what oral historians term the 'floating gap'—a chronological hiatus that 'over time...tends to advance towards the present'.[72] In other words, events of the 8th century that were by and large remembered accurately and in lineal succession in the 7th or 6th might, by the 5th century, have become absorbed within the more cyclical mode of consciousness that characterises memory of the distant past in predominantly oral societies. Even if the Greeks' historical memory extended beyond three generations, our normal expectation would be that foundation stories of colonies established more recently would be better remembered, but this is not in fact what we find. Of the four sources that talk of the foundation of Himera—dated to 648 B.C. by Diodorus Siculus (13. 62)—three provide information under only one variable.[73]

[68] For example Mahaffy 1881, 169; Körte 1904; Nilsson 1962, 47; Hampl 1964, 17; Peiser 1990, 38. Scepticism was expressed as early as the time of Plutarch (*Vitae Numa* 1).

[69] See Jacoby 1955, 226; Mallwitz 1988, 101; Peiser 1990, 55–6; Philipp 1991, 31; Siewert 1992, 116; Shaw 1999; Hall 2002, 241–6.

[70] Finley 1986, 18.

[71] See Vansina 1985, 23–4.

[72] Vansina 1985, 169.

[73] Diodorus provides the date; Skymnos (289–290) says it was founded by Catane and Callipolis; Strabo (6. 2. 6) instead names its initial settlers as Zancleans from Mylae. Thucydides (6. 5. 1) names its *oikists* as Eukleides, Simos and Sakon, its initial settlers as Chalcidians from Zancle and Syracusan refugees and notes that its dialect

No date is provided by any literary source for Poseidonia, though the archaeological evidence suggests a foundation *ca.* 600 B.C.[74] The three sources that mention the foundation provide us only with the identity of the first settlers—and they fail to agree even on this.[75] By contrast, five of 15 sources on the origins of Taras offer information for all four variables, and 11 (73.3%) present data for at least three variables; three of our six sources for Megara Hyblaea provide details under at least three variables; and three of 11 sources for Naxos inform us about all four variables. We might feasibly explain the lack of information for Himera by hypothesising that its destruction by Hannibal in 409 B.C. (Diodorus 13. 62) removed it from the mainstream of Sicilian historiography—Poseidonia's conquest by the Lucani should have occurred at about the same time (Strabo 5. 4. 13)[76]—but Naxos itself was finally destroyed by Dionysius I in 405–404 B.C. (Diodorus 14. 15. 2), while Megara Hyblaea was, as we have seen, a casualty of Gelon some 80 years earlier (Herodotus 6. 156. 6–10).

It has sometimes been suggested that Greeks in the West would have begun to keep records earlier than in mainland Greece, first of all 'because they had a definite point from which to begin', and secondly because the specific perils and ordeals that accompanied overseas exploration would have stood a better chance of being remembered than a more sedentary existence back in the mainland.[77] According to this reasoning, the foundation of the earliest Sicilian colonies would have been remembered precisely because they were such novel and risk-laden ventures into the unknown compared with the later, more mundane expedition to found Himera from the Chalcidian cities of eastern Sicily. Yet this is perhaps to adopt an anachronistic viewpoint conditioned by colonialist notions that belong more properly to the modern period.[78] The core-periphery model that this interpretation assumes is difficult to document for the 8th (or even the 7th) century B.C.—not least because the Greeks do not seem to have thought of themselves collectively as

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was a mixture of Chalcidian and Doric but that it adopted the *nomima* of Chalcis; interestingly, he does not provide a foundation date.

[74] Greco 1993, 71, 157; Morgan and Hall 1996, 211.

[75] Skymnos (246) and Strabo (5. 4. 13) attributed the foundation to Sybaris; Solinus (2. 10) to Dorians.

[76] For the date, Greco 1993, 249.

[77] Dunbabin 1948, 451–2.

[78] See Papadopoulos 2001, 382.

Greeks much before the early 6th century[79]—and if there is one trait that characterises the Greeks throughout much of their history it is their mobility, whether it be across or beyond the Aegean.[80] Furthermore, it is becoming increasingly clear that Greeks were in fact already planting colonies overseas—in the northern Aegean and Anatolia—throughout the 10th and 9th centuries, performing in a certain sense a rehearsal for what would happen in the Western theatre a century or two later.[81] From this perspective, the distinction between the Western adventure and its more modest predecessors was simply a matter of degree.

Another way of explaining the apparent peculiarity of the Western Greeks with regard to historical memory has been to appeal to annually enacted rituals at which the fundamental details of foundation were recited. Dunbabin suggested that founding legends, names and possibly even the date of a colony were transmitted through the cultic celebration of the *oikist* after his death,[82] and the issue has been addressed more recently and in more detail by Irad Malkin. Regarding the official commemoration of the *oikist* as 'a universal practice, common to the various Greek colonies in form and significance' and enacted 'annually around the tomb of the founder, now buried in the heart of the new city-state: its agora', Malkin concludes that

> [i]t is little wonder, therefore, that in spite of the profusion of unhistorical foundation tales, the essential historical facts about a colony's foundation were accurately remembered centuries later: the name of its mother-city, the date of its foundation, and the identity of its oikist.[83]

The issue is closely related to the deferred discussion of how foundation dates were calculated, and it is this matter that needs to be considered before returning to the evidence for founder-cults.

Given the important function that generational dating served for Greek chronographers, it is not an unreasonable assumption that the foundation dates for colonies are estimates, calculated by counting the number of generations thought to intervene between the first settlers and the chronographer's own day. René van Compernolle has noted that many of the Thucydidean dates are formed from multiples of

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[79] See generally Hall 2002.
[80] See Purcell 1990; Horden and Purcell 2000, 383–91.
[81] See Snodgrass 1994, 5–8.
[82] Dunbabin 1948, 11; *cf.* Miller 1970, 194.
[83] Malkin 1987, 189.

35 years: thus, the 245 years of Megara Hyblaea's existence are equivalent to seven 35-year generations, while the 70 years that separates the foundation of Acrae from that of Syracuse equal two 35-year generations.[84] In his view, the generational framework was provided by the lineages of aristocrats such as the Deinomenids of Gela—the family whose ancestor, Deinomenes, is supposed to have accompanied Antiphemos of Lindos on the initial founding expedition and to which the Syracusan tyrant Gelon belonged (Herodotus 7. 153–156 with Xenagoras 240 *FGrHist* 15). Clearly, since generational values are inevitably artificial and arbitrary, dates derived in this way cannot, according to van Compernolle, be considered authentic.[85] Dunbabin criticised the generational hypothesis (partly because it failed to account for the 108 years which are supposed to have intervened between the foundation of Gela and that of Acragas),[86] but the theory was revived in 1970 by Molly Miller who proposed a far more complicated set of calculations predicated on generations (and fractions of generations) of varying lengths and from different base dates. In her view, Thucydides' source (which she identifies as Antiochus)[87] operated with a 36-year generation and base dates of both 484/3 B.C. (the date of the destruction of Megara Hyblaea and the reconstitution of the citizen body by Gelon at Syracuse) and 476 B.C. (the date at which Hieron of Syracuse depopulated Naxos and Catane). So the foundation date of Naxos (737 B.C.—if one uses the Armenian version of Eusebius to correct Thucydides' date of 734 B.C.) falls seven and a quarter 36-year generations before its depopulation by Hieron and the foundation of Syracuse (736 B.C. on the same basis) occurs seven 36-year generations prior to the reconstitution of its citizen body.[88] Ephorus and the Parian Marble, on the other hand, adopt a 39-year generation calculated from a base date of 485 B.C. (the date of Gelon's usurpation of power at Syracuse), Philistus a 27-year generation and Timaeus a 23-year generation.[89]

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[84] Van Compernolle 1959 (suggesting that the calculations were made by Antiochus of Syracuse). Similarly the 210 years that Skymnos (357–360) assigns to Sybaris' existence equal six 35-year generations.

[85] Van Compernolle 1959, 509.

[86] Dunbabin 1948, 48.

[87] Miller 1970, 79. Instead, Dunbabin (1948, 438) and Jacoby (Commentary on Hellanicus 4 *FGrHist* 79) identified Thucydides' source as Hellanicus, while Graham (1982a, 90) believes that the calculations represent Thucydides' own research.

[88] Miller 1970, 78–82. Likewise, the 108-year gap separating the foundations of Gela and Acragas is equal to three 36-year generations.

[89] Miller 1970, 88–9, 101.

Special pleading of this kind has persuaded Graham that any 'attempt to show that Thucydides' Sicilian dates are a product of calculation must be adjudged a failure, and we may conclude that all such attempts must inevitably rest on arbitrary and unjustifiable assumptions'.[90] Graham criticises the generational hypothesis on two counts. On the one hand, he notes that the lineage of the Deinomenids, which constitutes the generational framework for van Compernolle's scheme, is far from secure.[91] On the other, he maintains that ongoing archaeological investigation of colonial cemeteries has served more or less to corroborate the literary foundation dates.[92] While admitting that our evidence is desperately inadequate, he accepts that 'annual ceremonies in honour of the *oikist* might provide a specially favourable framework for an accurate count of years' and concludes that 'it seems better to make the assumption, bold though it may be, that the true foundation dates of the colonies had been recorded in some way, than to embrace the unattractive premises required by any other hypothesis.'[93]

Now it should be noted that Kesteman, whose study on Gelon's genealogy is cited by Graham, does not argue that the generational hypothesis is necessarily wrong, but that the current state of our knowledge is insufficient to prove van Compernolle's theory that Gelan history was based on the stemma of the Deinomenids.[94] Yet van Compernolle was not saddled with the burden of proving that accurate foundation dates could be arrived at by resort to generational counting. Rather, his whole contention was that the literary foundation dates are unreliable and should not be used as anchor points for ceramic chronologies—in which case the accuracy or otherwise of the Deinomenid genealogy is simply irrelevant. As for the archaeological evidence, Graham is as aware as anybody else that Thucydides' dates for the Sicilian foundations constitute one of the most important series of fixed points for the chronological sequence of Corinthian pottery, formulated in the 1930s by Humfry Payne and, with only minor modifications, still in use.[95] For example, noting that the earliest pottery found at Selinus could be identified as Early Ripe Corinthian and that Thucydides

[90] Graham 1982a, 90. The comment is actually made about Van Compernolle, but is presumably even more valid for Miller.
[91] Graham 1982a, 90; *cf.* Kesteman 1970.
[92] Graham 1982a, 90–1.
[93] Graham 1982a, 90.
[94] Kesteman 1970.
[95] Payne 1931.

dated the foundation of Selinus to 628 B.C., Payne argued that the transition from Late Protocorinthian to Early Corinthian styles should have taken place *ca.* 630–625 B.C.[96] Clearly, to argue that the pottery, whose chronological sequence has in large part been determined by Thucydides' dates, simultaneously confirms those dates risks circularity, but while recognising this potential danger it is generally held that the orthodox chronology, now tried and tested for well over half a century, appears to be internally consistent and that it finds some support from fixed points provided by destruction levels at Near Eastern sites such as Hama, Tarsus and Samaria.[97] This position has recently been redefended by Ian Morris, who observes that

> since the relative order in which Thucydides places the foundations and the relative sequence of the earliest materials at each site are independent of each other, we could potentially falsify Payne's system by comparing them: if the two relative sequences seriously disagreed, then something must be wrong with the orthodox chronology. This is not the case.[98]

Four points may be made. First, the chronological scheme assumes that the earliest pottery identified on a site must necessarily belong to the first years of the settlement. Yet, Snodgrass presents the cautionary example of Selinus where, 25 years after the publication of Payne's *Necrocorinthia*, Protocorinthian pottery—supposedly from graves at Selinus—came to light in the storerooms of the Palermo Museum. To salvage the credibility of Thucydides' date, the logical response would have been to lower Payne's date for the transition from Protocorinthian to Corinthian pottery, but that would have threatened the whole chronological edifice; instead, to preserve a ceramic sequence that had largely been developed on the basis of Thucydides' dates, the Thucydidean date for Selinus was jettisoned in favour of Diodorus' and Eusebius' earlier date of 650 B.C.[99] In this case, the potential threat was averted when the provenance of the items in the Palermo museum was challenged, and it seems reasonable enough to suppose that '[a]s evidence accumulates, it seems less likely that we have consistently failed to find sherds from the first settlements',[100] but the potential for future upsets remains. A small amount of fine painted pottery at Gela seems to predate by at least a

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[96] *Cf.* Dunbabin 1948, 438.
[97] For example Graham 1971 (2001), 6; Cook 1989, 164–5.
[98] Morris 1996, 54.
[99] Snodgrass 1987, 54–6.
[100] Morris 1996, 55.

couple of decades the Thucydidean foundation date of 688 B.C.,[101] while at Acragas there is some material that appears to be earlier than the Thucydidean date of 580 B.C.[102]

Secondly, Morris's observation that there is a near perfect fit between the relative order in which Thucydides lists the Sicilian foundations and the relative sequence of earliest material attested at each site is not actually as conclusive as it appears. In recording the pottery styles attested in the earliest levels of the first colonies, he provides a relative chronology with the following sequence: Naxos-Syracuse-Leontini-Megara-Gela-Selinus.[103] This does indeed match with the Thucydidean sequence, but since the first four colonies in the list have yielded exactly the same classes of material (Thapsos Ware; Early, Middle and Late Protocorinthian; Early Corinthian) they could feasibly be listed in any order.[104] Actually, as Morris concedes, some chevron skyphoi are attested at Megara Hyblaea. This means that, theoretically, we could list the colonies in an entirely different order (for example Megara-Leontini-Naxos-Syracuse-Gela-Selinus) which would be anything but consistent with the Thucydidean sequence. The most we can say is that Thucydides' belief that Gela was founded some time after the first colonies and that Selinus was established after Gela is corroborated by the archaeological evidence, but that is hardly a very significant claim—especially since Selinus was believed to have been a 'secondary' foundation of Megara. Thirdly, a re-examination of the literary and archaeological evidence for the supposed destructions at the Near Eastern sites of Samaria and Tarsus suggests that our earlier confidence in these 'fixed points' may have been misplaced.[105] Appeals to the Bocchoris scarab (who ruled Egypt from *ca.* 720 to 715 B.C.) found in Grave 325 at Pithekoussai are of limited value given that this provides only a *terminus post quem*.[106] Finally, the assumption that the

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[101] Graham 1982b, 165.

[102] Graham 1971 (2001), 3 (who, nonetheless, argues that 'it seems wrong to reject the literary foundation date, since the bulk of the material comes from after that time'). The problem is complicated by the fact that cemetery material (which generally yields more intact material) tends at many sites to be later than settlement evidence: Dunbabin 1948, 452–60; Morris 1996, 54–5.

[103] Morris 1996, 55, fig. 1.

[104] This is an inevitable consequence of the fact that ceramic phases for this period can seldom be dated more closely than about 25 years.

[105] Forsberg 1995. A projected second volume, setting out the evidence for Hama, was not completed before the author's death.

[106] See Cook 1989, 164–5.

literary foundation dates are confirmed by the archaeological record implies that literary sources are univocal in their assignment of dates, but this is—as we have seen—often not the case.

In short, it would still be premature to proclaim that the archaeological evidence provides independent confirmation of the literary foundation dates. Nor is the evidence for annually enacted rituals around the tomb of the heroised *oikist* any more convincing. It is generally conceded that the literary evidence for the burial of founders in the *agora* is late.[107] Malkin notes that we have to wait until the time of Livy (40. 4. 9) to hear of an annual appointed sacrifice to Aeneas (of Virgilian fame), regarded as the founder of Aenea in the Chalcidice, but he appeals to coins depicting Aeneas, Creusa and Ascanius and dating to the late 6th or the early 5th century to argue that the date of Aeneas' cult 'may be pushed back at least to the late Archaic period'.[108] That is certainly a reasonable inference, but since no scholar would seriously consider treating Aeneas as an historical figure, the existence of a cult to him in the late Archaic period has no bearing on the hypothesis that continuously enacted founder-cult served as a vehicle for the transmission of historical memory.

There is some reason to suppose that an offering platform in association with an isolated cremation burial of *ca.* 600 B.C. in the *agora* at Cyrene may represent the tomb cult that Pindar (*Pythian Odes* 5. 93–95) implies was practised in honour of the city's founder, Battos,[109] but similar evidence from the Italian colonies is not forthcoming. At Thapsos, between Megara Hyblaea and Syracuse, a late 8th-century burial discovered among Bronze Age graves and containing two Corinthian cups and a pair of tweezers was identified by its excavator as the tomb of Lamis, leader of the expedition which would eventually found Megara Hyblaea.[110] However, the grave—which actually contained two skeletons—is simpler than might be expected for such a luminary and there is no evidence for post-mortem cultic tendance.[111] At Gela, the base of a 5th-century Attic kylix is inscribed with a dedication to Antiphemos,[112] but even if this is indicative of a founder-cult it pro-

[107] Malkin 1987, 200 (citing *Schol.* Pindar *Olympian Odes* 1. 149–193).
[108] Malkin 1987, 196. Head (1911, 214) dated the coins to 'before 500 B.C.', though Kraay (1976, 134) places them a little later.
[109] Büsing 1978; Malkin 1987, 204–16; Antonaccio 1995, 267 and n. 79.
[110] See Dunbabin 1948, 19.
[111] Graham 1982a, 107; 1988 (2001), 156–7.
[112] Graham 1983, 21–2 n. 7.

vides no proof that such a cult dates back to the first generation of the settlement. In the north-western sector of Megara Hyblaea, Building D has tentatively been identified as a *heroon* on the basis of small pits at the entrance to the building which appear to present parallels with cultic shrines at Cyrene and Thasos,[113] but the identification is by no means certain and in any case the building postdates the foundation of the colony by about a century. Finally, there is no compelling evidence to support Zancani Montuoro's suggestion that the Archaic *hypogeum* at Poseidonia, dated to 520–500 B.C., represents the tomb of Is of Helice, transported to Poseidonia by the Sybarites after the destruction of their city in 510 B.C.[114] Indeed, a more recent study interprets it as the seat of a chthonic cult.[115]

Until such time as we are able to document securely the recurrent practice of tomb cult in the Western colonies, dating back to within a generation of the earliest archaeological material, or until we find evidence from the Greek mainland for the preservation of precise year-dates from the 8th into the 5th centuries, it is difficult to accept that Greek colonists in Italy differed from their Aegean counterparts with regard to the way the past was recorded. Consequently, we should probably concede that the literary foundation dates recorded for Western settlements were indeed calculated on a generational basis in the 5th century even if the precise mathematical procedures employed cannot always be recovered. This does not necessarily falsify the information that is conveyed by literary accounts of foundation: late 'remembrance' is not always invented fiction. But since what gets remembered or 're-remembered' in oral traditions spanning several centuries has more to do with justifying circumstances in the present than with preserving an accurate account of the past, attempts to reconstruct a city's origins from foundation stories can only deliver a version of events that later generations of colonists wanted to communicate. This may or may not match with historical actualities.

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[113] Vallet *et al.* 1976, 209–11. See Malkin 1987, 194.

[114] Zancani Montuoro 1954. The identification of Sybaris' *oikist* as Is of Helice is not, in fact, certain. Strabo 6. 1. 13 is our only source for the name, and it is possible that Strabo's reading is a corruption of either [Sagar]is, attested as founder by Solinus 2. 10, or the eponymous [Sybar]is, attested by *Schol.* Theocritus *Idylls* 5. 1. The issue has been confused by the appearance of the legend 'Wiis' on the early coinage of Poseidonia. See Pugliese Carratelli 1976, 365.

[115] Bertarelli Sestieri 1985. Malkin (1987, 213–4) is also cautious about the original identification.

Taras: A Laconian Colony?

Numerous sources discuss the foundation of Taras, but the vast majority of them are dependent upon the detailed accounts of Antiochus (555 *FGrHist* 13) and Ephorus (70 *FGrHist* 216) which are preserved by Strabo (6. 3. 2–3). Both attribute the establishment of Taras to a group named the Partheniai at the time of the First Messenian War, but there are also important differences—which is presumably why Strabo saw fit to record both versions. According to Antiochus, the Partheniai were the disenfranchised sons of helots who had been enslaved for failing to fight in the Messenian War. Numerous and discontented with their lack of civil rights, they decided to plot against 'those of the *demos*' [presumably the Spartiates], who responded by sending spies to infiltrate their ranks 'on the pretext of friendship'. Among these was a man named Phalanthos who appeared to act as their champion (*prostates*), though was unhappy with the objectives of the plot. It was agreed that the revolt should break out at the Hyacinthia festival at Amyclae at the moment when Phalanthos donned a cap (*kyne*), since the people of the *demos* were recognisable on account of their long hair.[116] After reporting back, Phalanthos was forbidden by the herald from putting on the cap and the conspirators, realising that their plot had been betrayed, began to flee and seek asylum as suppliants but were instructed to take courage and placed under guard. Upon consultation of the Delphic Oracle, Phalanthos was told: 'I have given you Satyrion and the rich *demos* of Taras to dwell and to become a bane to the Iapygians.' Thus Phalanthos led the Partheniai to Italy, where they were welcomed by both the local barbarians and some Cretans who had earlier sailed westwards with Minos and they founded Taras, naming it after a local hero.

For Ephorus, the Messenian war was occasioned by the Messenians' murder of the Spartan king Teleklos at the border sanctuary of Artemis

[116] It is generally assumed in the secondary literature that Phalanthos was one of the Partheniai and hence a helot: see, for example, Musti (1988, 159–65), who notes that, according to Myron of Priene (106 *FGrHist* 2), the Spartiates forced the helots to wear the *kyne*, or dog-skin cap, as a symbol of their humiliation, thus indicating Phalanthos' helot-status or at the very least his sympathies with the helots. I adopt here, however, the interpretation of Maddoli (1983), which seems truer to Strabo's (or Antiochus') tortured syntax and appears to identify Phalanthos as a Spartiate agent. The point of Phalanthos putting on the cap is that it would conceal the fact that, as a member of the Spartan *demos*, he wears his hair long; that he agrees not to do so is further evidence of his affiliation to the Spartan *demos*.

Limnatis (*cf.* Pausanias 4. 4. 2; 4. 5. 1). Swearing an oath not to return home until they had either destroyed Messene or died in the attempt, the Spartans set out for the campaign, leaving behind the very young and the very old as guards of the city. In the tenth year of the war, the women of Sparta complained to their husbands that the war was not being waged on an equal basis, for while the Messenians were steadily reproducing their population, the Spartans had abandoned their wives to widowhood and there was a danger that Sparta itself would be short of manpower (*leipandresai*). Accordingly, the Spartans sent home the youngest and most vigorous of their number—reasoning that, at the outset of the expedition, they had been too young to swear the original oath of vengeance—and ordered them to sleep with young Spartan women; the children who issued from these unions were called Partheniai because their mothers had been unmarried (*parthenoi*). However, when Messene was finally captured in the twentieth year and the Spartans returned home, the Partheniai were excluded from civil rights on the grounds that they had been born out of wedlock. They therefore plotted with the helots and agreed that the revolt should break out when a Laconian beret (*pilos*) was raised in the *agora* of Sparta. Some helots revealed the plot to the Spartan authorities, but sensing that the conspirators were both numerous and considered themselves part of a confraternity, the Spartans decided not to counterattack but to remove those who were about to give the signal for revolt. Realising that the plot had been betrayed, the conspirators desisted and were persuaded by their fathers to establish an *apoikia* overseas, on the understanding that if the colony failed they might return to the Peloponnese and receive a fifth share of Messenia for themselves. Thus the Partheniai set out and, finding the Achaeans of southern Italy at war with the barbarians, they shared the dangers and founded Taras.

The differences between these two versions are more than incidental. For Antiochus the Partheniai are sons of enslaved helots who owe their name to the cowardice of their fathers. For Ephorus, they merely ally themselves with the helots and their degradation is due to the shame of their mothers. In Ephorus, the revolt is planned to take place in the Spartan *agora*, while in Antiochus it is staged during the festival of the Hyacinthia at Amyclae, 8 km south of Sparta. The signal for revolt involves a type of hat in both cases, but for Antiochus it is a *kyne* and for Ephorus a *pilos*. In Ephorus, the plot is betrayed by the helots, but in Antiochus it is revealed through Spartan intelligence. Antiochus makes no mention of the possibility of return for the Partheniai or grants of

land in Messenia; in Ephorus there is no reference to the Partheniai claiming suppliant status. According to Antiochus, the expedition to Taras was undertaken at the initiative of the Delphic Oracle whereas for Ephorus the Partheniai set out on the advice of their fathers. In Ephorus, the Partheniai encounter hostilities with the indigenous populations of Italy, but in Antiochus they are welcomed by them.[117] It might be tempting to suppose that the two versions record positive and negative accounts of the origins of Taras,[118] but matters are not so straightforward. The imputation of helot status to the Partheniai in Antiochus' version could represent a smear, but this account ultimately emphasises the originally free status of the helots.[119] Ephorus' denial of citizen rights to sons of illegitimate birth would not have struck many Greeks as unusual, though in his version the extramarital unions are originally sanctioned by the Spartans themselves. The restraint shown by the Spartan authorities in Antiochus' version might be interpreted in a pro-Spartan light, but is no more generous than the provision that Ephorus reports regarding the Partheniai's right to return. One might have supposed that Antiochus' account of a friendly reception on the part of the indigenous populations of Italy predates the hostilities between Taras and the Iapygian Messapi which lasted for much of the first half of the 5th century (see Herodotus 7. 170. 3; Diodorus 11. 52; Pausanias 10. 10. 6; 10. 13. 10), but the oracle that Antiochus records predicting that the Tarantines will be a 'bane to the Iapygians' hardly warrants such a conclusion.

Graham dismisses the details of the narratives concerning the foundation of Taras, arguing that they 'should be seen as aetiological attempts to explain the special name of the colonists, the Partheniae, which by the classical period was no longer understood'.[120] Consequently Malkin maintains that even if the stories about the Partheniai are late aetiological inventions, this does not effect the historicity of Phalanthos.[121] Now if we jettison the story of the Partheniai and Phalanthos' involvement in their revolt, along with more fantastic episodes such as his rescue by a dolphin (see above), then the most that we are saying is that the

[117] Wuilleumier 1939, 29–39; Corsano 1979, 124; Musti 1988, 168; De Juliis 2000, 11.

[118] *Cf.* Osborne's observations (1996, 8–15) on the foundation accounts of Cyrene.

[119] See Musti (1988, 159–65), who believes that Antiochus reports a Tarantine version of the foundation.

[120] Graham 1982a, 112.

[121] Malkin 1987, 216.

expedition to Taras was led by an individual whose name is likely to have been Phalanthos. That is not, perhaps, a ringing endorsement of the informational value furnished by foundation stories, but it is also to ignore the most striking difference between the two principal accounts of Taras' origins: Ephorus makes no mention whatsoever of Phalanthos. He does not discover the conspiracy; he does not raise the *pilos*; he does not inquire at Delphi concerning the viability of an *apoikia* overseas; and he does not lead the Partheniai to Taras. Such studied silence can hardly be attributed to negligence. In fact, independent evidence for Phalanthos' qualifications as *oikist* of Taras is surprisingly slight.

According to the ancient commentator Servius (*ad* Virgil *Aeneid* 3. 551; 6. 773), Phalanthos merely strengthened a city originally founded by the eponymous hero Taras. The banality of the attribution and the lateness of the source might have prompted us to dismiss this information as a scholastic conceit, but Taras is in fact already recognised as *oikist* in the early 5th century B.C., as one might have inferred from Antiochus' comment that the colony was named after 'some hero'.[122] During his visit to the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi, Pausanias (10. 10. 6; 10. 13. 10) describes two monuments dedicated by the Tarantines to celebrate victories over the Iapygians; the bases of both have been identified by the French excavators of Delphi.[123] The first, situated near the entrance to the sanctuary and before the Treasury of Sicyon, originally supported bronze horses and captive women and was realised by Hageladas of Argos in the first quarter of the 5th century.[124] The second, east of the temple of Apollo, supported a statue group including figures which Pausanias identified as the eponymous Taras and Phalanthos riding the dolphin. Attributed to Onatas of Aegina and Kalynthos, it should probably be dated a little later than the first monument but still within the first half of the 5th century. Furthermore, from about 480 B.C., a series of double-relief silver staters is minted at Taras, depicting on the obverse a young man riding a dolphin and on the reverse what is known as the *oikist* type—a draped, seated male

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[122] Thucydides (6. 4. 1) may actually provide a parallel when he notes that Megara Hyblaea was named after (and, in a certain sense, founded by) Hyblon. Dunbabin (1948, 19 n. 3) observes that Hyblon 'may be an eponymous formation of later date'; *contra* Malkin 1985, 117–8.

[123] Bourguet 1929, 73–80; Amandry 1949.

[124] The date is suggested not only by the known period of Hageladas' activity but by the letter forms of the inscribed base.

figure.[125] The legend 'TARAS' appears on both sides, and the fact that the name is in the nominative rather than the genitive case should indicate that it identifies the subject of the depiction rather than the guarantors of the currency.

Some have seen Phalanthos and Taras as joint founders with different functions. Thus Malkin suggests that Taras symbolises the territory of the Tarantine state while Phalanthos stands for the sociopolitical community of the Tarantines.[126] Others, instead, have hypothesised that Taras' fortunes eclipsed those of Phalanthos in the course of the 5th century.[127] If Taras is represented on Tarantine coinage from *ca.* 480 B.C., then slightly earlier representations of a youth riding a dolphin which appear on silver staters towards the end of the 6th century—initially as a reverse type and then on both sides of an incuse series—should be identified as Phalanthos.[128] The shift is explained by reference to the crushing defeat the Tarantines and their allies from Rhegion suffered at the hands of the Iapygians in 473 B.C., described by Herodotus as 'the greatest slaughter of Greeks ever known' (7. 170. 3; *cf.* Diodorus 11. 52). According to Aristotle (*Politica* 5. 1303a), the deaths of so many aristocrats prompted a democratic revolution at Taras and archaeologists have been tempted to see this political upheaval reflected in the urban development of Taras, since the second quarter of the 5th century witnesses the simultaneous abandonment of many rural sites and the eastward expansion of the urban settlement to cover an area of 500 ha.[129] Stephanus of Byzantium (*s.v.* Athens), citing the grammarian Habron, makes reference to the 'Phalanthiadai' of Taras, and it is sometimes supposed that this was an aristocratic *genos* whose status and prerogatives were legitimated through descent from the original founder of the city—the parallel that springs to mind would be the Battiads at Cyrene. With the defeat of the aristocrats, Taras is promoted as the new

[125] Stazio 1983, 139–40.

[126] Malkin 1994, 115. *Cf.* Corsano 1979, 138–9.

[127] Nafissi 1996, 315–7 (and, in a similar vein, Hall forthcoming). This possibility is not discounted by Malkin (1994, 133).

[128] Nafissi 1999, 255. Stazio (1983, 139) and De Juliis (1996, 211–2) are more cautious.

[129] Greco 1993, 284–92; De Juliis 1996, 210; 2000, 51–4. The shift to democracy may also be paralleled in the drastic reduction of the *corredo* deposited in graves (see Maruggi 1997, 24).

official founder of the city because—unlike Phalanthos—he represents all Tarantines rather than a restricted élite group.[130]

The thesis is immensely attractive—not least because it provides a political context for historical constructions of civic identity—but there are some grounds for doubt. First of all, there is no compelling reason why we should identify the dolphin-riding youth on the earlier series of staters as Phalanthos other than on the circular supposition that he represents the original founder and on the basis of Pausanias' association of Phalanthos with the dolphin on the Delphi monument. But Aristotle (fr. 590 Rose) says that it was Taras who was transported to the city on the back of a dolphin sent by Poseidon, and by far the most economical hypothesis would be to assume that the identity of the figure on the early coinage issues is the same as that identified a few decades later as Taras. Furthermore, if the dating of the series representing Taras is secure, it actually predates the democratic revolution that occurred after 473 B.C. Secondly, it is not entirely true that Taras replaces Phalanthos as official *oikist*. As Massimo Nafissi notes, Phalanthos (as a Spartiate in Antiochus' version) articulates a close-knit relationship between Taras and Sparta that is simply not served by versions attributing foundation to the eponymous Taras. The figure of Phalanthos proved useful even in the 4th century when Spartan *condottieri* such as king Archidamus III fought for Taras,[131] and it is not impossible that he served this function earlier also. Thirdly, while it is entirely possible that an aristocratic clan at Taras claimed special honours on the basis of their descent from Phalanthos, Habron's attestation of the name 'Phalanthiadai' is of little assistance. Habron's point is one of onomastics—specifically, of cases where a population takes its name from a *patris* or a founder. Since Stephanus of Byzantium mentions the case of the Athenians being called Kodridai, Kekropidai, Theseidai or Erechtheidai, the sense would seem to be that *all* the citizens of Taras might be called Phalanthiadai.[132]

None of this reflects favourably on the historicity of Phalanthos. Even if an aristocratic group at Taras did recite genealogies tracing descent back to Phalanthos, this does not necessarily make him

[130] Nafissi 1996, 318–9: 'A differenza di Phalanthos, Taras non è legato genealogicamente o storicamente ad una sola parte della cittadinanza; egli rappresenta per definizione tutti i Tarantini.'
[131] Nafissi 1996, 315; 1999, 246–7.
[132] Alessandri 1983.

any more historical than the founding ancestors of Attic clans such as Eteoboutos, Eumolpus or Philaios.[133] Needless to say, there is no founder cult that might decide the issue. In fact, Justinus (*Epitome* 3. 4) tells how Phalanthos died among the Brentesini and gave orders that his cremated bones should be crushed and returned to Taras to be scattered over the *agora*. Strabo (6. 3. 6) seems to imply that Phalanthos was actually buried at Brentesium, but both accounts betray an almost embarrassed acknowledgment of the fact that the supposed founder of Taras lacked a concrete or physical presence in the city. In short, there is no convincing evidence that Phalanthos was any more historical than his Arcadian namesake who, according to Pausanias (8. 35. 7), founded a city on Mount Phalanthos.[134]

Support for the foundation traditions is sometimes sought in the institutional similarities between Taras and Sparta. Apollo Hyacinthius—a deity most famously associated with Laconian Amyclae—was supposedly buried outside the Gate of the Temenids (Polybius 8. 28. 2);[135] other deities popular in Sparta, such as Athena Polias, Persephone and the Dioscuri, received cultic honours at Taras;[136] and later sources mention hero-cults to, among others, the descendants of Atreus, Agamemnon and Tydeus.[137] Typically Spartan political institutions such as kingship and the ephorate make their appearance in Taras.[138] In the area of linguistics, the Doric dialect and script employed at Taras find close affinities with Sparta, save for some 'Achaean' influences on punctuation.[139] The problem is that none of these institutions can assuredly be traced back to the origins of the city. The earliest inscriptions date to the third quarter of the 6th century, while the first evidence for a Tarantine ephorate is presented by an inscription on an early 3rd-century Chian amphora, though the fact that ephors are attested from the outset at the

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[133] *Contra* Malkin 1987, 219, 251. For the fictive nature of the genealogy of the Philaidai, see Thomas 1989, 161–73.

[134] An inscription from the region refers to a cult of Hermes Phalantheos. See Corsano 1979, 131.

[135] The site is perhaps to be identified at Masseria del Carmine where around 3000 votive statuettes, excavated in *favissae*, may represent Hyacinthus and his sister Polyboia. See Dunbabin 1948, 30; Stibbe 1975, 33; Nafissi 1999, 247.

[136] See Dunbabin 1948, 31; Gianelli 1963, 286; Stibbe 1975, 32; Nafissi 1999, 247.

[137] For example Lycophron *Alexandra* 852–855; [Aristotle] (*De Mirabilibus Auscultationibus* 106). Cults are also attested to Achilles, the Aeacids and the Laertids.

[138] Stibbe 1975, 33.

[139] Dunbabin 1948, 31; Jeffery 1990, 279–80. The Laconian-Tarantine script was adopted by the Messapi in the 6th century (see De Juliis 2000, 20).

Tarantine colony of Heracleia, founded in 433/2 B.C., might suggest that this constitutes a *terminus ante quem* for the institution at Taras.[140] The cultic honours to the Atreids and the Agamemnonids may not predate the 4th century,[141] though representations of the Dioscuri on votive tablets found in excavations of the modern Piazza del Carmine perhaps suggest that the twins were already worshipped at Taras in the 6th century.[142] Similarly, if the nude male figure holding a lyre and a flower, which appears on the earliest series of silver staters, is correctly identified as Hyacinthus, then we would have evidence for the cult of Apollo Hyacinthius by at least the later 6th century.[143]

The only evidence that is contemporary with the origins of Taras is archaeological, and it is worth asking whether the material record would have suggested the traditional account of Taras' foundation if that was all that had survived. The answer is both yes and no. The first traces of settlement at the site of Taras itself are found in the Città Vecchia—now an island after a canal was constructed by Ferdinand I of Aragon in 1480—where Bronze Age and Early Iron Age 'Iapygian' material indicates an earlier indigenous presence.[144] The cemeteries, which have thus far yielded in the region of 2,500 tombs, lie further to the east, in the area of the modern Piazza G. Bruno.[145] Unstratified settlement material has also been found at Scoglio del Tonno, on the western side of the Mar Piccolo, while traces of both settlement and burials are attested at Satyrion—the site 12 km south-east of Taras which is mentioned in the Delphic Oracle cited by Antiochus (see above). The oldest material from the cemeteries is represented by Early Protocorinthian globular aryballoi, dating to the last years of the 8th century.[146] Indeed, in the first century of the colony's existence, Corinthian wares

[140] De Juliis 2000, 21; Nafissi 1999, 248.

[141] Nafissi (1999, 249) suggests that the juxtaposition of cult to the Atreids and the Aeacids reflects the alliance between Taras and Alexander I of Molossia (who claimed descent from Achilles' grandfather, Aeacus) in 334 B.C. When the alliance collapsed, the Tarantines transferred their cultic allegiance to Orestes, who—according to Euripides (*Andromache* 1069–1165; *cf.* Virgil *Aeneid* 2. 526–558)—engineered the death of Achilles' son, Neoptolemus.

[142] Stibbe 1975, 32; *contra* Dunbabin 1948, 91–2.

[143] Stazio 1983, 139; De Juliis 1996, 211; Nafissi 1999, 255.

[144] Greco 1993, 49–54, 144; De Juliis and Loiacano 1985, 71; De Juliis 1996, 100; 2000, 51.

[145] Greco 1993, 49–54; De Juliis 2000, 64.

[146] Lo Porto 1959–60, 8–12; Stibbe 1975, 33–4; Graham 1982a, 112; De Juliis and Loiacano 1985, 161; Greco 1993, 49; Boschung 1994, 177; De Juliis 2000, 18.

appear to make up more than 90% of the grave pottery.[147] The earliest graves are inhumations *a fossa*, either dug directly into the rock or lined with stone slabs; in the 6th century, chamber-tombs begin to appear.[148] As has been noted for many of the Sicilian colonies,[149] funerary practices do not necessarily replicate faithfully those of the presumed metropolis (to the extent that the scant mortuary record of early Sparta permits comparison). The tufa sarcophagi often employed at Taras do not feature in Spartan burial customs, though there are now some parallels at Sparta for the handful of early cremation burials attested at Taras.[150] Settlement material appears to be slightly earlier: there is some disagreement about whether the settlement at Satyrion was chronologically prior to that at Taras,[151] though material from Scoglio del Tonno dates back to at least the Middle Geometric period.[152] Again, much of the settlement material is Corinthian in style, if not always in origin, along with Argive and 'Achaean' ceramics,[153] but small quantities of Laconian Geometric pottery have been reported from the Città Vecchia, Scoglio del Tonno and Satyrion. One would normally be hesitant about attributing too much significance to such minute quantities—only two fragments of Laconian Geometric plates have been identified among the Scoglio del Tonno material—were it not for the fact that finds of Laconian Geometric are generally uncommon outside the area of its production.[154]

In the absence of literary accounts, then, the archaeological evidence may have suggested that some—but possibly not all nor even a vast majority—of the first settlers originated from Laconia. Materially

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[147] Dunbabin 1948, 31; Neeft 1994, 188. For the influence of Corinthian styles on indigenous Late Geometric Iapygian pottery, see De Juliis 1996, 96. The earliest Greek import in the wider region is an MGI Corinthian oinochoe found at Otranto (see D'Andria 1983, 289; De Juliis 1996, 99).

[148] De Juliis and Loiacano 1985, 75.

[149] See Shepherd 1995.

[150] For the Tarantine cremations, see D'Amicis 1994; Maruggi 1994, 150; Lippolis 1997, 6. Perhaps no more than three cremations date to the first generation of settlers. For the evidence of Late Geometric cremation burials at Sparta, see Hodkinson 2000, 238–9.

[151] See Malkin 1994, 121; De Juliis 2000, 14. The earliest material at Satyrion dates to Late Geometric I (see Graham 1982a, 112).

[152] De Juliis and Loiacano (1985, 60) report a Middle Geometric chevron cup, now in the Taranto museum (I.G. 7230). Dunbabin (1948, 28–9) believed that some of the material from Scoglio del Tonno might be Protogeometric.

[153] Stibbe 1975, 30; Papadopoulos 2001, 426–7.

[154] Papadopoulos 2001, 426–7.

speaking, however, truly significant indications of an association between Sparta and Taras emerge only later in the colony's history. Commencing around the last decade of the 7th century, imported Laconian cups with conical feet begin to appear at Taras, as they do in Sicily, Etruria, North Africa and Asia Minor, but only at Taras and in Etruria are these wares found with figured decoration.[155] While still outnumbered by Corinthian imports and imitations—and outpaced towards the end of the 6th century by Attic products—these Laconian cups of red clay and a fine yellow slip tend to be of a superior quality with figured representations of fish and (surely not accidentally) dolphins; by the middle of the 6th century, many cups are also signed.[156] In the sphere of terracotta production, figurines of the second half of the 7th century display stylistic similarities to Mid- and Late Daedalic styles from the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta, while in the later 6th century statuettes of reclining banqueters, even if realised in an eastern Greek style, appear to reflect Spartan conceptions of heroising the dead.[157] At approximately the same time, bronzes, which had initially displayed Corinthian inspiration, begin to reveal Laconian stylistic influences.[158] Set against this broader material context, the inability to date Laconian-Tarantine institutions to earlier than the 6th century may not after all be due to a failure of evidence. Antiochus' account of Taras' foundation, with its emphasis on the Spartan origins of Phalanthos and on the centrality of the cult of Apollo Hyacinthius to the identity of the Partheniai finds its most appropriate reflex in the archaeological record of the 6th, not the 8th, century. If migrants from Laconia formed part of the original colonising party, Taras did not 'become' a Spartan colony until the later Archaic period.

Conclusions

In evaluating the three approaches to foundation stories identified in the introductory section of this chapter, it is important to realise that they are not situated equidistantly from one another. Instead, both the

[155] Dunbabin 1948, 31, 91; Pelagatti 1955–56, 11; Stibbe 1975, 34–5; De Juliis and Loiacano 1985, 163; Boschung 1994, 179.
[156] Pelagatti 1955–56, 11–8; De Juliis and Loiacano 1985, 163; Moreschini 1988.
[157] Dunbabin 1948, 91; Orlandini 1983, 335, 401; Greco 1993, 172–3.
[158] Dunbabin 1948, 290.

poeticist approach and the historical-constructivist approach define themselves against historical-positivist interpretations. Since poeticists self-consciously focus on the literary rather than historical aspects of the traditions it would be unfair to judge the potential contribution of their findings to the historian of antiquity, but it is perhaps worth noting that there is, in the case of the Western colonies, little corroboration for the view that the corpus of foundation stories conforms to any strict or pervasive blueprint. It would, therefore, be erroneous to challenge the historicity of the accounts on this particular basis.

The difference between historical-positivist and historical-constructivist approaches is, on the other hand, ultimately a matter of personal inclination. As Graham notes, '[t]he assumption of continuity and the argument from silence are the Scylla and Charybdis of this investigation.'[159] Is it legitimate to take ancient authors at their word unless strong evidence to the contrary can be marshalled? Or should we be fundamentally suspicious of anything reported by sources writing at least three centuries after the event? All too often sceptics have almost sneeringly dismissed the diligent efforts of historical-positivists as if unsubstantiated critique *per se* were a sufficient weapon of scholarly refutation. It is not, but in order to accept the fundamental credibility of the foundation stories it is necessary to identify a plausible mechanism by which an accurate historical memory was transmitted over several centuries—not least, because no such mechanism seems to have existed in mainland Greece. A continuous and recurrent ritual surrounding the tomb of an *oikist* would certainly meet the criterion, but solid evidence for this practice is simply not yet available in Greek Italy. Until it is, I would suggest that foundation stories—in association with the material evidence—can reveal a great deal about the early life of a colony but not, perhaps, its ultimate origins.

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[159] Graham 1983, 13.

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COLONISATION IN THE CLASSICAL PERIOD[1]

Thomas Figueira

Since my views on colonisation differ in detail, some preliminary remarks are needed before specific discussion.[2] Rather than seeking causes for the onset of the colonial movement in over-population or the impetus of trade opportunities, I prefer to consider colonisation an exploitation of the institutional order of the *polis* itself. The nature of the *polis* (and concomitantly the psychology of its *politai*) entailed that basic relations, such as between *asty* and *chora*, be susceptible to articulation. Moreover, socio-political evolution must be a public process involving conscious conceptual manipulation. Hence, *nomothesia* could transcend the institutional drift and privileged restatement of divine law characteristic of more traditional societies, with their cyclical initiatives toward restoring a timeless sanctioned order. Once norms could be abstracted and manipulated, *poleis* could expand through self-replication on new sites in a manner going beyond both state formation through amalgamation, as seen in the Ionian migration, and growth through accretion at the margins and insettling, typical of most agrarian communities during the Dark Age and even the Archaic period. When conceptual sophistication could be married to practical advantages like superior military technology and tactics and the possession of sea-going ships, colonisers were able to reshape the human geography of the Mediterranean and Black Sea basins to their advantage.

Colonisers did not return settlers to a populist, egalitarian state from which a hierarchy of statuses re-evolved gradually, but recreated the aristocratic orders of their mother-cities. That recreation seems to have included unequal distribution of assets or access to assets even in the formative stage that engendered fundamental economic inequali-

[1] In my discussion of Attic colonisation, I have been economical with citation and refer the reader to the fuller citation in Figueira 1991, although I have highlighted more recent scholarship. For non-Athenian colonisation, I have been necessarily most selective, weighting citation toward current works.

[2] *Cf.* Figueira 1981, 192–202; 1991, 138–9.

ties in the new community.[3] The existence of early status hierarchies is striking when juxtaposed with uneven distribution of colonisation and establishment of colonial networks. These factors in combination suggest why it was intrinsically advantageous to found a sequence of colonies—or the model of a single, large foundation reinforced by waves of colonists would have prevailed everywhere—especially when institutional replication involved oblique movement in status. For example, through providing the largest share of Syracusan colonists, the Teneates progressed from an inland, marginal Corinthian village (Strabo 8. 6. 22), to become the Gamoroi, a wealthy agrarian élite caste that monopolised political privilege.[4] Metropolitan settlers rose in rank during colonisation, while lower status ranks were filled by less favoured recruits like fugitives or suppliants, poorer neighbours, losers in factional strife or inter-communal warfare and natives. The under-appreciated phenomenon of composite colonies has its place in this hypothesis, because composite colonies need not have been constituted from contingents of colonists of equal status.

Therefore, colonisation could preserve the metropolitan dispensation by alleviating inter-class tensions and deflecting pressure for upward mobility. Under this hypothesis, over-population does not drive colonisation, but rising numbers are a demographic precondition exploited by colonisers. A corollary is that colonisation may be classed among early élite strategies to preserve aristocratic social orders. Not only did it transform claimants to higher status at home into *colonial* aristocrats, but it also reduced exploitation of new pools of resources (such as supplies of raw materials or populations ready to purchase Greek goods) to short-distant interactions. Just as aristocratic régimes faced challenges from non-élite groups, they faced a hybrid external/internal challenge through differentiation of the élite into segments (including newcomers) specialising in different economic activities. With colonisation, aristocrats, who embodied an Odyssean versatility in social comportment, need not differentiate their lifestyles and risk alienating themselves from prized aspects of their *ethos* (like excellence in single combat). Euboean aristocrats practised regional trade both in the Aegean and the Tyrrhennian Seas without needing to transform themselves into specialists

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[3] The issue is controversial. Note burials at Pithekoussai: Buchner 1982; *cf.* Ridgway 1992, 45–77; *cf.* Pellegrini 1903.

[4] Note Herodotus 7. 155. 2; Timaeus *FGrHist* 566 F8; Diodorus 8. 11. 2; Aristotle fr. 603 Gigon; *cf.* Aristotle *Politica* 1303b19–26; Plutarch *Moralia* 825C.

in long-distance trade (like the Aeginetans, for example). The reduction of the range for trading ventures allowed commercial initiatives to stay within the ambit of élite activities (like *xenia*-relations) without evolving into vocations that belonged to an emergent, non-traditional élite lifestyle.

Archaic Athenian Colonisation

Particularly relevant to Attic colonisation before 480 B.C. was a shift in initiative from aristocracies to tyrants, as Archaic Athens was too riven by *stasis* to permit the state to amass enough power to implement colonial projects as mounted in the early Archaic period. Corinth provides a clear example of this evolution, as colonial activities of the aristocratic Bacchiads were succeeded by those of the Cypselids.[5] It is especially relevant, given the friendship between Athens and Corinth 650–490 B.C.[6] Tyrannical colonisation entailed the same mode of institutional replication and oblique mobility just described, with the added features that a pyramid of ranks culminated in a satellite tyrant at its apex and that dynastic leadership allowed metropolitan hegemony. Moreover, a greater scope for individual initiative became conceivable once the threshold (in part religious and symbolic) bridging over to colonisation as the expression of a single will had been passed.

Elsewhere, I have characterised Archaic Attic colonisation as 'patronal' in order to stress the predominance of individual/familial initiatives.[7] This spectrum of foundations extends from tyrannical initiatives to apparent efforts at recouping by those alienated from governmental power. The first efforts at Sigeum in the Troad (*ca.* 607–606 B.C.) are associated with the leadership of the Olympic victor Phrynon, who defended a claim to the site in single combat with the Mytilenean leader Pittacus.[8] Based on the record of Attic *stasis*, one might interpret the effort as a factional exercise recruited from the *clientelae* of Phrynon

[5] Will 1955, 319–38, 517–39; Salmon 1984, 209–17.
[6] Figueira 1993, 19–20.
[7] Figueira 1991, 132–42.
[8] Strabo 13. 1. 38–39 (*cf.* Timaeus *FGrHist* 566 F129); Herodotus 5. 94. 2–95; Alcaeus fr. 428 L/P, *cf.* fr. 167; Diogenes Laertius 1. 74; Apollodorus *FGrHist* 244 F27; *Suda s.v.* Pittakos π 1659 Adler); Plutarch *Moralia* 858A–B; Polyaenus *Strategemata* 1. 25; *Schol.* Aeschylus *Eumenides* 398; Festus *Excerpta* 397; *cf.* Aristotle *Rhetorica* 1375b31. For further references see Figueira 1991, 132–3. See also Page 1955, 152–61.

and his allies, not unconnected with a sharpening agrarian crisis. The Peisistratids assumed this earlier claim to Sigeum when they consolidated power in Attica (Herodotus 5. 94. 1–2).[9] Accordingly, they treated it as a satellite administered by a member of the dynasty. Peisistratid activity at Rhaikelos in Macedonia and around Mt Pangaion in Thrace preceded firm establishment of the tyranny (*Athenaion Politeia* 15. 2; Herodotus 1. 64. 1).[10] Although Athenians in these areas were not consolidated into colonies, Attic penetration of the northern Aegean littoral did not essentially differ from other pre-Cleisthenic 'colonisation' in its reflexion of individual initiative.

As *oikist* of settlement in the Chersonese, Miltiades of the Philaidai was indeed an individual agent who raised Attic settlers at the behest of the Doloncoi, Hellenised Thracians under pressure from their neighbours.[11] Miltiades and his successors were tyrants in the Chersonese over a unitary state including Athenians. Their legacy of peninsular unity outlived them. Although Cardia, Agora and Paktye at the neck of the peninsula were major centres of Attic settlement, alongside perhaps Krithote and Neapolis ap'Athenon (Ephorus *FGrHist* 70 F40; Strabo 7. 51; [Skymnos] 698–702, 711–712), other settlers were perhaps scattered throughout the Chersonese, where they lived among other Greeks and Hellenised Thracians. Fashions in interpretation have conditioned the issue of state initiative in the occupation of the Chersonese by Miltiades.[12] In modernising interpretations, there was a strategic plan to occupy both coasts of a commercial route to the Black Sea by the Cimonids collaborating with Peisistratos. In contrast, viewed from the standpoint of intra-Attic factionalism, Miltiades' dynasty has appeared as rivals removed from the Attic scene voluntarily or through Peisistratid encouragement of foreign ambitions. Not only does a lack of evidence render judgment problematical, but the personal character of the enterprise complicates application of later categories. The

[9] Viviers 1987a; Antonelli 2000.

[10] See Cole 1975; Viviers 1987b. Later offers to Hippias in exile to occupy various locales reveal perceptions of Peisistratid expertise in *polis*-ceation (Herodotus 5. 94. 1; *cf.* Thucydides 2. 99. 4–6, 100. 4).

[11] Herodotus 6. 34–36; 6. 39. 1; Marcellinus *Vita Thucydides* 3 = Pherecydes *FGrHist* 3 F2, Hellanicus *FGrHist* 4 F22; *cf. Vita Thucydides* 1; Nepos *Miltiades* 1. 1–1. 4; Aelianus *Varia Historia* 12. 35. See Berve 1937, 26–36; Bengtson 1939, 27–38; Kahrstedt 1954, 5–14; Hammond 1956, 113–29; Wade-Gery 1958, 165–8; Leschhorn 1984, 75–63; Isaac 1986, 166–76; Figueira 1991, 134–6; 260–1; Salomon 1996.

[12] Mazzarino 1939; Figueira 1991, 136–7.

personal relationship of the leading Peisistratid and his contemporary in the Chersonese conditioned the relationship between the settlement of the Chersonese and its Attic colonists and the Athenians and their government at home. Hence, even if we could specify the nature of that relationship at key points, our determinations would not necessarily connote lasting legal valences but would reflect personal power relationships. When viewed from Athens, the status of the political entity established in the Chersonese and of its inhabitants was inseparable from the personal standing of its tyrant.

At the end of the 6th century B.C., Lemnos and Imbros were taken by Miltiades II, tyrant of the Chersonese.[13] Imbros became an appanage of the Chersonese, but Lemnos was transfered to Athens. On a mythological level, the Lemnian Pelasgians owed recognition of Attic suzerainty as reparation for earlier injuries in Attica. The Pelasgians had supposedly conceded this point under conditions unlikely to be fulfilled (an Attic ship reaching them against a north wind: Herodotus 6. 139–140). Miltiades claimed Lemnos by fulfilling the stipulation from the Chersonese. Thus he established the Chersonese as Attic in a fundamental sense, unwittingly supporting a later charge of tyranny against himself, and brought both the Chersonese (and its dependency Imbros) and Lemnos into a closer orbit around Attica through personal leadership characteristic of patronal colonisation. On the level of practical politics, Miltiades strengthened his ties to Athens, taking out an 'insurance policy' against estrangement between himself and King Darius, a master whom a tradition, probably deriving from Miltiades himself, states that he had already tried to betray (Herodotus 4. 137. 1). The Aegean islands still stood in a frontier zone between Persian Asia Minor and autonomous Greek states, and Militades exploited this status to act independently of the satrap in Sardis, that is, if one assumes that he was not participating in the Ionian revolt at the time of the conquests. In operations to exert control over Lemnos, Athenian colonists (some perhaps from the Chersonese), who asserted their Attic affiliation, seem to have participated (*IG* I^3 518; 522*bis*; 1466; *cf.* 1472).[14] The island absorbed settlers, but may also have maintained a portion

[13] Herodotus 6. 41. 1–2; 6. 136. 2–3; 6. 140; Diodorus 10. 19. 6; Nepos *Miltiades* 1. 4–5, 2. 4–5; cf. *Suda s.v.* Hermonios kharis, e 3053 Adler; Zenobius 3. 85 (*CPG* 1.77–78); Stephanus of Byzantium *s.v.* Hephaistias. See Figueira 1991, 138–9; 253–4; Salomon 1996, 175–8; 1997a, 31–45; 1997b.

[14] See Figueira 1991, 253–4; *cf.* Rausch 1999.

of its indigenous population, as the people of Hephaistia submitted (note also later Athenian determinations of the non-citizen status of some Lemnians).

Patronal colonisation was not, however, the primary means by which Athenians occupied new territory. Athens absorbed territories along its margins (as did many early *poleis*) through incorporation into its core polity. Earlier accessions like Eleusis and the Marathonian Tetrapolis were fully integrated, with traces of earlier independence marked by mythology and cult. Salamis had a chequered history as an Attic dependency.[15] In an early, lost stage of affiliation, Salamis approximated the status of Eleusis, with assimilation of local aristocrats and an incorporation of Salaminian cults. Unlike Eleusis, Salamis oscillated between Megara and Athens during the late 7th and the 6th century B.C.[16] Thus some Salaminians, including those of the élite, took refuge in Attica; others may have alternatively lived under Megarian and Attic control. Final absorption of Salamis followed liberation of Athens from tyranny (*cf.* Plutarch *Solon* 10) and possibly even the Cleisthenic reforms (*cf. IG* I^3 1). Settlers (re)occupying Salamis then retained *deme* affiliation (Diogenes Laertius 1. 48). Some residents acquired at this stage retained anomalous status in the tribal system, lacking deme affiliation (witness the case of the late 5th-century general, Leon of Salamis).

These 'indigenous' Salaminians shared this mode of citizenship with those living on the northern slopes of Parnes and elsewhere in the Boeotian borderlands at places like Eleutherai, Hysiai and Oropos (taken by the Athenians *ca.* 506 B.C.).[17] These self-governing communities were composed of citizens who did not fully participate in the *deme* system (with all the rights flowing from *deme* affiliation), thus being ineligible for some offices like the archonship.[18] An early inscription seems to set out the regulations regarding the supplementation of Salaminians (re)occupying Salamis and perhaps rules for those already resident when Spartan arbitrators awarded it to Athens (*IG* I^3 1). Some settlers possibly derived from the descendants of earlier fugitives (*cf.* Pindar *Nemean Odes* 2. 13–14 with *scholia*). The status of Salamis as

[15] Figueira 1991, 142–8.

[16] Figueira 1985, 280–8, 291–2, 300–3; Taylor 1997, 21–47.

[17] See Figueira 1991, 148–60. See also Prandi 1987. *Cf.* Kahrstedt 1934, 346–62. A rebuttal by Taylor 1997, 82–95 confuses the issue by focusing on 'second-class' citizenship.

[18] For Hellenistic examples of the phenomenon, note Baslez 1984.

a precedent for later Attic settlements lay in its creation of a community where inhabitants possessed variant levels of participation in civic institutions but shared local civic parity. The maintenance by any supplementary settlers on Salamis of their citizenship and particularly their *deme* affiliation is notable. Terms regarding *kleroi* allocated at this time may have affected usage for later settlements. Salamis, however, may also have constituted a special exercise in occupation of territory in the 'near abroad', fundamentally unlike earlier emigrations like the Chersonese and contemporary Lemnos in its specification of responsibilities to the Athenian government.

Another late 6th-century settlement offering points of analogy with Salamis may help sharpen our hypotheses about Classical and Imperial colonisation. The victories that brought accessions from the Boeotians also granted Athens hegemony over Euboean Chalcis. Herodotus describes the 4,000 settlers there with *klerouch*-terminology, which has so important a rôle in Classical colonisation (Herodotus 5. 77. 2; 6. 100. 1).[19] Yet, besides Herodotus, no evidence exists on the status or fate of these Athenians at Chalcis. He establishes that the Hippobotai, the Chalcidian aristocracy, were dispossessed (paralleled by later Attic interventions on Euboea). The Chalcidian *demos* was probably left in place and was joined by the Athenian settlers, who divided the lands of the defeated ruling class. It is unlikely that all were raised to the level of the zeugite census class required for hoplites. The size of the contemporary Athenian population also hints that the 4,000 men mentioned by Herodotus must have included the Chalcidian *demos*, and were presumably all those equipped for any military service. Chalcis would then provide a precedent for later Attic colonies in which, either substantially or symbolically, settlers joined earlier inhabitants in composite communities. The likelihood that the Attic settlers at Chalcis withdrew after the Persian advance on Eretria and that those equipped as hoplites fought with their tribal regiments at Marathon might imply that the Chalcidian settlers retained Attic citizenship and *deme* affiliation, similar to Classical colonists. An Attic presence may have lasted at least to 480 B.C. (*cf.* Herodotus 8. 1. 2; 8. 46. 2), though the Hippobotai later resumed power (to be expelled again: *cf.* Aelianus *Varia Historia* 6. 1).

[19] Figueira 1991, 44–5, 256–8.

Arguably, the last effort at patronal colonisation was the Parian expedition of Miltiades, at least, in its 'selling' to the assembly (Herodotus 6. 132–136; Ephorus *FGrHist* 70 F63; Nepos *Miltiades* 7).[20] Its disastrous results perhaps emphasised that a more populist mode of colonisation needed development. While the personal leadership of Cimon, the son of Miltiades, and later of Pericles can be detected in Attic colonisation during the Pentekontaeteia, the patronal or even *oikistic* (to coin a term) dimensions of their activities are significantly muted.

The legacy of patronal colonisation was twofold. Where Athenian emigrants established populations subject to intermarriage with the locals, the status of their descendants became problematic. For their part, colonists did not intend to relinquish their Attic identity, although amalgamation with those not derived from Attica may have rendered this claim vulnerable.[21] Secondly, areas of Attic settlement became zones of opportunity for Classical Athens. All lay within the Aegean basin, within relatively easy reach of later Attic military power. Underlying the concrete projects of colonisation undertaken by Archaic Athenians were mythological claims to ownership of the targeted areas (note the Pelasgians).[22] Received as traditional by later Athenians, such myths not only legitimised later imperialism, but also redirected Attic attention toward revivals of Archaic colonial aspirations whenever strategic conditions became propitious.

Expansion at the borders of Attica was a more significant demographic or strategic phenomenon during the Late Archaic period. The incorporation of such territories may have had significant points of similarity with later colonisation in its treatment of citizenship for persons settled overseas, the assimilation of non-Attic populations, and the possible ideological and populist component at Chalcis (and perhaps on Salamis). Yet it is uncertain whether this Archaic expansion at Salamis and Chalcis deserves the title of 'colonisation', for it did not produce new *poleis*, but rather shaped the regional political and hegemonic ambience of the Athenians.

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[20] Figueira 1991, 158–60.

[21] Note the following testimonia: an Attic-script dedication of Phanodicus of Sigeum of 575–550 B.C. (*IG* I^3 1508); possible derivation of the mother of Themistocles from the Chersonese (Plutarch *Themistocles* 1. 1–2; *Moralia* 753D; Aelianus *Varia Historia* 12. 43; *cf.* Hermippus Com. fr. 72 K = fr. 6 W); and the pre-490–480 B.C. Lemnian casualty list by Cleisthenic tribes (*IG* I^3 1477). *Cf.* Salomon 1997a, 32–3.

[22] For example, a hero Phorbas in the Chersonese: [Skymnos] 707–708: Viviers 1985; Wade-Gery 1958, 166.

Colonisation in Hegemonic Athens

Given the scale of 5th-century colonisation, organisation of individual colonies may have varied in detail. Sadly, the state of our evidence mostly confines us to generalities in analysis of colonial policy. While occasionally data exist about specific colonies, the nuances of any specific testimonium escape us for lack of comparanda. An inscription juxtaposes colonies (*apoikiai*) and cleruchies (*klerouchiai*), so that Attic settlements abroad were grouped into these two categories—related terms are *apoikos* 'colonist' and *klerouchos* 'cleruch' (*IG* I^3 237. 8–9). Distinctions between colony/colonist and cleruchy/cleruch are clearest when small Attic colonies are viewed. Still, in pursuit of the distinguishing features of the types, we are hampered by the imprecision of later sources, especially Plutarch, who speak of cleruchs/cleruchies more loosely or refer interchangeably to cleruchies and colonies.[23] Although such later authorities draw on Atthidography, one is better advised to start with Thucydides, the best qualified witness. He does not juxtapose *klerouch*-terminology with *apoik*-terms; his only cleruchs are those receiving allotments on Lesbos after the Mytilenean revolt in 426 B.C. (Thucydides 3. 50. 2).[24] Two conclusions follow. First, Attic colonies outnumbered cleruchies, as Thucydides refrained from using *klerouch*-terminology regarding many settlements. Secondly, our best guide to the nature of the cleruchy is the settlement at Mytilene as described by Thucydides. To some, the unusual aspects of the political situation on Lesbos might make those arrangements seem atypical, but, in the absence of additional data, deemphasising Lesbos forces abandoning any effort to analyse the nature of the cleruchy. Outside of Thucydides, *klerouch*-terminology is used so casually that a systematic picture of the 5th-century institution cannot emerge from the disparate testimonia.[25]

On the basis of Thucydides, a major distinction between the colonists and cleruchs resided in the nature of their military service. No contingent of cleruchs is ever mentioned in his account of the war,

[23] Figueira 1991, 53–8.

[24] *IG* I^3 66.17, 25, representing an amelioration of the status of the Mytileneans (perhaps even a cancellation of the cleruchy), uses the same term. Contrast Gauthier 1966; Erxleben 1975b.

[25] The metaphorical use of κληροῦχος in Sophocles *Ajax* 507–8 should be particularly noted. Figueira 1991, 40–53 contains a full discussion of the evidence.

while discrete contingents of colonists are attested (Imbrians, Histiaeans, Aeginetans).[26] The Lemnian colonists constituted a virtual *corps d'élite*, of which the Lemnian Athena (Pausanias 1. 28. 2), their famous dedication, stood as testimony.[27] Their Attic derivation is emphasised (with the Imbrians and Aeginetans) at Syracuse, where Thucydides is careful about the ethnic identity of allied contingents (7. 57. 2). Contingents of colonists are denominated *apoikoi* or *epoikoi*, or given an ethnic identification. Thucydides reports casualties of the Aeginetan colonists as a separate figure (5. 74. 3; *cf.* Pausanias 1. 29. 13), and there is evidence from the casualty lists that he was following official practice (*IG* I^3 1165). The appearance of some colonial contingents on several occasions and others not at all may be owed to the freedom from local threats possessed by colonists from the Aegean islands.

The nomenclature of these colonists also indicates that Attic settlers in *apoikiai* were organised into self-administering communities with a panoply of local institutions. While most scholars concede their character as *poleis* to large foundations like Thurii, the same recognition has not been universally granted to smaller, exclusively Attic colonies. The issue of citizenship for the settlers in smaller imperial colonies has helped confuse their identity to an appreciable degree. The use of ethnics equating Attic colonists with the citizens of formerly independent *poleis* sometimes encapsulated claims that the colony represented a legitimate extension of the previous community, a controversial and ideologically marked contention.

In contrast, cleruchs are never identified by Thucydides in any military context. This absence is not mere oversight, since there are contexts where a failure to mention them would undermine historical understanding.[28] For example, during the Euboean revolt of 411 B.C., the rebels prevailed despite the likely existence of cleruchies at Eretria and Karystos except at Histiaea, a *colony* on the site of Oreos (Thucydides 8. 95. 6). The Mytilenean cleruchs are also invisible, although one might object that that this cleruchy was possibly withdrawn.[29] The best

[26] Thucydides 3. 5. 1; 4. 28. 4; 5. 8. 2; 5. 74. 2–3; 7. 57. 2; 8. 69. 3; *cf.* Diodorus 12. 22. 2.

[27] Thucydides 3. 5. 1; 4. 28. 4; 5. 8. 2; 7. 57. 2. Figueira (1991, 12–3) identifies them as pre-imperial, non-citizen colonists. *Cf. ATL* 3, 292–3; *HCT* 3. 469, 641; Salomon 1997a, 56–63.

[28] See Figueira 1991, 172–4, 198–9. See also Schuller 1974, 32–6.

[29] See *HCT* 2. 328–329; Jones 1957, 174–5; Green and Sinclair 1970, 516; Schuller 1974, 23–4; Figueira 1991, 251–5. *Cf.* Gauthier 1966, 65; Erxleben 1975b, 99–100.

candidates for possible cleruchic sites (Andros, Naxos, Lesbos and various sites on Euboea) were not strategic positions demanding garrisons. Sites, however, that received modest contingents of colonists (about a thousand) like Aegina, the Chersonese, Histiaea and Poteidaea, offered strategic benefits for an Athenian presence. For Aegina, Thucydides makes this advantage explicit (2. 27. 1), and Plutarch notes the military rôle of the Periclean colonists to the Chersonese (*Pericles* 19. 1). Cleruchs were probably listed on casualty lists under their original tribal regiments; so memorialisation of death in combat distinguishes them from the colonists, listed separately. This evidence controverts the common opinion that cleruchs were the garrison troops of the *arche*, and also provides a key clue about the structure of the cleruchy.[30]

Just as cleruchs are not styled in Thucydides as separate communities and do not act militarily as such, evidence is lacking for other aspects of corporate existence.[31] Admittedly, cleruchs do seem to make dedications.[32] They did not, however, inventory cult holdings as some colonists (*IG* I^3 1455–1456). This pattern is predictable from Thucydides' description of the Lesbian cleruchy, where the cleruchs were absentee landlords (3. 50. 2). Moreover, Athens could reverse the imposition of the Lesbian cleruchy after a short period (*cf. IG* I^3 66), an action not paralleled with any colony and seemingly impractical, if cleruchs formed a new community. Unless the Lesbian cleruchy was substantially aberrant, the emplacement of a cleruchy did not create a new community but merely served as an 'umbrella' arrangement for a transfer of property rights to Athenians. So the term 'cleruchy' was chosen because it conveyed the critical act of assumption of property rights in a different setting without implying the community formation so intrinsic to *apoik*-terminology.[33] Thus, the best attested cleruchies were founded within surviving *poleis* that provided economic matrixes for delivery of the services that the cleruchs might require. The Lesbian cleruchy differed from its forerunners not through absentee ownership, but only in the circumstance that exploitation of allotments was

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[30] Swoboda 1896, 28–31; Meiggs 1972, 260–1. See also Beister 1981, 406–7; Gauthier 1973, 165–6. *Cf.* Jones 1957, 174–7; Brunt 1966, 84.

[31] Figueira 1991, 26–7.

[32] Inventory entries: *IG* I^3 339. 13; 341. 1 (the restoration implies action at foundation). Compare *IG* I^3 514, a dedicatory inscription of *epoikoi* at Poteidaea. Yet, a 4th-century dedication would be ordered by the *demos/boule* of the settlement.

[33] Other *klerouch*-words had wide use; κληρουχία may be Attic coining: Figueira 1991, 47–8.

unusually handled in a single agreement. Rental by previous owners at a set amount was ordered, an arrangement possibly owed to the cleruchs being otherwise occupied with the war.

This understanding of cleruchies offers a fresh perspective on the time-worn question whether cleruchs resided on their holdings.[34] There can be no general answer, because each cleruch's pattern of residence depended on his other occupational/social activities and possession of other properties.[35] Not all poor Athenians presenting themselves for cleruchic allotment had the agricultural experience to farm. Such individuals probably rented the *kleroi* to persons in the surrounding community. Except for the Lesbian cleruchy, which perhaps existed for only a few years, the best candidates for cleruchic sites were islands near Attica. Because they were not expected to dissolve their primary communal connexions on Attic home territory, cleruchs continued to have military obligations in units raised in Attica. Since the Lesbian *kleroi* were farther from Attica, a special tenancy arrangement for the former owners was implemented.

Although it may appear superficially unconnected with these issues, the inheritability of colonial allotments was probably linked to their assignment to each category of settlement.[36] Resident colonists actively managing and improving new holdings would have passed along *kleroi* like other property. Encouraging development and careful stewardship of *kleroi* acted in favour of normal succession; familial succession enhanced communal solidarity. Inheritability of cleruchic *kleroi* was different: such influences were not operative in what were not conventional communities. If cleruchs tended toward absentee exploitation, there was less incentive to improve their *kleroi*. Such *kleroi* may have, at least nominally, reverted to the state after a cleruch's death, with an heir's rights dependent on census eligibility. Thus, a cleruchy would seem even more patently a mechanism for raising those of the lowest census class to a level for hoplite service.

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[34] Figueira 1991, 165–9. Resident cleruchs: Gomme 1959, 64; Gauthier 1966, 65–6; Meiggs 1972, 261; *cf.* Green and Sinclair 1970, 515–6; Graham 1983, 181. Undoubtedly, however, cleruchs actually went out initially to organise the cleruchy (Thucydides 3. 50. 2; Pausanias 1. 27. 5).

[35] Attic funerary pottery attests Athenians at Eretria (Green and Sinclair 1970, 522–4), where proximity to Attica and the presence of private Attic holdings influence their presence (*cf.* *IG* I[3] 422. 375–378). See also Figueira 1991, 225.

[36] Figueira 1991, 183–5. See also Gauthier 1966, 70; Schmitz 1988, 94–6.

Within the class of *apoikiai*, a semantic nuance affected denomination of colonists. All settlers in *apoikiai* could naturally be called *apoikoi*, common usage for 'colonists', though other general words (for example, *oiketer*: Thucydides 2. 27. 1; Diodorus 12. 44. 2) and participial forms (*cf.* Thucydides 8. 69. 3) were also used. In a significant group of citations, however, the term *epoikoi* is used for Attic colonists.[37] The term *epoikos* has a rich history in which the dominant early connotation was 'supplementary' or 'reinforcing' settler.[38] That the colonists to Poteidaea in 429 B.C. were officially *epoikoi* is proven by a decree about Aphytis and a dedication (*IG* I^3 62. 7–9, *cf.* ll. 18–20; 514). The decree authorising the selection of colonists for Brea uses *epoik*-terminology to specify conditions under which colonists unable to start out because of military service could participate later (*IG* I^3 46. 31–33, *cf.* 30–31; *cf.* 47B. 11). Just as Thucydides styles the settlers of Aegina and Poteidaea *epoikoi*, Plutarch, albeit less reliable on 5th-century legal vocabulary, calls Periclean reinforcements to the Chersonese *epoikoi*, following an Attic local historian (Plutarch *Pericles* 19. 1).[39]

The Poteidaean and Aeginetan cases show that *epoikoi* stayed such even after founding, implying that a distinction between *epoikoi* and other inhabitants remained valid. So the Athenians viewed *epoikoi* as reinforcements for a portion of the population continuing in place. The Attic championing and harbouring of the Aeginetan *demos* as early as the 480s B.C. identifies one such group that could 'receive' reinforcements, pro-Athenian partisans and especially persons with Attic citizenship who repatriated after Aegina's subjugation in 457–56 (Herodotus 6. 90. 1). Concomitantly, Archaic colonists of the Chersonese were receiving auxiliaries when Pericles sent out settlers *ca.* 450 B.C. The usage of *epoik*-terms in these cases puts a traditional (even Panhellenic) patina over Attic colonisation. An attendant risk, however, was

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[37] Aegina: Thucydides 2. 27. 1 with *scholia*; 8. 69. 3; Stephanus of Byzantium *s.v.* Aiginai treis. Poteidaea: Thucydides 2. 70. 4; *IG* I^3 62. 7–8; *IG* I^3 514; *cf.* Libanius *Declamationes* 13. 1. 66.

[38] Charon of Lampsacus *FGrHist* 262 F7; Antiochus of Syracuse ἐποικέω *FGrHist* 555 F12; Ephorus *FGrHist* 70 F39; Aristotle *Politica* 1303a28, b2–3. See Figueira 1991, 20–30. *Cf.* Wentker 1956, 130–1; Asheri 1967, 10–5; DeWever and Compernolle 1967, 499–500.

[39] *Cf.* Isocrates 4. 107 with its discussion of 'cleruchies' (*sic*) sent to protect depopulated cities.

that such representations might be viewed by other Greeks as patently self-aggrandising.[40]

Heretofore, we have considered cleruchies, exclusively drawn from the Attic body politic, and a series of small colonies (Scyros, Eion, Histiaea, Brea, Aegina, Poteidaea and Melos). Scione, where the Platean refugees were despatched in 421 B.C., belongs in the same class (Thucydides 5. 32. 1; Diodorus 12. 76. 3), as naturalised Plateans can be equated with citizens. Despite the claim that Athens was reinforcing local residents, such colonists were mostly Athenians. Larger Attic composite colonies (Thurii and Amphipolis) exhibit major differences from mainly civic smaller colonies. They do not, however, differ in the criteria by which colonies were separated from cleruchies. Colonists to Thurii (Strabo 6. 1. 13) and perhaps to Amphipolis (*cf. Schol.* Aeschines 2. 31) could even be seen as *epoikoi* against the backdrop of older Greek settlement on the sites.

The Composition of Attic Colonies and the Recruitment of Colonists

Making sense of the process by which persons were selected for participation in Attic colonies demands an uncontroversial assumption. On the basis of the vocabulary of allotment, it is held that colonists were chosen through a lottery from those presenting themselves out of a pool of eligible males (for example, Thucydides 3. 50. 2: τοὺς λαχόντες). It is usually taken for granted that *kleroi*, portions in a colonial enterprise, were equivalent shares. That conclusion is supported from other distributions of equal shares to groups of eligible citizens.[41] The fieldwork at the site of Karystos may indicate a division of the countryside into equal cleruchic holdings.[42]

Two types of evidence address the question of eligibility in Attic colonies.[43] The decree authorising the colony at Brea contains an amendment that limits participation to the census classes of *zeugitai* and *thetai* (*IG* I^3 46. 43–46). A lost section of the decree or general practice established a different eligibility that the amendment altered.

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[40] Figueira 1991, 126–8. *Cf.* the Ellopioi of North Euboea, subject to Histiaea, who also stayed on in their home (*cf. IG* I^3 41. 102–04).

[41] Distribution of profits from Laurion: Herodotus 7. 144. 1; *cf. Athenaion Politeia* 22. 7; Plutarch *Themistocles* 4. 1; Nepos *Themistocles* 2. 2. Or of Egyptian wheat: *Schol.* Aristophanes *Vespae* 718a–b; Philochorus *FGrHist* 328 F119.

[42] See Keller and Wallace 1988; Figueira 1991, 176–7.

[43] Figueira 1991, 57–62.

Either eligibility for Brea had been limited to thetes originally or there had been no restriction. The latter alternative is supported by a reference to *stratiotai*, that is, hoplites of the *zeugitai* in line 31. While a thetic monopoly may have prevailed for cleruchies, anecdotal evidence shows wide eligibility for colonies. There were more affluent colonists on Aegina, such as Plato's father, Ariston (Diogenes Laertius 3. 3), and Aristophanes (*Acharnenses* 652–654 with *scholia*; Theogenes *FGrHist* 300 F2; Telekleides fr. 43K).[44] Affluent non-citizens, the orator Lysias and his brother Polemarchos (Dionysius of Halicarnassus *De Lysia* 1. 1; [Plutarch] *Moralia* 835C–D; *cf.* Lysias 12. 10–12, 19), and the historian Herodotus went to Thurii (*Suda s.v.* Herodotus, η 536 Adler).[45] Thus the eligibility of ὁ βουλόμενος 'the one wishing' cited for some colonies may be taken literally (Thucydides 4. 102. 2; *cf.* 1. 26. 1, 1. 27. 1; also Herodotus 6. 36. 1).

Moreover, the organisation of fully-fledged communities where there was provision for office-holding and liturgies, and where a range of services and products was available, required the presence of wealthier individuals.[46] Colonists served in their own military units. That was feasible only if participation was open to persons of the three higher census classes, who already had experience as hoplites, cavalry or officers. The élite of a new Athenian foundation need not have been rich by virtue of larger *kleroi.* They added their new allotments to previous property holdings, as a wealthy man like Plato's father was scarcely compelled to surrender his estate on successful candidacy for allotment. Along with a new *kleros* accruing to his estate, he got an opportunity to profit from new opportunities. It is not known whether non-agricultural assets such as quarries or workshops were distributed when a pre-existing *polis* site was colonised. Possibly, such properties fell to common ownership and were exploited through leases.

In contrast to colonies, cleruchies were probably limited to thetes. In their minimal communal order, the absence of potential office-holders and military personnel was not an impediment to orderly administration. Even with the availability of colonial allotments to all census classes, those presenting themselves were perhaps disproportionately thetes, motivated by limited property holdings and restricted economic

[44] Figueira 1991, 57–62, 79–93.

[45] For others, see Figueira 1991, 59.

[46] Note also the possibility of an *eisphora* 'capital levy' at Histiaea (*IG* I^3 41. 38–39).

prospects at home. The phrase 'to make hoplites of all the thetes' that survives (bereft of context) in a fragment of Antiphon indicates the primary impact of imperial colonisation on the demography of census class in 5th-century Athens (fr. 61; *cf.* 63–64).[47] Protocols probably existed setting a scale of eligibility, like those defining admission to the pools for allotment of salaried magistracies. A fragment from Antiphon envisages a situation in which eligibility for allotment of a *kleros* in a colony or cleruchy was raised (fr. 7).[48]

The level of civic participation in colonies and cleruchies varied with the legal and geopolitical status of the foundation. Allotment in cleruchies was an exclusive citizen preserve, since cleruchs did not shift their communal affiliation from Athens but merely benefited from new *kleroi.* Thus, a cleruchy afforded no space for non-Athenian participation, however pro-Athenian the participants. Enfranchisement came first and then civic perquisites like cleruchic eligibility. In another sense, non-Athenians 'shared' in a cleruchy through membership in the community encapsulating the cleruchic holdings. As cleruchies expropriated allied aristocrats, members of the *demos* of states harbouring cleruchies were 'stake holders' in the cleruchy through rental of *kleroi* from absentees. While rents had previously gone to the local élite, cleruchs might actually have been preferable business partners where rents were moderate, as on Lesbos. The mid-century cleruchies were born amid 'police' measures undertaken to ensure the loyalty of Euboea and the Cyclades.[49] Foundation of these cleruchies was one weapon within an anti-oligarchic arsenal that included exiles, oaths and democratic constitutional changes. Further investigation might lead us toward considering the interest of different Attic factions and social groups in a utilisation of the cleruchic option as compared with other hegemonic measures.

Although there is some overlap with the range of sizes of *apoikiai*, the best-attested cleruchies were modest affairs, with the exception of Lesbos. None is known to have exceeded 500 cleruchs (Naxos: Plutarch

[47] Davies 1978, 89–90; Figueira 1991, 182 n. 51.

[48] Figueira 1991, 73–4.

[49] Diodorus 11. 88. 3; Pausanias 1. 27. 5; Plutarch *Pericles* 11. 5; Aristophanes *Nubes* 211–213 with *scholia*; Philochorus *FGrHist* 328 F118. *Cf.* Thucydides 1. 114. 3; Plutarch *Pericles* 23. 4. See Figueira 1991, 218, 220, 229–33.

Pericles 11. 5).[50] It is hard to assess the divergence from this tradition in the Lesbian cleruchy (427) with 3,000 participants, as it is uncertain how long it stayed in place.[51] The impoverishment caused by the Archidamian War surely encouraged a greater asset transfer, especially from a population held so culpable it had nearly been annihilated. The resource base on Lesbos was much greater than that afforded earlier cleruchic expropriations. The estates of the 1,000 members of the élite were forfeit, and Thucydides seems to indicate that all the agricultural land of this rich island was allocated (3. 50. 2: excepting Methymna). A more common form of colony replaced a pre-existing *polis*. The earliest case was Scyros, where Cimon replaced the inhabitants with settlers in 476/5 B.C. (Thucydides 1. 98. 2–3).[52] Next was Histiaea, whose inhabitants were expelled in retaliation for an atrocity against Attic prisoners of war *ca.* 446 B.C.[53] Such foundations accelerated after the start of the Peloponnesian War, where sympathies or collaboration with Sparta provided justifications: Aegina (431 B.C.: Thucydides 2. 27. 1; *cf.* 5. 74. 3),[54] Poteidaea (430/29 B.C.),[55] Scione (421 B.C.)[56] and Melos (415 B.C.).[57] Settlers were not numerous: Theopompus notes 2,000 at Histiaea.[58] Brea (*ca.* 445 B.C.) may have been similar size, if it is the Thracian foundation of 1,000 by Pericles (*cf.* Plutarch *Pericles* 11. 5).

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[50] Figueira 1991, 220–1. See Plutarch *Pericles* 11. 5; Pausanias 1. 27. 5; *Schol.* Aristophanes *Nubes* 213e; *cf.* Diodorus 11. 88. 3. See also Thucydides 3. 50. 5; *IG* I³ 66–67.

[51] Figueira 1991, 198, 251–3.

[52] Diodorus 11. 60. 2; Plutarch *Cimon* 8. 3–7; *Theseus* 36. 1–2; Nepos *Cimon* 2. 3–5. *Cf. Schol.* Aristides 46. 241, 3. 688D; *Schol.* Aristophanes *Plutus* 627; Pausanias 1. 17. 6; Ephorus *FGrHist* 70 F191 = *POxy.* 13. 1610, fr. 6.

[53] Thucydides 1. 114. 3; 7. 57. 2; Philochorus *FGrHist* 328 F118; Theopompus *FGrHist* 115 F387; *Schol.* Aristophanes *Nubes* 213f; Diodorus 12. 22. 2, *cf.* 12. 7. 1; Plutarch *Pericles* 23. 4; *cf. IG* I³ 41.

[54] Thucydides 7. 57. 2; 8. 69. 3; Diodorus 12. 44. 1; Plutarch *Pericles* 34. 2; Strabo 8. 6. 16; *Schol.* Aristophanes *Acharnenses* 654b.

[55] Thucydides 2. 70. 4; Diodorus 12. 46. 7; *IG* I³ 514 = *ML* 66.

[56] Thucydides 5. 32. 1; *cf.* Isocrates 12. 63; Aristides 13. 177, 1. 290D with *scholia* (3. 243D). Torone might be a poorly attested parallel foundation. Note Thucydides 5. 3. 2–4; Diodorus 12. 73. 3.

[57] Thucydides 5. 116. 4; *cf.* Plutarch *Alcibiades* 16. 5–6; [Andocides] 4. 22; Isocrates 12. 63.

[58] *FGrHist* F387; *cf.* Diodorus 12. 22. 2: 1,000. See Figueira 1991, 223; Erxleben 1975b, 88–91.

The composition of such *apoikiai* had a markedly Attic character. Thucydides does not deign to notice exotic elements.[59] The Plateans were given Scione *en masse*, but, with the loss of Platea itself, they had availed themselves of Attic civil rights afforded by ancient alliance. The application of *epoikoi* to the settlers at Aegina and Poteidaea does indicate absorption of an earlier component, but no data attest any admixture of non-Athenians in the body of colonists itself. The existence of traitors who assisted in the fall of Melos may imply that they preserved local rights and property in the new state (*IG* XII 3. 1187 = *IG* I^3 1505).[60] Persons maintaining residence in a colony in this category presumably exercised local rights at a parity with the newcomers.[61] Yet, the occasional usage of *epoikoi* to refer to militarily active or politically noteworthy Aeginetans and Poteideaeans may show that only the Athenian settlers owed regular military service and possessed full rights in Attica.

Two great foundations of the period of the Thirty Years Peace stand in contrast to smaller civic colonies, Thurii in southern Italy (446/5 B.C.)[62] and Amphipolis in Thrace (437/6 B.C.).[63] Sybarite territory, even when shorn of Greek and indigenous dependencies, required a large population in order to have an expectation of security against hostile neighbours. A diverse group of colonists was added to returning descendants of the Sybarites. The tribe Athenais was one of ten; other tribal names indicate recruitment from regions of the Greek homeland (Arcas, Achais, Eleia) and the *arche* (Ias, Eubois, Nesiotis). Thurii was a repository for pro-democrats and Atticisers of disparate background, some of whom, from Arcadia, Achaea and Boeotia, had their main ambitions thwarted in the outcome of the First Peloponnesian War.[64] Athenais, the tribe proclaiming its Attic derivation, probably

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[59] For a list of colonists/cleruchs, see Schmitz 1988, 332–8. For colonists on Aegina, see Figueira 1991, 94–101.

[60] The fate of the traitors noted in one tradition on the fall of Scyros is unknown (Plutarch *Cimon* 8. 4).

[61] Figueira 1991, 30–9.

[62] Thurii: Diodorus 12. 9. 1; 10. 3–6; Strabo 6. 1. 13; Plutarch *Pericles* 11. 5; [Plutarch] *Moralia* 835C–D; Dionysius of Halicarnassus *De Lysia* 1; *cf.* Plato *Euthyd.* 271C. See Figueira 1991, 163–4; 1993, 213–7. In general, see Ehrenberg 1948; Wade-Gery 1958, 255–8; Kagan 1969, 162–9; Rutter 1973, 166–9; de Sensi Sestito 1976.

[63] Thucydides 4. 102. 3; 4. 103. 3–4; 4. 106. 1; 5. 11. 1; Diodorus 12. 32. 3; 12. 68. 2; *Schol.* Aeschines 2. 31; Polyaenus *Strategemata* 6. 53; Stephanus of Byzantium *s.v.* Hagnoneia.

[64] Andrewes 1978a, 7–8; also Brunt 1966, 74.

included Athenian metics like Lysias and his brother as well as citizens. The colonists to Thurii were 10,000, divided into ten tribes of 1,000. Thus, the ceiling number of 1,000 for the Athenian citzens approximates the conventional civic contingent dispatched to other sites during the *arche*.

The strategic site of Ennea Hodoi, locale for Amphipolis, was exposed to harassment by the surrounding Thracians, despite a long history of Greek settlement in the Strymon valley.[65] The Cimonian settlement at Ennea Hodoi in 465 involved 10,000 colonists who nearly all came to grief at the hands of the Edonians.[66] Amphipolis can hardly have involved fewer colonists, perhaps divided into 10 tribes of 1,000 (on the model of Thurii?). Athenians were a limited portion (as the loss of the city reveals), with allied Argilians forming a big enough contingent for a critical impact (Thucydides 4. 103. 3). Surmising a maximum contribution of one-tenth or 1,000 will not be far wrong. It is even possible that the 1,000 Thracian colonists noted in Plutarch (*Pericles* 11. 5) (perhaps first sent to Brea) went to Amphipolis;[67] otherwise they disappear from our record. The magnitude of the strategic challenges at Thurii and Amphipolis set the scale of these enterprises, and Athens lacked manpower to invest thousands of precious citizens on a single project. Thus, their composite nature was influenced by the self-selection intrinsic to allied volunteering and by the acculturating effect to be anticipated from democratic constitutions patterned after Athens (Diodorus 12. 11. 3). In the event, hopes that Thurii and Amphipolis would remain aligned with Athens despite the modest proportion of Athenians among their citizens proved erroneous.[68]

In one clear instance, Athenians were dispatched to an area of Archaic Attic colonisation. Plutarch credits Pericles with sending 1,000 settlers to the Chersonese, probably in 448–446 B.C. (*Pericles* 11. 5; 19. 1, *cf.* Diodorus 11. 88. 3; Aeschines 2. 175; *IG* I^3 1162, *cf.* 417). Plutarch was following an *Atthis*, for which this expedition was a welcome example

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[65] Figueira 1991, 17 n. 29.

[66] Thucydides 1. 100. 2–3; 4. 102. 2; Diodorus 11. 70. 5; 12. 68. 2; Plutarch *Cimon* 8. 2; Nepos *Cimon* 2. 2; *Schol.* Aeschines 2. 31; *cf.* Herodotus 9. 75; Isocrates 8. 86; Pausanias 1. 29. 4–5; *IG* I^3 1144. First initiative on the site: *Schol.* Aeschines 2. 31; Plutarch *Cimon* 7. 1–3; 8. 2; *cf.* Ephorus *FGrHist* 70 F191. For another effort in 453/2 B.C., see Badian 1993, 81–6; Figueira 1991, 217–8, 221.

[67] Compare *IG* I^3 46 with Hesychius *s.v.* Brea β 1084 Latte (*cf.* Cratinus fr. 395 K), Plakia π 2444 Latte; Stephanus of Byzantium *s.v.* Brea.

[68] Figueira 1991, 163; *cf.* Graham 1983, 35–6, 198–9.

because Greeks were not dislodged. Thus a philhellene aura could mark an effort to shore up defences against Thracian incursions, an impression enhanced by the simultaneous building of a wall protecting the neck of the peninsula. This Periclean reinforcement also yields important insights on the status of Athenians living abroad. The arrival of 1,000 Athenians was probably contemporaneous with a reduction in allied tribute on the peninsula in 448–446 B.C.[69] As a relict of the former tyrannical state, the Greeks, grouped in syntely, had paid 18 talents, one of the highest assessments. On the syntely's dissolution, separate cities paid only 2 talents, 1,300 drachmas. While some payments truly reflect low output, places like Sestus seem under-assessed.[70] Also, the important city of Cardia, guarding the neck of the peninsula at the point of the Periclean fortification, never pays any separately assessed tribute (nor did Krithote or Paktye).

Two cognate processes appear operative. First, it is unlikely that *epoikoi* were so scattered through the peninsula as to lower assessments in all *poleis*. Many probably went to Cardia, explaining its non-payment of tribute, but only one or two other locales were favoured on any scale (Sestus, Tyrodiza [*IG* I^3 417]). Thus, it is improbable that the syntely was dissolved and assessments were reduced simply by arrival of these reinforcements. Instead, the status of persons already resident in the Chersonese was reinterpreted, with likely candidates those claiming descent from Archaic Attic colonists, who proclaimed their Athenian identity. Their removal from the local tax-base from which allies paid tribute lowered assessments. Therefore, Periclean policy in the Chersonese had two dimensions: 1,000 *epoikoi*, aided by their allotments, strengthened local defences, and Athens affirmed the civic status of some descendants of Archaic colonists in a populist gesture.

The Chersonese may provide a paradigm for understanding other enigmas in imperial colonisation. The Lemnians serving in various military campaigns were considered Attic colonists. The Athenian tribute lists would date their 'arrival' to the early 440s on the analogy of the lowered tribute of the Chersonese, since Lemnian tribute

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[69] See Figueira 1991, 218, 221–2, 261–2; *ATL* 3, 290; Meiggs 1972, 160.

[70] The relationship of Sestus with the grain trade (assuming Aristotle *Rhetorica* 1411a14–15 is proverbial) suggests a concentration of Athenians, which prompted Lysander to uproot the inhabitants and establish a community for his naval personnel there (Plutarch *Lysander* 14. 2; *cf.* Xenophon *Hellenica* 4. 8. 5–6).

was lowered then (3. 46–47).[71] Yet, no reinforcements for Lemnos are attested. Moreover, Thucydides noted Lemnian retention of Attic dialect and customs (in Sicily in 413 B.C.: 7. 57. 2), an odd observation about people emigrating a generation earlier. Rather than an unattested colonial initiative for Lemnos, Athens may have reviewed the status of some Lemnians, confirming their citizenship and non-liability for the taxes subsidising tribute. There are some traces of such individuals.[72] A similar dispensation may have prevailed at Sigeum, another site of Archaic colonisation, since 1,000 drachmas appears low tribute for a city exploiting the Hellespontine trade route. Once again the low assessment may betray the presence of Athenian citizens (Aeschylus *Eumenides* 397–402; *cf.* *IG* I^3 17; 263. IV 25).[73] To sum up, along with new settlements was a reorganisation of earlier sites of Attic emigration, harmonising the status of old inhabitants with imperial colonists.

There is a final class of colonies that could contain Athenians. Athenian generals acted as colonisers in the course of campaigning. During Pericles' expedition to the Black Sea (mid-430s B.C.), he intervened at Sinope, protecting it from threats from its non-Greek neighbours (Plutarch *Pericles* 20. 1–2).[74] Six hundred volunteers were settlers. A similar call for settlers from this force perhaps occurred at Amisus, where intervention caused a renaming as Piraeus.[75] Thus recruits were derived either from thetic sailors to whom such an allotment was attractive, or from metic sailors who had lived in the Attic port. Similarly, during an expedition of Diotimos to Italy in 433/2 B.C., a tradition asserts that Neapolis (Naples) received Attic colonists.[76] Analogously, Nikias in his last speech at Syracuse tried to raise morale by extolling his soldiers as potential colonists (Thucydides 7. 77. 4).

There were also colonies sponsored by Athens in which no Athenians or very few ever participated. Athens sponsored refoundation of Colophon and Notion in mainland Ionia. For the former, a fragmentary

[71] Graham 1983, 178–80; note Kirchhoff 1873, 30–5.

[72] Segre 1932–33, 306–9; Graham 1963 (2001), 325–6; Figueira 1991, 255–6.

[73] Figueira 1991, 141–2.

[74] Kagan 1969, 387–9; Meiggs 1972, 197; Figueira 1991, 164–6, 219, 224.

[75] Theopompus *FGrHist* 115 F389 = Strabo 12. 3. 14; Plutarch *Lucullus* 19. 7; Appian *Mithridatica* (83) 373; *cf.* *CIRB* 1. See *ATL* 3, 116 with n. 8; Figueira 1991, 164 with n. 11.

[76] Strabo 5. 4. 7; Timaeus *FGrHist* 566 F98; Lycophron *Alexandra* 732–737 with *scholia*. See Figueira 1991, 219, 224; Raviola 1995, 64–5, 197–207; Maurizi 1993–95. A shadowy earlier recolonisation with Chalcidians and Pithekoussaians by Cumae may have occurred *ca.* 470 B.C. (Strabo 5. 4. 7; [Skymnos] 242–243).

inscription (447/6 B.C.) concerns Attic relations with the new community (*IG* I³ 37).[77] Erythrae might be another instance during the 440s B.C. (*cf.* *IG* I³ 513).[78] Thucydides speaks of a reorganisation at Notion, in 427 B.C. (3. 34. 4). So few were the Athenians involved that tribute continued to be levied on these communities.[79] Although this restructuring might be considered strategic, it is easy to understand why Athens was reluctant to place citizens on the littoral of Asia Minor, a zone of relative vulnerability to attack by medising oligarchs or even by the Persians.[80] A small civic participation cannot be excluded. Such Attic involvement was not limited to citizens, but potentially included Athenian metics.

The Civic Status of Colonists and their Legal Responsibilities

Regarding the rights and obligations for Attic colonies and colonists, a matter demanding first attention is whether settlers retained citizenship. A line of demarcation has often been drawn between cleruchs who kept their citizenship and other colonists who did not.[81] That cleruchs continued to serve in their tribal regiments and 4th-century cleruchs did not relinquish citizenship militates in favour of a maintenance of civil rights by cleruchs. My hypothesis on the nature of the cleruchy forces the same judgment. If cleruchies were devices for collective transfer of property from an allied community (or constituent class) to Attic lot-holders, then the possibility of cleruchs assuming citizenship in a new *polis* would appear remote. The distinction, however, between colonists and cleruchs in retention of citizenship is otiose. All settlers kept citizenship regardless of the type of settlement they colonised. Several considerations support this conclusion. Foremost is a lack of controversy about resumption of civic rights in Attica when Sparta drove thousands of settlers home from abroad at the end of the Pelo-

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[77] Note Thucydides 3. 34. 1–4. See *ATL* 3, 282–3; Meiggs 1972, 162; Bradeen and McGregor 1973, 98–9; Schuller 1974, 23 with n. 79; Figueira 1991, 218, 222.

[78] See *ATL* 3, 282–4; Meiggs 1972, 162–3; Figueira 1991, 219, 223. For Astacus, note Strabo 12. 4. 2; Memnon *FGrHist* 434 F12; *cf.* Diodorus 12. 34. 5. See *ATL* 1, 471–2; 3. 288; Schuller 1974, 30–1; Figueira 1991, 219, 223.

[79] Figueira 1991, 67–8.

[80] See Figueira 1991, 164–5, 175–6. Adramyttion was settled by the dislocated Delians *ca.* 422–21 B.C. (Strabo 13. 1. 5; *cf.* Thucydides 5. 1; 5. 32. 1; 8. 108. 2–4). Note Figueira 1991, 220, 224.

[81] See *ATL* 3, 285–6; Jones 1957, 168; Graham 1983, 189; Beister 1981, 408. *Cf.* Brunt 1966 75–9; Figueira 1991, 66–73.

ponnesian War.[82] There is no hint of a procedure to adjudicate such claims. Absent such a process, what stopped aliens from infiltrating the polity? No procedure proved needed because a colonist could maintain his original tribal affiliation, save for disinclination on his own part.

Moreover, the two illustrious participants in the settlement on Aegina, Ariston, the father of Plato, and Aristophanes were unlikely possibilities for relinquishing their citizenship. The former derived from the Attic aristocracy, and was not under economic pressure. The latter passionately spoke out for his vision of traditional Attic values. Equally to the point is the continued civic status of the Poteidaean *epoikoi*, witnessed by their reception of oaths from the Aphytians on parity with the Athenians (*IG* I^3 62. 7–9) and the citation of demotic affiliations on tombstones (*IG* I^3 1510–1515).[83] The account of the capture of Amphipolis by Brasidas gives more support for this view. If the Athenians settled as a small minority in a large composite colony maintained Attic rights, a similar finding is valid *a fortiori* for other colonies, most of them smaller, almost exclusively Athenian, foundations. Thucydides identifies a population segment at Amphipolis as 'Athenians' in his account (4. 105. 1–2). This minority of those within the walls was most determined to stand a siege despite the capture outside of much Amphipolitan movable property. Eventual terms allowed these 'Athenians' to withdraw to Athenian-held territory (*cf.* Thucydides 4. 106. 1–3). While these vocal Athenians could be merely visitors to Amphipolis, that surmise leaves Thucydides unaccountably silent about the rôle and fate of the Attic colonists.[84] A more expeditious solution identifies the 'Athenians' at Amphipolis as original Attic colonists.[85]

Hypothesising a rule of retention of citizenship by Attic colonists, however, does not compel that all persons in Attic colonies possessing equal local rights with Attic fellow settlers were also awarded Athenian citizenship. The dispensation for particular colonies may have varied. Some favoured persons like *proxenoi* or those directly aiding subjugation

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[82] Figueira 1991, 68.

[83] See Figueira 1991, 67–8 with Robinson 1938, 58–9; Rhomiopoulou 1974, 190–8.

[84] See Brunt 1966, 74–5; Figueira 1991, 70–1; *cf.* Hampl 1939, 2–5; Graham 1983, 245–8.

[85] Figueira 1991, 66–73 adds other arguments: the liability of the Histiaeans to the *eisphora* (*IG* I^3 41. 38–39); the tax legislation implied by *IG* I^3 237; the privileged access of the colonists to Brea to the Attic legislative process (*IG* I^3 46. 24–30); and the civic status of the Plateans.

of a place may have been granted rights and incorporation in a *deme*. Others whom *epoikoi* reinforced might have possessed rights only in the colony without thereby gaining standing at Athens. And some 'carry-overs' from the earlier population were perhaps treated as metics, even in the new colony.

As for individual responsibilities of a colonist, foremost was military service. Colonial detachments saw service. Presumably the assembly made decisions about mobilisation of such units at the advice of the *strategoi* when voting to arrange forces for particular missions.[86] Insular colonists were most active, but others, especially those whose homes adjoined Thracian territory, usually stayed in place to cope with local contingencies. Colonies were considered *phrouria* 'garrisons' for this rôle in defending the *arche*. In contrast, cleruchs remained liable for customary duties of citizens resident in Attica, including service in tribal regiments under rotation of levies from the *katalogos*.[87] On financial responsibilities, we are badly served by surviving evidence. The chief testimonium on individual tax-liability is a passing reference to an *eisphora* 'levy on capital' that appears in a fragmentary setting in a decree treating the colony at Histiaea (*IG* I^3 41. 38).[88] One possibility is that citizens were responsible for tendering *eisphoric* payments on all property (except cleruchic *kleroi*?), including overseas real assets. That liability appears a natural outgrowth of the principle that citizenship was inalienable through colonisation. Both paying the main direct tax and military service were intrinsic to citizenship. Equal assessment of Attic property would also obviate the incongruity that external holdings were sheltered from capital levies. The application of the *eisphora* to a greater pool of assets than property in Attica might explain how late 5th-century *eisphorai* could have a greater yield than their 4th-century successors (*cf.* Thucydides 3. 19. 1).

Other fiscal responsibilities of colonists were discharged collectively. We cannot accede unconditionally to the '*poleis ohne territorium*' theory of F. Hampl, in which mother cities kept ownership of colonial territory.[89]

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[86] *Cf.* Figueira 1991, 161–72.

[87] Figueira 1991, 202–14.

[88] See Figueira 1991, 192–3. Note the existence of persons paying taxes to Athens in the Chalcis Decree (*IG* I^3 40. 52–57). The *eisphora* at Poteidaea, reported in [Aristotle] *Oeconomica* 1347a18–24, is probably 4th-century and may be supplementary. See Moggi 1979.

[89] See Hampl 1939; Gschnitzer 1958, 90–7; *cf.* Will 1954, 419–21; Graham 1983, 188–9, 201–6.

Nonetheless, revenues went to the Athenian treasury from colonies. No *kleros* consisting of non-agricultural property is attested in any 5th-century context. It may well be that some non-agrarian property was held in common and exploited through leases profiting the local treasury. Some assets were perhaps reserved for the usufruct of the central government.[90] Supplying war *matériel* is noted by Thucydides, who refers to ship timbers procured from Amphipolis (4. 108. 1). *IG* I^3 47 A 11 (440–425 B.C.) mentions provision of oars. Certain taxes were reserved at the foundation of a colony.[91] In the specific case of Amphipolis, great income was indeed realised, since Thucydides describes the demoralisation suffered when revenues from Amphipolis were lost through its capture (4. 108. 1). Because of access to the natural resources of the Strymon valley and Mt Pangaion, Amphipolis loomed disproportionately in Attic finances, perhaps accounting for 50 out of 100 talents (a working minimum) of pre-war colonial income. A policy of reserving certain activities for taxation by the metropolitan government probably transcended Amphipolis. Insights into the process can be garnered from the fragmentary *IG* I^3 47, dealing with establishment of a colony, that could, but need not, be Amphipolis. Some provisions appear to discuss a reservation of revenues.[92] A recently published inscription of 375/4 describes the farming out and payment in kind of grain taxes on Lemnos (*SEG* 36. 146).[93] The tribute system was replaced in 413 with a 5% tax on imports and exports (Thucydides 7. 28. 4). This was levied on allies and colonies without distinction, as its administration at the Aeginetan colony by Thorykion, an Aristophanic target, indicates (*Ranae* 354–368, 377–382 with *scholia*).[94] It is indeed possible that the 5% commercial tax was one of the income streams usually reserved for the Attic government at colonisation even before 413 B.C.[95] Its application to all allies belonged to a process of their assimilation to the status of colonists.

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[90] Note the model implied by leasing confiscated land at Chalcis (Aelianus *Varia Historia* 6. 1), although the lots are agricultural and may coexist with a cleruchy (Figueira 1991, 258–9 with reservations).

[91] Figueira 1991, 185–93; 2005, 88–9.

[92] Figueira 1991, 74–8, 191, noting markets or commercial income in A. 6–8; supervisors perhaps appointed in A. 8–10; oars in A. 11; revenues and their payment possibly in A. 12–15.

[93] Stroud 1998; *cf.* Figueira 1993, 78–84.

[94] Figueira 1991, 95–9.

[95] Figueira 1991, 191–2; 2005, 94–7, 120–1.

The treatment of different colonies perhaps varied over the distribution of revenues and payments in kind, with factors like the attractiveness of the site to settlers and the magnitude of the yield affecting arrangements made at foundation. Certainly places like Thurii were too far away and too beset with troubled histories for income to accrue to Athens in this fashion. Small colonies had too few resources to divert significant income to the central treasury. The system by which taxes and products moved from colonies to the treasury paralleled the payment of *phoros* by allies to the treasury of the Delian League. Tribute was never levied on any settlement with a good claim to have received citizen colonists. The distinction between tributaries and those who served in their own persons was central.[96] Reductions or eliminations of *phoros* accompanied colonial/cleruchic ventures.[97] This parallelism explains why colonial income was included in the 600 talents of revenue (juxtaposed with the *phoros*) that Pericles notes in a list of Attic resources at the outset of the Peloponnesian War (Thucydides 2. 13. 3).[98] Colonies differed from tributaries, for the latter were liable to periodic reassessment, while obligations of the former were established at foundation. In decrees authorising colonies, colonists were given privileged access to decision-making at least in part for coping with such obligations to the mother city (*IG* I^3 46. 24–30; 47. 7–11).

The Aetiology of Athenian Colonisation

Imperial Attic colonisation is naturally a facet of Attic imperialism, but this tautology ought to emphasise the thorough interpenetration of colonisation with other features of Attic hegemonism in the 5th century. The establishment of cleruchies arose from suppression of defections from the Delian League.[99] The primary culprits for dissidence were allied élites who bore the brunt of punitive expropriation. Subtraction of resources for cleruchs was offset by reducing tribute. Lesbos is a partial exception, as so much arable land was taken, but less culpable persons below the élite, many of whom had been executed, were allowed to farm former holdings under fairly reasonable terms. Colonies often represented a higher level of punishment of recalcitrant allies. While

[96] Figueira 1993, 287–8.
[97] Figueira 1991, 67–8, 114–5, 168, 193–6.
[98] See Figueira forthcoming.
[99] Figueira 1991, 193–7.

some Euboean cities received cleruchies, the people of Histiaea who had executed a captured crew were expelled and replaced with colonists (Plutarch *Pericles* 23. 4). After the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War, this rationale for colonising became more common. The Aeginetans were expelled for inciting the war (Thucydides 2. 27. 1), and the Poteidaeans for their rebellion on its eve (Thucydides 2. 70. 3–4). Going beyond expropriation was the treatment of a later defector, Scione (Thucydides 5. 32. 1), and of Melos (Thucydides 5. 116. 4), a city considered to have abetted the Peloponnesian cause. Colonisation followed an *andrapodismos* (execution of the adult males and enslavement of the women and children).[100]

Victims of another class of colony were non-Greek. Attic tradition presented Pericles' dispatch of colonists to the Chersonese as reinforcement of Attic allies, against unpacified Thracians (Plutarch *Pericles* 11. 5; 19. 1). The occupation of Eion at the mouth of the Strymon, the various attempts to occupy Ennea Hodoi culminating in the founding of Amphipolis, and the Thracian settlement of Pericles (probably Brea, known from *IG* I^3 46) all absorbed Thracian territory too. The Strymon valley and Eion had possessed a Greek population since the end of the 6th century at the latest, but resident Greeks were not organised into a *polis*.[101] Hence colonisation in western Thrace also had the rationale of protecting Greeks from barbarians and of integrating Greeks in the region in strong and viable city-states. The colonies at Colophon and Notion (and possibly Erythrae and Astacus) were designed to solidify the position of loyal allies against medisers' aggression, supported by Persian satraps. These reorganisations of allied populations lay at the core of Attic responsibilities as *hegemon* of a league predicated on securing Greeks from Persia. Yet, many punitive or retaliatory expropriations, expulsions and ensuing colonisations could be justified under the same hegemonic duty. Defectors threatened the viability of the alliance and violated its founding oaths. Later 'rebels' had joined the Spartans who early resolved to seek Persian support in order to further efforts against the Athenians.

The gradations on a continuum of causes for the initiation of these colonies may be hard to perceive. The anti-Persians in the *demos* at

[100] Removing piratical Skyrians for colonists was both a philhellenic gesture attractive to allies and authorised by the Delphic Amphictyony (Thucydides 1. 98. 2; Plutarch *Cimon* 8. 4, *cf.* *Theseus* 36. 1–2).

[101] Lazaridis 1975; 1976.

Colophon and Notion appealed for protection, including reconstitution of their communities. Such appeals were probably not perceived as essentially different (excepting the enemy's identity) from requests received from Greeks in the north or from more adventitious petitions, like that of Neapolis, for example, toward the *strategoi* of visiting squadrons. All these requests prompted a philhellenic *and* hegemonic reaction. Athens of the Pentekontaeteia also assumed responsibility for claims inherent in earlier receptions of suppliants. The cession of lost territory in southern Italy to the Athenians by fugitives from Siris or Sybaris earlier piqued the ambitions of Themistocles, but later justified the foundation of Thurii (Herodotus 8. 62. 2; *cf.* Plutarch *Themistocles* 11. 5; 32. 2). Other suppliants, derived from the *demos* of Aegina, which had risen abortively under Nicodromos, had been settled by the Athenians at Sounion (Herodotus 6. 90). But in this instance we come full circle to the issue of ideologically grounded legitimacy, as justification for expropriation of Greeks and recolonisation is broached.

Behind these pragmatic considerations were mythological justifications for Attic possession of colonial sites. Occupation of Scyros was viewed as exaction of reparation for the murder of Theseus (*cf.* Plutarch *Theseus* 35. 6–7; 36. 1–2). Justifying ownership of Lemnos and Imbros was the agreement by the Pelasgians to redress earlier hybris committed against the Athenians in Attica. Possession of the Chersonese was grounded in myth through Phorbas, a companion of Theseus and 'culture hero' of the Greek character of the peninsula ([Skymnos] 707–708). Hagnon, the *oikist* of Amphipolis, founded a *heroon* for Rhesos (with the hero's bones), providing a cultic rationale for colonisation (Polyaenus *Strategemata* 6. 53).[102] Athens also received rights over the Strymon valley by a grant to Akamas, Theseus' son (Aeschines 2. 31).[103] Some mythologically grounded annexations can be considered cessions (Lemnos, Imbros), as might others (Strymon valley and Chersonese) if detailed expositions of the myths survived. Accordingly, it is worth recalling the 'type case' in Attic ideology for this mode of territorial acquisition: the yielding of Salamis by the successors of Ajax (*LSCG* suppl. no. 19; *IG* II^2 1232; Pherecydes *FGrHist* 3 F2).[104]

[102] Malkin 1987, 81–4; Figueira 1991, 224.

[103] *Schol.* Aeschines 2. 31 notes that the claim was plagued by a curse of Phyllis, who betrayed her people and was betrayed by Demophon, leading to a series of Attic disasters.

[104] Figueira 1985, 300–3; Taylor 1997, 42–51.

On a deeper mythic level, colonisation was also justified by Attic claims to religious and cultural precedence, such as contentions that the Athenians had received the cultivation of grain from Demeter, wine from Dionysus, and the cultivated olive from Athena first among men.[105] So this triad of essential food products was disseminated from Attica to the rest of mankind. Hence, the Greeks were invited to tender first fruits to Eleusis, a gesture whose more immediate recipients were Attic allies and colonies (*cf. IG* I^3 78. 14–36).[106] The colony at Brea was required to provide a *phallos* at the Dionysia as well as tendering honours at the Panathenaia (*IG* I^3 46. 16–17). Traditional Attic myth also asserted that only a few aboriginal communities possessed primordial, non-derivative fire that was thereby especially sacred (*Schol.* Aristides 13. 103. 16; 3. 47. 12–3. 48. 10).[107] Because the isolated Arcadians were chief competitors for this honour, a contention in Attic cultural ideology is probably encapsulated here. The fire necessary to maintain civilised existence and proper religious observance spread to most Greeks from Attica. This theme dovetails with a motif from the tradition of the Ionian migration that argued for departure by authentic Ionians from the Attic *prytaneion* (Herodotus 1. 146. 2), as this structure housed the ancestral, communal hearth. Strikingly, mythic primordial Attic sacred fire marks a much wider circle of Greeks, and not just the Ionians, as 'colonists' in religious terms.

The Ionian character of Athens had been emphasised since Solon for the purpose of associating the Athenians with the powerful and prosperous East Greeks (fr. 4aW), and had been incorporated into familial claims of lineages like the Peisistratids, who claimed descent from Nestor's Pylus and thus kinship with the Ionian founders. After Ionia had fallen under the Persian yoke and was unable to break free without assistance, recognising Athens as the Ionian metropolis was encouraged by both Ionians and Athenians (for example Aristagoras of Miletus and Themistocles: Herodotus 5. 97. 2; 8. 22. 1–2; *cf.* 9. 98. 4).

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[105] Grain: Isocrates 4. 31; Xenophon *Hellenica* 6. 3. 6; *Suda s.v.* Proerosiai, π 2420 Adler (~ Lycurgus fr. 14. 4 C); *cf. IG* II^2 1134. 22–23 = *SIG*^{3} 704E.16–17; also *Homeric Hymn* 4. 470–483; Apollodorus 3. 191. Wine: Nonnus *Dionysiaca* 47. 34–245; Apollodorus 3. 191–92; Hyginus *Fabulae* 30; Servius, *In Georg.* 2. 389. Olives: Herodotus 8. 55; Apollodorus. 3. 178–179; Pausanias 1. 24. 3–4; Hyginus *Fabulae* 164; Augustine *De Civitate Dei* 18. 9. *Cf.* Herodotus 5. 82. 1–3.

[106] Note *IG* II^2 1672. 274–279 (329/8 B.C.) for first fruits from Lemnos, Scyros and Salamis.

[107] Malkin 1987, 114–34.

The stipulation that the founders departed from the *prytaneion* at Athens converted the Ionian diaspora into a sequence of official foundations. The local traditions in Ionia about prehistoric Attic 'colonisation' were consolidated in the 5th century.[108] In the early 470s B.C., ill-conceived Spartan proposals for transplantations of medising and non-medising groups between Asia Minor and Europe were rebuffed by Athens as inappropriate meddling in the affairs of its colonies (Herodotus 9. 106. 2–3). When the Delian League was founded, the kinship of the Ionians was a leading factor militating for an offer of hegemony to Athens (Thucydides 1. 95. 1–2 with 1. 12. 4). Thus, all Ionian allied communities were already on a mythological level conceded to be Athenian colonies by the mid-5th century, and these myths were to be exploited ever more systematically after the rise of Pericles.

Consequently, a series of decrees mandates that the allies tender an ox and panoply at the quadrennial Panathenaic festival, for Attic colonies were required to discharge this duty.[109] A *scholia* to Aristophanes derived from an *Atthis* makes the connexion explicit (*Schol. Nubes* 386a). The treaty with Paros from the Second Confederacy specifies the same linkage, if a likely restoration is correct (*SVA* 268. 2–6 = *SEG* 31. 67).[110] A full elaboration of the concept of allied obligation because of identity as colonists may also be found in another plausible restoration in the reassessment decree of 425/4 B.C. (*IG* I ^{3} 71. 55–58). Therefore, the categories of ally and colonist were undergoing a convergence in the fully developed hegemonic system. Much colonial activity in the 5th-century *arche* can then be viewed as secondary colonisation in that it affected Greeks who were already envisioned by the Athenians as their colonists in myth-historical terms.[111]

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[108] Pausanias 7. 2. 1–4; *Suda s.v.* Panuasis, π 248 Adler; Pherecydes *FGrHist* 3 F155. Ephesus: Pherecydes *FGrHist* 3 F155. Euboea: Strabo 10. 1. 8; *cf.* Hecataeus *FGrHist* 1 F119. Miletus: Herodotus 5. 65. 3–4; 5. 97. 2; *cf.* Herodotus 9. 97; Cadmus *FGrHist* 489 T1, F1 (= Diodorus 1. 37. 3). Teos: Pindar *Paeanes* 2. 28–29 (fr. 52b S/M). See Barron 1986, 90–4, also noting Ion of Chios had Oinopion, the Chian founder, a son of Theseus (*cf. FGrHist* 392 F1 = Pausanias 7. 4. 8; fr. 29W).

[109] *IG* I^{3} 14. 2–8 (Erythrae Decree, where the requirement may not be fully developed); 34. 41–43; 46. 15–17. See Meritt and Wade-Gery 1962, 69–71; Figueira 1991, 230–2.

[110] Ionian cities could assume this duty as a gesture of cultural and religious solidarity. Note Priene *ca.* 325 (*IPriene* 5) and Colophon in 307 (*IG* II^{2} 456).

[111] Hence Aristophanes included the cities that are colonies of Athens, along with the metics and friendly *xenoi*, in an impassioned plea for the reintegration of Athens (*Lysistrata* 582).

If this convergence is correctly seen as a product of the late 450s and 440s, what were the connexions of colonial policy with other policy-making? Before answering, a few words are needed about later Attic appraisals of Periclean colonial policy. In Atthidographic assessments of earlier democratic foreign policy, decision-making regarding specific colonial projects was already obscured. Thus, Plutarch can offer only global appreciations of Attic colonisation. That Pericles won popularity with the *demos* is the one undeniable constant among divergent perspectives. In *Pericles* 9. 1–2, Plutarch accents Periclean 'corruption' of the *demos* through cleruchies, disbursements of monies and theoric expenditures for the purpose of countering the aristocratic patronage of Cimon (*cf.* 9. 4–5). In *Pericles* 11. 4–6, while Pericles is evidently gratifying the *demos*, this 'conservative' statesman ordered colonies to relieve the city of idle, meddlesome common people through providing activities abroad. The context is his struggle for supremacy with Thucydides Melesiou that divided the city between *polloi* and *oligoi.* Finally, *Pericles* 34. 1–2 offers a Pericles beset with demagogic(!) opposition after the onset of the Peloponnesian War, trying to ingratiate and manage a truculent citizenry by monetary disbursements and cleruchies. Throughout there are few details about colonisation. Characterisations of Attic hegemony trigger evocations of imperial colonisation in a broad-brush style of substantiation.

Rather than choose between historicising constructs, one is better advised to stress the main features of colonial policy that emerged *ca.* 450 B.C., while reserving judgment whether it is strictly 'Periclean'.[112] A careful balancing of different social and civic statuses deserves emphasis. Pericles was responsible for limiting access to citizenship in his law of 451/50 B.C, but probably also regularised the duties and privileges of the metics. Stringency in mandating citizens that must now derive from two Attic parents was balanced by a liberal extension of rights to descendants of Archaic colonists in the Chersonese and Lemnos. Colonial projects put Athenians overseas amid other *apoikoi* at Amphipolis and Thurii. Developed imperial ideology encapsulated the citizen body at the centre of a sphere of hegemony shaped by a tradition of colonisation of unimaginable age, where different classes of 'colonies' were accorded appropriate duties and privileges. All were believed by

[112] Figueira 1991, 227–35; Bearzot 1995, 61–70.

the Athenians to have derived, in some crucial sense (genetic, cultural or religious), from themselves.

The first cleruchies were established *ca.* 450 B.C., and so that institution is appositely cited as a tool in the arsenal of democratic imperialism. It is uncertain, however whether Pericles was their wholehearted champion.[113] After a spate of mid-century cleruchies, he probably declined to place a cleruchy at Chalcis in 446 B.C., and certainly later at Samos and Byzantium in 440/39 B.C. Confiscations, indemnities and tribute reassessment and exaction shifted resources from allies to Athenians. The *emmisthos demos* was subsidised directly out of revenues, not unconditionally, but only in compensation for state service. The use of *epoikoi* as reinforcing colonists, first seen in the Chersonese, may instead have been conceived in these same years. And if Amphipolis and Thurii were his initiatives, he thought that *poleis* that replicated Attic democratic institutions were assets for grand strategy despite a modest participation by the Athenians themselves.

The Consequences of 5th-Century Colonisation

The effects of hegemonic colonisation cannot be separated from its aetiology, so that this discussion must be read in light of the foregoing section. Clearly, the results of colonial policy were not unexpected accidents, so that identifying consequences must affect our judgment on the genesis of policy (especially with evidence absent on specific decisions). This observation is quite relevant in two areas, the demographic and economic impact of colonisation and its effects on finances. Both legal eligibility for *kleroi* and self-selection influenced the process of colonial allotment toward augmentation of the resources of individual thetes.[114] Indeed the Athenians probably intended to raise as many thetes as possible to zeugitic census in order to increase their number of hoplites. The amount of the rents paid by the Lesbian tenants of Attic cleruchs was predicated on achieving this very result.[115] Using colonial *kleroi* to increase the hoplite force was eminently prudent for a power already

[113] Aristophanes places an offer of Euboea and large distributions of grain among demagogic promises in *Vespae* 715–718. In *Equites* 259–265, however, Paphlagon/Kleon chooses a rich *apragmon* from the Chersonese as victim (a pre-imperial colonist?).

[114] Figueira 1991, 176–85; Bearzot 1995, 74–88. Settlement of thetes abroad was paralleled by the importation of slave workers into Attica, who replaced non-property holding free labourers.

[115] Figueira 1991, 176–7.

possessing preponderance at sea, but at a disadvantage facing the heavy infantry of the Peloponnesians. More than making good strategic sense, such policy also resonated with the traditional prioritisation of agrarian life and an equation of zeugite census classification with full political empowerment.

Providing *kleroi*, which raised their holders to the zeugites, was successful. The hoplite force mobilisable at the outbreak of the Archidamian War was much higher than that available *ca*. 450 B.C., let alone than during the Persian War.[116] In 431 B.C., Athens possessed 13,000 hoplites, 1,000 cavalry and 200 mounted archers in its field army, with a further 16,000 reserve and garrison troops (Thucydides 2. 13. 6–7; *cf.* Diodorus 12. 40. 4). Cleruchs served with the 14,200 frontline troops, perhaps numbering 929–1,250, a modest but not insignificant contribution. Colonists were among the 16,000 reserves. Along with men from communities like Eleutherai, colonists were the largest component of this force, about 6,500–7,800.[117] Most colonial hoplites were unavailable for use in a mass engagement in 431 B.C. (should Pericles have been so foolish as to risk such a battle), as their *kleroi* could not be stripped of defenders (*cf.* Thucydides 2. 21. 2–2. 22. 1). The ability of Athens to weather plague losses and casualties suffered in the 420s B.C. owed a debt to the additional hoplites afforded by occupation of land overseas. Moreover, wartime colonisation helped offset damage done to Attica by Peloponnesian incursions through providing subsistence for hoplites from external assets, especially for those whose financial standing had been damaged by wartime dislocations.

The other major impact of colonisation on Athenian administration was the raising of substantial revenues, an issue already treated from the standpoint of the duties of colonies and their colonists, where income and *matériel* from Amphipolis were an especial focus. Yet there is no reason to think that its organisation differed basically from arrangements for other colonies, although no other foundation approached Amphipolis in its utilisable resource base. Other northern settlements had access to natural resources on which taxes, rents and payments in kind could be levied.[118] Communities with surplus agricultural production (like

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[116] Figueira 1991, 201–17; *cf.* Beloch 1905; Jones 1957, 162–6.

[117] Figueira 1991, 216, tabl. 3.

[118] Demosthenes 23. 110 (352 B.C.) has income from the Chersonese not exceeding 30 talents in peace (nothing in war), but a tax on traffic through the Hellespont might be involved.

Lemnos) supplied food to the metropolitan government. Harbour dues and other commercial taxes levied on Aegina, in the straits and at other colonial transit points also provided revenues. The 5% levy, certainly exacted in colonies after 413 B.C., was perhaps not an added burden, but had always been imposed on cargoes passing through colonial harbours. Commutation of tribute into this tax was a concession to the allies (as well as a practical necessity owing to collection problems) that furthered the aim of equating allied status with their identification as Attic colonies. This gesture was consonant with a more liberal policy toward granting autonomy adopted during the Ionian War.[119] The options for non-tax income were quite varied, especially if workshops, mines, quarries, mills and other non-agricultural assets were withheld from apportionment at foundation and then leased out. Some rents from such leases might have been reserved for the home government, and, even when they were not, the local government might pay taxes levied on its non-agricultural income. I have conservatively estimated that 100 talents was earned by Athens from its colonies.[120] Payments in kind of foodstuffs and military supplies were probably a significant budgetary item, now impossible to quantify even crudely.

The impact of colonisation on the popularity of Attic hegemony or on allied perceptions of its legitimacy is hard to isolate, since colonisation was so enmeshed with other aspects of policy.[121] Insofar as colonies served such purposes as maritime safety (Scyros), aid against medising (Colophon), or expansion of settlement in Thrace (*epoikoi* in the Chersonese), the colonies were as popular and legitimate as other policies predicated on the same goals. Yet, these actions could clash with similar aspirations of a Thasos or Argilus. Refounding Thurii was not hailed by old enemies of Sybaris, but the allies only prospered by providing settlers, if much affected at all. In the absence of contemporary commentary, a best guess is that no pre-war colony aroused general dissension within the alliance, with the possible exception of Histiaea. Reception of that early expulsion, however, depended on reactions to the murder of a captured crew that may have included metics and allies (Plutarch *Pericles* 23. 4; Thucydides 1. 114. 3). Expropriation might still have seemed excessive, but cognisance would also have been

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[119] Figueira 1993, 260–6, 285; 2005, 120–1.

[120] Figueira 1991, 185–93; forthcoming.

[121] On expropriation of the allies, see Zelnick-Abramovitz 2004; on the absence of colonisation from the Mytilene debate, see Figueira 1991, 198–201, 253.

given to Histiaean violation of earlier oaths. In addition to swearing at the foundation of the alliance, revolt in 447/6 B.C. followed by a few years an effort at pacifying Euboea, in which Histiaea probably swore oaths with Athens (Diodorus 11. 88. 3; Pausanias 1. 27. 5; note Tolmides' rôle).[122]

In contrast, early cleruchies did transfer assets from allied to Attic utilisation. A reading of the likely effect on Greek sensibilities ought to track general attitudes toward the ascent of Attic power. Thus the political classes of the Peloponnesian cities probably reacted negatively, and the élites of autonomous states may have been silently apprehensive (*cf.* Thucydides 3. 10. 4–6). Citizens of the communities in which cleruchies were implanted reacted in correlation to the relationship of the *demos* to the local expropriated élite. While none of the communities invited Attic settlers in the 4th century, our appraisal must be conditioned by the very nature of the cleruchy. Rather than being a true community, a cleruchy was a mechanism for transferring local output to individual Athenians. The cleruchy had a reciprocal relationship with the tribute system in that placement of cleruchs was balanced by lowered assessment. Hence the acceptance in the Second Athenian Confederacy of the requirement to pay *syntaxeis* might be an indication somewhat in favour of supposing an earlier acquiescence in the establishment of some cleruchies.

As for the colonies established after the outbreak of the war, it is clear that they symbolised for many the most negative aspects of the last phase of Attic hegemony. Dispatch of settlers often followed the expulsion or enslavement of other Greeks. When defeat in the war was imminent, the Athenians specifically feared the same treatment at their enemies' hands that they had meted out to the people of Aegina, Melos, Histiaea, Torone and Scione, an anxiety probably reflecting current Spartan propaganda.[123] Colonisation was associated with measures against rebels. Although in Attic eyes establishment of such settlements constituted legitimate reparation for harms their enemies inflicted, the planting of these colonies contributed to the image of Athens as the tyrant city of Greece. Andocides reflects such attitudes in 392/1 B.C., cautioning his hearers on the unpopularity, even among allies, of seeking

[122] Figueira 1991, 221–2, 231–2.

[123] Xenophon *Hellenica* 2. 2. 3; Isocrates 4. 100 (*cf.* 109–110), 12. 63 (*cf.* 89); Aristotle *Rhetorica* 1396a17–20; Diodorus 13. 30. 6; Plutarch *Lysander* 14. 3; *cf.* Aristides 32. 404, 1. 602D (*cf.* 402, 406).

to recover the *apoikiai* (3. 15). His use of this term and not 'cleruchies' is indeed significant.[124]

The dissolution of Attic colonies was an intrinsic part of dismantling the *arche* by Lysander (Xenophon *Hellenica* 2. 2. 9; Plutarch *Lysander* 13. 2–3; 14. 3; Diodorus 13. 107. 4). As the victorious enemy fleet traveled through the Aegean toward Attica, Lysander publicised an intention to execute any Athenians found in place, while allowing flight before his forces into Attica (Xenophon *Hellenica* 2. 2. 9). This strategem resulted in a collapse of organised resistance by Athenians established in the *arche* with the exception of Samos (besieged and taken by Lysander after the fall of Athens: Xenophon *Hellenica* 2. 3. 6–7). Lysander's restoration of the pre-colonial inhabitants of Aegina, Melos and Scione is attested (Xenophon *Hellenica* 2. 2. 9; Plutarch *Lysander* 14. 3; Pausanias 2. 29. 5; Strabo 8. 6. 16; *cf.* Diogenes Laertius 3. 3).

All Athenians, however, were not displaced from every colonial site. Of those colonised during 480–431 B.C., the Athenians on Scyros did not flee, with a key factor for remaining doubtless the absence of a cohesive group of earlier inhabitants to claim restoration. Some Athenian citizens opted to lie low in the Chersonese, where their presence is attested in the early 4th century.[125] The experience of the Lemnians and Imbrians may have been mixed. The islands were not depopulated. There was no rationale for the Spartans to expel the tributary, non-citizen population, and that probably left most Imbrians (at least) safe. No persons wishing to be restored are attested, and no Lemnians or Imbrians were seeking compensation for collaboration with the Spartan war effort. Some Athenian citizens, like Lemnian military leaders and other office holders, may well have fled to Athens.[126] If the citizens on Lemnos were not cleruchs who had just arrived in the 440s (as suggested above), but re-enfranchised descendants of Archaic Attic settlers, identifying them for expulsion might have been intractable. The establishment of decarchies on these islands might be conjectured; any supposition, however, is speculative. In the post-war period (following any general dissolution of the decarchies), Myrina on Lemnos had an independent government that preserved Attic political forms, which would be suggestive of demographic and cultural continuity (*IG* XII 8. 2).

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[124] Figueira 1991, 236–41.
[125] Isocrates 5. 6 with Xenophon *Hellenica* 4. 8. 26. See Cargill 1995, 9–12.
[126] Brunt 1966, 80–1.

Fourth-Century Athenian Overseas Settlement

The Colonial Recovery

Athens began this period constrained by a Spartan alliance, which was respected even after the downfall of the puppet government of the Thirty Tyrants. Any hope of regaining overseas holdings was kept quiet. Such aspirations were stigmatised by association with the 5th-century *arche* (as seen indirectly from Andocides 3. 15). The balance of power altered with Attic participation against Sparta in the Corinthian War. After Conon's victory at Cnidus (394 B.C.), a general movement away from pro-Spartan factions occurred in the islands. This is the earliest moment at which the Lemnians, Imbrians and Scyrians could have reaffiliated with Athens. The Athenians revived their navy when Conon arrived in 393 B.C. with monies and ships built with Persian subsidy. By the abortive peace talks of early 392 B.C., Athens could reasonably expect to be conceded the three islands (Andocides 3. 12; Xenophon *Hellenica* 4. 8. 15; *cf.* Aeschines 2. 76). That assurance indicates they were secured by Attic naval forces. Yet Andocides' criticism suggests that more militant Athenians were agitating for the recovery of the Chersonese and other colonies (3. 15).

The first trial, however, at recovering a former colony against local resistance involved Aegina.[127] Athens reacted with a siege to an Aeginetan campaign of raids (from 390 B.C.), aided by a Spartan *harmost* and his forces (Xenophon *Hellenica* 5. 1. 1–2). Although prosecuted doggedly, the siege failed in 389 B.C. (5. 1. 5). A series of subsequent efforts betokens Athenian determination to pre-empt Aeginetan collaboration with Sparta by retaking the island: an abortive raid in force (*Hellenica* 5. 1. 7–9), an incursion by Chabrias (*Hellenica* 5. 1. 10–13; Demosthenes 20. 76), both in 388 B.C.; a surprise attempt on the harbour by Chabrias in the 370s B.C. (Polyaenus *Strategemata* 3. 11. 12); and another *coup de main* by Chares *ca.* 366 B.C. (Aristotle *Politica* 1306a4–5). As late as the 340s B.C., Demades called for resubjugation of Aegina (Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* 3. 99D).

More far-flung expressions of early 4th-century revanchism were similarly unhappy, except for Lemnos, Imbros and Scyros. A major expedition of Thrasybulus in 390 B.C. tried to re-establish Athens'

[127] Figueira 1993, 332–53.

Aegean predominance. He exacted funds, voluntarily and coercively, and reimposed commercial taxes (Xenophon *Hellenica* 4. 8. 26, *cf.* 1. 1. 22; Diodorus 14. 94. 2–4; 14. 99. 4–5). That attested to a belief in the continuing legitimacy of hegemonic rights prior to Aigospotamoi. Hence the Athenians initially resisted the terms that the Spartan admiral Antalcidas negotiated with King Artaxerxes. They acceded when Antalcidas engineered an impasse in which his superior force, imposing a blockade in the straits, could only be dislodged at substantial risk (Xenophon *Hellenica* 5. 1. 27–29). Nevertheless, Attic ownership of Lemnos, Imbros and Scyros was explicitly upheld in the King's Peace as an exception to the autonomy clause (*Hellenica* 5. 1. 31; *cf.* Diodorus 14. 110. 3). Surely the intention to defend this claim with forces still quite capable, especially in defence, had ensured this outcome, along with the self-identification of the islanders as Athenians. A fragmentary inscription, *IG* II^2 30, indicates consequent Attic reorganisation of property holdings on Lemnos.[128]

As Attic overseas settlements emerged from the Corinthian War, it is important to note a major change in the terminology.[129] Attic colonists were now called cleruchs, and the distinctions between *apoikos/apoikia* and *klerouchos/klerouchia* fell out of use.[130] Fourth-century cleruchies did not preserve the pattern of the 5th-century establishments; rather cleruchies were now full-fledged communities, therefore approximating the 5th-century *apoikiai*. The first sign of this semantic change appears in Isocrates' *Panegyricus* of *ca.* 380 B.C., where 5th-century *apoikiai* are defended under the title 'cleruchies' (4. 107). Because of earlier associations between colonisation and *andrapodismos*, the Athenians presumably judged *klerouch*-terminology less tainted than terminology constructed on *apoik*-.

Consequently, the Decree of Aristoteles embodying the provisions of the Second Athenian Confederacy approaches 5th-century Attic colonisation obliquely. A clause renounced all public and private properties in allied states (*GHI* 123. 25–31), and prohibited with stiff penalty henceforward public or private acquisitions by Athenians on the territory of allied cities (35–46). The proscribed behaviour tran-

[128] Stroud 1971, 162–73; Graham 1983, 186–8; Figueira 1991, 50.
[129] Figueira 1991, 24–5, 45–7.
[130] *Cf.* Salomon 1997a.

scended cleruchic allotment, with varied modes of acquisition envisaged (39–41). The specific prohibitions on acquisition or possession through public activity (28–29: *demosia* 'public' possessions; 37: *demosiai* 'publicly') excluded a revival of the earlier practice of encapsulating *kleroi* within a continuing allied community. This interpretation is certified by Diodorus Siculus, who refers to a surrender of the cleruchies (15. 29. 8; *cf.* Isocrates 14. 44). Nevertheless, the Athenians could not literally forego a policy of maintaining 'cleruchies' because that term now meant 'colony of Athenian citizens'. Colonisation in its 5th-century manifestation through restructuring an allied city, however, was excluded both by an autonomy clause (*GHI* 123. 20–21; *cf.* 10–11) and by contextualising the alliance within the King's Peace, with its general autonomy provision (*cf.* 12–15).

It is equally important to emphasise what Athens did not intend in the Decree of Aristoteles: it did not renounce the main body of 5th-century overseas holdings ('colonies', to use the terminology of the *arche*), because the protections in the decree extended to allies, and Athenians refrained from alliances with states occupying former colonies. One episode highlights this policy. After shattering Spartan naval power in the Aegean at Naxos in 376 B.C., Chabrias operated on Euboea where, unsurprisingly, the majority of cities allied with Athens (Diodorus 15. 30. 1). They had been suspicious until the Athenians renounced their overseas property or cleruchies (Diodorus 15. 29. 7–15. 30. 1). Only Histiaea resisted, and Chabrias besieged the city, trying to take it through force or treachery (Diodorus 15. 30. 1, 4–5). While other Euboeans no longer feared transfers of *kleroi* to Attic beneficiaries, the Histiaeans were probably concerned that Chabrias would restore all or part of their land to the 5th-century colonists or their successors. An agreement was reached, however, in which Histiaea joined the Confederacy, and the Athenians relinquished their claim, probably in order to build trust with the Euboeans (*cf. GHI* 123. 114). No 'blanket' surrender of the rights to other territories was ever made. Athens had absorbed thousands who once held colonial *kleroi*, along with others so branded by Atticism they had been driven into exile. These persons comprised a powerful constituency on behalf of recolonisation.

Recolonisation

The decades of the 360s and 350s saw the most intense efforts to recover the colonial holdings lost at the end of the Peloponnesian War.[131] The foundation of the Second Confederacy was one precondition for such a campaign, but another necessary condition was the elimination of Spartan Aegean naval power at Naxos in 376 B.C. Until that defeat, Sparta possessed oligarchic partisans in the region, so that the Athenians were inhibited from adopting irredentist policies. Moreover, the Spartan discomfiture on land at Leuctra in 371 B.C. seemed to portend that Athens could act in relative security from mainland rivals. A final condition for recovery of Thracian holdings in the 360s was the dissolution of the Chalcidian League, engineered by Sparta during 382–379 B.C.

The cleruchy on Samos was the most significant and controversial accomplishment of this policy.[132] Samos was large enough to support a sizable agricultural population and also possessed a commercial economy with deep historical roots. The seizure of Samos was recolonisation because the Athenians had demonstrated a debt of gratitude for their loyalty by awarding the Samians citizenship in 405 (*IG* I^3 127). Accordingly, ardently pro-Attic Samians had suffered after Lysander took their city, some being driven into exile in Attica (Xenophon *Hellenica* 2. 3. 6–7). Thus, Timotheus' conquest in 366 B.C. represented more than clever exploitation of a favourable military situation.[133] Rather, it redressed an historical wrong done both Samos and Athens. The Athenians considered the surrender to Timotheus a liberation (Demosthenes 15. 9), not only because of Persian influence on Samos, but also through legitimate ownership.

An initial dispatch of settlers to Samos took place either in 366/5 B.C. (Diodorus 18. 18. 9) or 361/60 B.C. (Aeschines 1. 53 with *scholia*; *cf.* Polyaenus *Strategemata* 6. 2. 1).[134] Alternatively (and preferably) the latter year might date a reinforcement. An exiled Samian politician, Theogenes, became notorious for his instigation of a cleruchic expedition (Aristotle fr. 143. 10. 35 Gigon [Heraclides Lembos]). Douris and Craterus report a later expulsion of Samians after a period of

[131] Beister 1981, 410–3.

[132] Cargill 1983; 1995, 17–21; Shipley 1987, 155–8.

[133] Isocrates 15. 108, 111; Dinarchus 1. 14; 3. 17; Polyaenus *Strategemata* 3. 10. 9–10; Nepos *Timotheus* 1. 2.

[134] Shipley 1987, 156.

cohabitation with Attic *epoikoi* (a tradition also preserved in proverb collections).[135] The expulsion is perhaps datable to 352/1 B.C., when Philochorus places another arrival of cleruchs (*FGrHist* 328 F154). The contingent in which Neocles, the father of Epicurus, emigrated, numbered 2,000 (Strabo 14. 1. 18; *cf.* Aristotle fr. 143. 10. 35). There were at least 6,000 cleruchs to which Samian holdovers may be added. A recently published inscription (*ca.* 350 B.C.) demonstrates the importance of Samian landholdings for supporting the Attic civic class, for it shows that the cleruchs sustained a local *boule* of 250 (*IG* XII 6. 1 262).[136] This implies that the local citizens numbered at least 10,000. A corollary of this scale of transfer of resources was probably that 4th-century cleruchs combined property at home and abroad to comprise augmented estates. Those participating in the cleruchy might equal 50% of the whole Attic civic body.[137] Yet, provision for a *boule* half the size of the Attic council may also imply an expectation that local Samians were, at least initially, expected to fuse with the cleruchs sent out from Athens.

The propriety of sending these cleruchs was hotly disputed. Kydias warned the assembly that all the Greeks were watching (Aristotle *Rhetorica* 1384b. 32–35).[138] Historical and paroemiographical traditions on the expulsion argued that it substantiated an old proverb that an Attic neighbour was a bad neighbour (*cf.* Thucydides 3. 113. 6). The continuity of population on Samos is controversial, probably in part because various sub-populations were expelled or remained in residence (with disparate political status) amid the interplay of complex political influences.[139] Perdikkas restored the Samians in 322 (Diodorus 18. 18. 9), an action set in train by Alexander.[140]

Another significant recovery was Poteidaea, captured during a campaign of Timotheus against the Chalcidians in 364/3 B.C. (Diodorus 15.

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[135] See Douris *FGrHist* 76 F96; Craterus *FGrHist* 342 F21; Zenobius. 2. 28 (*CPG* 1. 40), *cf.* [Plutarch] 1. 59 (*CPG* 1. 330); *Comm. Anon. in Aristotle Rhetorica, Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* 21. 2. 128. See Figueira 1991, 27–30.

[136] Habicht 1995; Hallof and Habicht 1995.

[137] *Cf.* Shipley 1987; Sekunda 1992, 320–1.

[138] Demades described the settlement as the ἀπώρυγα 'drainage ditch' of Athens (Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* 3.99D), but the alternative reading is ἀπορρῶγα 'fragment'.

[139] Cargill 1983; Shipley 1987, 141–3, 304–5; Cargill 1995, 109–19, Hallof and Habicht 1995, 297.

[140] Diodorus 18. 8. 3–5, *cf.* 18. 8. 6; Plutarch *Alexander* 28. 1; Ephippos *FGrHist* 126 F5; *IG* XII 6. 1. 18–30, 33, 37, 43; *cf.* Gasus 30 = *GHI* 190 (Rosen 1978; Shipley 1987, 157–8; Cargill 1995, 34–42).

81. 6).[141] Torone, another city that Athens may have claimed, was also besieged and taken. In his effort to laud the relative lack of expense of this capture compared to the earlier siege of the city, Isocrates reveals the significant detail that Timotheus' subjugation was funded by allied *syntaxeis*. Nothing indicates that Poteidaea was given the option of enlisting as an ally. So the Athenians seem to have pressed their earlier rights. It is unknown whether any cleruchs went out immediately. In 362/1 B.C., however, those in power at Poteidaea appealed for the dispatch of cleruchs (*GHI* 146, *cf. IG* II^2 118 [361/60 B.C.?]). One motivation was perhaps fear of their western neighbours in Macedonia without the support of a strong patron. Accordingly, these cleruchs could be considered *epoikoi* (note Libanius *Declamationes* 17. 6; *cf.* Demosthenes 6. 20). Attic Poteidaea lay in the path of Macedonian expansion and Philip took the city in 358/7 B.C., giving it to the Chalcidians (Demosthenes 2. 14; 10. 64, 67; 23. 107).[142]

Attic strategic concerns over the Chersonese transcended recolonisation, however affirmed by ancient pedigree, as befit a power with a stake in the security of Black Sea trade.[143] In the early 4th century, Sparta held Sestus against enemy challenge (Xenophon *Hellenica* 4. 8. 5–6; *cf.* Plutarch *Lysander* 14. 2). Thrasybulus operated in the region from 390 B.C. The Athenians were soon in the ascendancy, as the activities of Iphicrates against the Spartan Anaxibios, the raising of funds and the siege of Abydos demonstrate (Xenophon *Hellenica* 4. 8. 31–39; 5. 1. 6–7, 25–26). Despite the King's Peace, persons considering themselves Athenian probably remained there throughout this period. Later, Elaious joined the Confederacy (*GHI* 123. 123), and other cities made treaties with Athens thereafter (*IG* II^2 126. 13–17). In 364/3 B.C., Timotheus operated there, taking Krithote and Sestus (Isocrates 15. 108, 112; *cf.* Nepos *Timotheus* 1. 2–3; Demosthenes 23. 141–142). Parallel to recognition of rights over Amphipolis, a Greek 'congress' acceded to Attic ownership of the Chersonese (Demosthenes 9. 16). In a seesaw military struggle in the late 360s and early 350s, Athenian claims were contested by various Thracian kings, aided by

[141] Isocrates 15. 108, 113; Dinarchus 1. 15; 3. 17; Polyaenus *Strategemata* 3. 10. 15.

[142] Diodorus 16. 8. 3–5; Demosthenes 2. 6; 6. 17, 20; 23. 207; [Demosthenes] 7. 10; Plutarch *Alexander* 3. 8; *cf.* Demosthenes 4. 35; 10. 12. Scyros was also one of the islands captured by Philip (Strabo 9. 5. 16).

[143] On the 4th-century Chersonese, see Kahrstedt 1954, 24–37; Cargill 1995, 12–5, 23–31.

Greek opponents, including Cardia.[144] This fluid situation saw several ratifications by contestants of the current balance of power (for example *IG* II^2 126 [357/6 B.C.]). After one such agreement with Cersobleptes, recognising Attic rights, the Athenians dispatched cleruchs in 353/2 B.C. (Diodorus 16. 34. 3–4; *IG* II^2 1613. 297–298; *cf.* Demosthenes 23. 1, 103; Aeschines 2. 72). At Sestus, a focus of recent contention, the cleruchs followed an *andrapodismos* implemented by the Attic general Chares (*IG* II^2 1613. 297–298; note the archon there: *IG* II^2 274).

Even after the Peace of Philocrates of 346, the weakness of the Thracian dynasts allowed Athens to dominate the peninsula (*cf.* Demosthenes 18. 79).[145] While a further reinforcement of cleruchs may have occurred,[146] the same power vacuum also drew Philip into eastern Thrace, where some Athenians were harassed or even withdrew before Macedonian encroachments (Aeschines 2. 72–73, 82; Demosthenes 6. 30). The alienation of Cardia gave any enemy of Athens permanent entry into the Chersonese, and it was a border dispute between the cleruchs and Cardians, allied with Macedonia, that introduced Philip.[147] Attic mercenary forces under Diopeithes, first acting independently and then with state authorisation, played a central rôle in the rising crisis that led to resumption of war with Philip (341–340 B.C.).[148] With the encouragement of the Greeks (and cleruchs presumably) settled on the peninsula (Demosthenes 18. 92), the Athenians achieved some local successes (Demosthenes 18. 79–80, 139). Although Attic hegemony in the Chersonese died with the defeat at Chaeronea in 338 B.C., it is unlikely all longstanding inhabitants of Attic extraction were removed, although most assume that the more recent cleruchs were moved out.

[144] Unfortunately, our main witness is Demosthenes or Euthycles in Demosthenes 23, whose interest is putting the worst possible light on the career of Charidemos. Note, however, 23. 149–150; 23. 153; 23. 156–185. On the hostility of Cardia, a major factor differentiating the 5th- and 4th-century prospects, note Demosthenes 5. 25; 8. 58, 66; 9. 35; 23. 175, 181–182; [Demosthenes] 7. 41; *cf.* Diodorus 16. 34. 3–4.

[145] *Cf.* *IG* II^2 1443. 93–100, 117–120, which shows a complex situation where the Athenian *demos* in the Chersonese appears alongside allied cities as bestowers of crowns on the Attic *demos*.

[146] Demosthenes 8. 6; 9. 15; Libanius *Argumenta orationum Demosthenicarum* 8. 1–2: cleruchs = *epoikoi*. Honours for Elaious: *GHI* 174.

[147] Demosthenes 8. 58, *cf.* 8. 64, 66; 19. 139; [Demosthenes] 7. 35–44; 12. 11, 16–17; Libanius *Argumenta orationum Demosthenicarum* 8. 3–5. *Cf.* Demosthenes 9. 35; [Demosthenes] 10. 60, 65, 68. See Hammond and Griffith 1979, 566–7.

[148] Demosthenes 8 treats the situation in detail; note 2, 6, 16–18, 58, 64, 66. *Cf.* [Demosthenes] 12. 3.

Central to Attic foreign policy in these years was the effort to recover Amphipolis, to which Athens believed it had valid claim (Isocrates 8. 22; [Demosthenes] 7. 24, 26–29; Demosthenes 23. 209; Aeschines 2. 21).[149] The wealthy city on the Strymon, control of which had been so lucrative after founding, was coveted almost obsessively. The groundwork was laid by a recognition of Attic rights by the Greeks at a meeting in 370/69 B.C. to promulgate a common peace (with Macedonian agreement: Aeschines 2. 32–33; *cf.* [Demosthenes] 12. 20–23), also recognised by Persia in 366 B.C. ([Demosthenes] 7. 29; Demosthenes 19. 137, 253). Starting from 368/7 B.C., Iphicrates, Timotheus and Chares all campaigned against Amphipolis (Aeschines 2. 31).[150] At first, in 359 B.C., Philip allowed Amphipolis a period of autonomy (Diodorus 16. 3. 3), withdrawing his troops and renouncing his claim in favour of Athens (Diodorus 16. 4. 1; Polyaenus *Strategemata*. 4. 2. 17). Thereafter, Demosthenes claimed the Amphipolitans were willing to accept Attic hegemony (1. 8), which Philip moved to pre-empt in 358 B.C. (Diodorus 16. 8. 2; Polyaenus *Strategemata* 4. 2. 17). While besieging the city, a possibility that Philip might still surrender it was yet viable at Athens (Demosthenes 2. 6; 23. 116; [Demosthenes] 7. 27). Indeed, even after capture, the Athenians also maintained that he had confidentially agreed to surrender it, perhaps in exchange for Pydna (Theopompus *FGrHist* 115 F30).[151] When it became clear that Amphipolis would not be given up, a *casus belli* against Philip was provided.[152] Depending on which costs were included, operations near Amphipolis cost from 1,000 to 1,500 talents, huge sums in any reckoning.[153] Interestingly, Isocrates envisaged potential cleruchs dispatched to a recovered Amphipolis as *epoikoi* (5. 6). Although some controversy continued, for all practical purposes the Athenians surrendered their rights to Amphipolis in the Peace of Philocrates in 346 B.C.[154]

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[149] Hammond and Griffith 1979, 230–54.

[150] Aeschines 2. 27–29; Demosthenes 2. 14; 23. 149–152; Polyaenus *Strategemata* 3. 10. 8; *Hypothesis* to Isocrates 8; an attempt to send Charidemos: Demosthenes 23. 14. Iphicrates operated from 368/7 B.C. (Aeschines 2. 27–28; Demosthenes 23. 149).

[151] *Cf.* Demosthenes 2. 6; 6. 30; 19. 22; [Demosthenes] 7. 27; Aeschines 2. 21.

[152] Isocrates 5. 2; Demosthenes 1. 2; 2. 28; 3. 54; *cf.* Demosthenes 4. 12; 23. 111; Aeschines 2. 30.

[153] Isocrates 7. 9, *cf.* 8. 19; Aeschines 2. 70–72; Demosthenes 3. 28, *cf.* [Demosthenes] 10. 37; 13. 27; *Schol.* Demosthenes 1. 27, 1. 184 Dilts.

[154] Isocrates 5. 5; Demosthenes 5. 25; 6. 17; 8. 66; 19. 22, 253; [Demosthenes] 7.23–29, *cf.* Demosthenes 5. 10; 6. 30; 10. 12.

The only 4th-century colony not an essay in recovery was an expedition to the Adriatic in 325/4 B.C.[155] Strikingly, the colonists were *epoikoi* in an *apoikia* and not cleruchs (*GHI* 200). A symbolic valence lay in the choice of Miltiades of the Philaidai as *oikist*, though he was a leading figure (Diodorus 20. 40. 5; Plutarch *Demetrius* 14. 1). The goal was facilitating trade, especially the provision of grain, for which a naval station (*naustathmon*) for checking Etruscan pirates was needed. The base already existed and Miltiades was escorting reinforcements, perhaps after an initial expedition as *oikist*. This foundation, whose prospects were pre-empted by the Lamian War, demonstrates an adjustment in foreign policy occasioned by Macedonian hegemony and by Alexander's conquests. The Adriatic settlement marks an early Hellenistic colonial enterprise.

Political Organisation in the 4th-Century Cleruchies

Fourth-century colonies were composed of individuals who were called cleruchs in literary sources and in epigraphical documents involved with their dispatch or connected with their dedications.[156] Occasionally, the term *epoikoi* is used to emphasise their identity as reinforcing or supplementary settlers. The eligibility for allotment abroad is not directly attested, but there were affluent Athenians in overseas communities.[157] Formulaic language like ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων ὁ ἐν NAME οἰκῶν is used to denominate these communities (*cf.* Hyperides *For Lycophron* XIV (18) 14; Phylarchus *FGrHist* 81 F29).[158] Hence 4th-century cleruchs retained citizenship—the catalogue of Cargill (1995) gives rich documentation

[155] See Gitti 1954; Braccesi 1977, 286–304; Rosen 1978, 28–9; Figueira 1991, 239; Cargill 1995, 31–4.

[156] On institutions, see Gschnitzer 1958, 98–112. Add *IG* II^2 1952 to the dossier of cleruchic inscriptions, as it contains a list of cleruchs to an unknown site. See Hereward 1956. Cargill 1995, 219–22 opting for Hephaistia. *IG* II^2 1609. 89 mentions *kleroucharchontes* associated with a naval inventory in either 370/69 or 366/5 B.C. See Sealey 1957, 97–9; Davies 1969, 320–1, 329–33; Cawkwell 1973; 1981, 51. See Salomon 1997a for a hypothesis differentiating resident *demoi* of Athenians on colonial sites from the cleruchs sent to some of the same sites.

[157] See Schmitz 1988, 88; Erxleben 1975a; Figueira 1991, 61 with n. 36. The catalogue in Cargill 1995 massively documents the phenomenon (see p. 84). *IG* II^2 30. 12 has a clause of unknown import barring the top two census classes. See Stroud 1971, 171–2.

[158] See Figueira 1991, 46 with n. 15. Cargill 1995, 59–66, 157–65 organises the documentation with selected translations. See (for example) *IG* XII 8. 4. 1–2. See also Salomon 1997a, 63–6.

on maintenance and use of demotics—sharing a quality of 5th-century cleruchs and *apoikoi*. Nothing suggests a corporate identity for non-Athenians dwelling in Attic overseas communities, but it also cannot be proven that every person permitted to stay in a community receiving cleruchs was allowed full political participation alongside the cleruchs.[159] Overseas communities related to the metropolitan government in a structured fashion. Yet cleruchs also seem to have maintained ties with their demesmen at home (*Agora* 16. 68).[160] Absence abroad on Lemnos, Imbros and Scyros was an oft-used (and ridiculed) excuse for failure to appear in court.[161] If the example of Epicurus was typical, ephebes returned to Attica for training (Diogenes Laertius 10. 1; Strabo 14. 1. 18).[162] The new list of Samian *bouleutai* documents persons splitting public careers between Samos and Attica (*IG* XII 6. 1 262). Because of the insecurity of Attic settlements, cleruchs may have sometimes fulfilled their military duties in a unit formed of their fellows.

Just as there are suggestions of split jurisdictions in 5th-century *apoikiai* which had self-standing military organisations but with substantive political decisions made by the organs of the central government, 4th-century cleruchies show a similar division of authority. For example, the punishment of Samian exiles, who invaded Samos and were taken prisoner, was relegated to the metropolitan government (*IG* XII 6. 1 42. 1–13). The local assembly of citizens and council (acting in *probouleusis* and organised into prytanies) are attested in decrees, although, except for Samos, the crucial question of the sizes of local *boulai* cannot be answered definitively.[163] The subject matter of extant decrees is mainly honorific or dedicatory. Other dedicatory resolutions are implied by the entries in Attic inventories. The *demos* on Samos rewards with citizenship and a monetary award an informant for his revealing the thieves of

[159] Figueira 1991, 238 with n. 20 perhaps errs with excessive confidence, though the compressed argument is not without its force. See also Cargill 1995, 66–77.

[160] For which see Cargill 1995, 225–6.

[161] See Pollux 8. 81; *Suda s.v.* skurian diken, σ 714 Adler; Hesch. *s.v.* Imbrios kai Lemnios, ι 622 Latte.

[162] Figueira 1991, 69 with n. 49; Sekunda 1992, 315–6; *cf.* Cargill 1995, 113.

[163] Myrina: *IG* XII 8. 3, 5, 6(?); *cf.* Hyperides *For Lycophron* XIV (18). Hephaistia: *IG* XII 8. 15(?); *SEG* 40. 746; *cf.* Hyperides *For Lycophron* XIV (18). Imbros: *IG* XII 8. 46, 63. Scyros: *IG* XII 8. 668. Samos. *IG* XII 6. 1 253, 261, 264. 6. Chersonese: Demosthenes 18. 92? See Cargill 1995.157–65. Note (especially) *IG* XII 8. 63 with 20 *bouleutai* from Imbros (352/1) with Cargill 1995, 101–2.

sacred treasures (IG XII 6. 1 252).[164] In contrast, the decrees datable to the early or the late 4th-century periods of independence for Lemnos and Imbros imply more significant local authority (*IG* XII 8. 2, 7, 47, 48?). Although evidence is spotty, local bodies (including the *demos*) did administer the affairs of local cults.[165]

Some officials for the settlements were sent out from Athens, such as a special cavalry commander for Lemnos (*Athenaion Politeia* 61. 6; *cf.* Hyperides XIV [17]; *SEG* 30. 114. 2) and *archai* for Samos, Scyros, Lemnos and Imbros (*Athenaion Politeia* 62. 2).[166] The Samian cleruchy had nine archons, five generals (*IG* XII 6. 1 252?), *grammateis* of the *demos* and of the *boule*, an *epi tois nomois*, a *kerux*, an *antigrapheus*, and a *boule* of 250 (*IG* XII 6. 1 262; note also 261. 5 and 264. 4–5, for example). Otherwise, archons are poorly attested, although an archon presided over each community. Generals were despatched to cleruchies depending on the military situation (for example: Demosthenes 18. 118; *IG* II^2 1628. 17–18; 1628. 109–110; 1672. 277). A restoration seems to vouch for *kleroucharchontes*, who might be officials chosen to lead a cleruchic detachment, archons over a cleruchy, or (least probably) local military commanders (*IG* II^2 1609. 89). As for local officials, Cargill has recently reviewed the likelihood of *thesmothetai*, *epimeletai*, *tamiai*, *presbeis* and *gynaikonomoi*.[167] As might be expected from the 5th-century decree authorising the settlers at Brea, colonies used *presbeis* to interact with the Attic government (also *IG* II^2 118; *cf.* 114; XII 6. 1 253. 12).

Some landholdings in 4th-century cleruchies were utilised just like private property, as the record of hypothecary *horoi* indicates.[168] We gain fitful glimpses of the configuration of properties from an inscription concerning Lemnos that appears to be a register of holdings (*IG* II^2 30).[169]

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[164] Hallof 2003, who surmises that the honorand was a Samian who had remained on the island without citizenship. Hallof also notes that a newly discovered fragment of *IG* II^2 735 has the Lemnians appealing to the metropolitan government for a grant of citizenship.

[165] See Cargill 1995, 181–5 with Accame 1941–43. Parker 1994 surveys Attic colonial religion.

[166] I except the archon for Salamis (*Athenaion Politeia* 54. 8; 62. 2), not classifying the island as colony or cleruchy (*cf.* the demarch of the Piraieus). The archon received a salary; colonial officials only maintenance. See Cargill 1995, 138–52. The *oikistai* attached to cleruchic expeditions (*IG* II^2 1613. 297–298) were extraordinary appointments; the term implies nothing about recolonisation (*pace* Cargill 1995, 140). *Cf.* the *apoikistai* restored in *IG* I^3 46. 8–9.

[167] Cargill 1995, 152–7.

[168] Cargill 1995, 187–92.

[169] Stroud 1971, 171–3; Cargill 1995, 192–4.

It is best understood as a regularisation for disparate categories of persons, perhaps residents who had never left and returning émigrés, resuming residency and exercise of property rights. One clause seems to contain a restriction on the ability of a property-holder to lease (31 in Stroud's lineation); another makes a tantalising reference to persons on Salamis (34). An important inscription organises grain taxes, levied on Lemnos (*SEG* 36. 146). There was a requirement in the 4th century similar to that prevailing in 5th-century colonies, where certain revenues, in this instance, levied in kind, were reserved to the advantage of the central government. The value of cleruchic property was enhanced by exemption, at least for the calculation of the liability for the trierarchic symmories (Demosthenes 14. 16), although exemption from the *eisphora* is less likely.[170]

Ramifications of 4th-century Recolonisation

Recolonisation channeled resources to citizens through political mediation, enhancing the welfare of individual Athenians. The assets of the colonies represented a large pool of resources to a significantly poorer 4th-century Athens. Not only can the allure of distribution of *kleroi* be read in the Isocratean reaction, but reactive Atthidography has also affected the interpretation of Periclean colonisation (Plutarch *Pericles* 9.1; 11.6). It would be an error, however, to attribute to mere selfishness the drive to recover earlier possessions. Some claims constituted compensation for the harms inflicted on Athens by its enemies during the Peloponnesian War. In cases such as Aegina and Samos, a 'legitimate' *demos* had fused with the Athenians and had suffered for its loyalty at the hands of the enemies of democracy. Insofar as Attic hegemony was a guarantor in Athenian eyes of Greek autonomy, Athenian overseas holdings afforded protection to all Greeks (*cf.* Isocrates 4. 107). Once, however, an irredentist policy went beyond the occupation of Lemnos, Imbros and Scyros, which most Greeks were prepared to concede, its impact on Attic foreign policy was largely negative. It alienated the main commercial allies of Athens. Here let me state the case succinctly.[171]

1) The scale of earlier holdings made it hard for the allies to identify potential targets of recolonisation, especially in light of the wider mytho-

[170] Salomon 1995.

[171] See Figueira 1991, 241–50. *Cf.* Cargill 1995, 20 with n. 10.

logical conceptualisation of colonial status. An escalation of Attic claims could be feared. Recolonisation perpetually threatened the redefinition of autonomy, whose concession made Attic hegemony acceptable to 4th-century allies (for example *GHI* 123. 19–25). If colonial ideology urged a policy in which Samos, with its proud cultural/political heritage, was treated like a Lemnos, allied observers were unlikely to be impressed with Attic stewardship of their foreign affairs. A Samos could not be expected to settle into that rôle. Such a conclusion would be strengthened if the Attic claims to Amphipolis and the Chersonese were justified through an aggressive interpretation of territorial protective clauses of Panhellenic treaties, and not explicit concession.[172]

2) Attic alliance was potentially open to all Greeks not ruled by the Persians (*GHI* 123. 15–19). Athens, however, applied a different regimen to states like Poteidaea and Samos after they were secured militarily. Rather than making an alliance that would have restricted freedom of action regarding cleruchs, Athens initiated a policy of coercion and diplomacy until a request to send cleruchs was received from a pro-Athenian régime. On Samos friction between the Athenians or pro-Athenians and other Samians led to expulsions. One contingent of cleruchs to the Chersonese followed an *andrapodismos* at Sestus. That sequence reenacts for the Greek consciousness the nightmare scenario of Attic colonisation during the Peloponnesian War.

3) Recolonisation distracted Athens from policy goals the allies shared, like autonomy, immunity from Persia, maritime safety and economic integration. While Athens may be excused revanchism against an Aegina, ever ready to help its enemies, efforts to retake Amphipolis were costly (even if the 1500 talents are discounted). A much weaker military apparatus was more dependent on blockades, interdictions and raids (often conducted by mercenary forces), a strategy raising collateral costs to the allies to an extent the amphibious expeditions of Cimon and Pericles did not. If the actions of Timotheus at Poteidaea were typical, Athenians used *syntaxeis* for such operations indiscriminately. Nothing set apart expeditions to recover a colony from other campaigns except disposition of the territory taken. Isocrates' praise of Timotheus confirms converse abuses, such as extorting the allies, from which he refrained (15. 108). Others must have indulged, or the praise would have fallen entirely flat. And arrears in *syntaxeis* could be

[172] Jehne 1992.

cited as grounds for interdiction of the shipping of the delinquent city (Isocrates 8. 36).

Even if one discounts these appreciations, the actions of Aegean maritime states show the disenchantment felt over recolonisation.[173] Mausolos, the eventual promoter of rebellion of the major maritime allies, may seem an unlikely champion of autonomy, but was accepted *faute de mieux*. An earlier naval foray of Epaminondas exacerbated disaffection at Chios, Rhodes and Byzantium (364 B.C.), creating instability, ripe for the next opportunist (Diodorus 15. 78. 4–15. 79. 2; Isocrates 5. 53; *cf.* [Demosthenes] 50. 6; Plutarch *Philopoemen* 14. 1–2; *GHI* 160. 10).[174] As cause of the Social War, Demosthenes states that the Chians, Byzantines and Rhodians accused Athens of plots against them (15. 3). Begrudging the Athenians recovery of their property, the Rhodians lost their freedom (15. 15). During the ensuing Social War,[175] Isocrates warned in *De Pace* (356 B.C.) against a policy based on recovering overseas holdings (8. 6, 92), as it had gravely damaged Attic prosperity and standing. The *Hypothesis* to the same oration speaks of the genesis of the war in an attempt by Chares to enslave an autonomous city (Amphipolis) that was combined with intrigues against the Chians, Rhodians and other allies. That summary is probably a garbled reflexion of Athenian mishandling of collateral damage.

During the conflict (from 357/6 B.C.), the rebels not only ravaged loyal communities like Lemnos and Imbros (Diodorus 16. 21. 2), but also attacked Samos and acted to subvert Attic control of the island (Diodorus 16. 21. 2). It is indeed possible that they received help from dissident Samians, who may have achieved control over a part of the countryside (Nepos *Timotheus* 3. 1; *cf.* Frontinus *Strategemata* 1. 4. 14; Polyaenus *Strategemata* 3. 9. 36).[176] Such collaboration may have occasioned an expulsion of Samians and a later dispatch of more cleruchs, possibly in 352/1 B.C. (Craterus *FGrHist* 342 F21. *cf.* Douris *FGrHist*

[173] Cawkwell 1981, 51–5; Hornblower 1982, 183–218.

[174] For the new Cnidian proxeny decree: Blümel 1994 with Buckler 1998. Cawkwell 1981, 52–4 links the attempts to recover Amphipolis with the upwelling of allied dissatisfaction, whose very first token is the Mytilenean embassy in 368 (*GHI* 131. 41–42).

[175] Diodorus 16. 7. 3; 16. 21–22. 2; Demosthenes 18. 234; *Schol.* Demosthenes 3. 28, 132b Dilts; also Dionysius of Halicarnassus *De Lysia* 12; Stephanus of Byzantium *s.v.* Embaton. Most evidence involves Attic commanders: Demosthenes 20. 81; Isocrates 8. 129; Polyaenus *Strategemata* 3. 9. 29; Dinarchus 1. 14; Nepos *Timotheus.* 3. 1–5; *Iphicrates* 3. 3; *Chabrias* 4. 1–3.

[176] Shipley 1987, 155–7.

76 F96; Philochorus *FGrHist* 328 F154). The war ended (355/4 B.C.) with Athenian recognition of the autonomy of the combatants (*Schol.* Demosthenes 3. 28; 3. 132b Dilts). Recolonisation was implicated in retrospective assessment: Aeschines links the war over Amphipolis with the loss of 75 cities (*i.e.* the result of the Social War: 2. 70).

One may happily opine that the Chians, Rhodians and Byzantines were foolish or misled: whatever their grievances, Attic hegemony was still the best option for autonomy and prosperity of the allies (*cf.* Demosthenes 15. 18). Nonetheless, Athens has to be judged on the *results* of its balancing act between collaboration with its maritime allies and hegemony over a far-flung network of colonial possessions. The exhaustion and relative isolation of the Athenians in the aftermath of the defeat in the Social War was the true cost of their failure.

Non-Athenian Colonisation in Greece, 480–323 B.C.

Colonial activities conducted by authorities other than Athens constitute a much less well-attested and more diffuse phenomenon. Human beings were an important political resource to be manipulated by the Classical *polis*. If people could be emplaced where they could exploit additional resources, more economic and military power flowed to the directing authority. This function transcended mere territorial annexation, since reorganisation often evoked personal adherence to a particular understanding of a just polity. The emergence from early aristocratic colonisation to more individually motivated 'patronal' colonisation persistently influenced colonisation outside the homeland, because the subsequent stage of populist colonisation rarely emerged. With its dynastic aggrandisement, colonisation by tyrants kept affinities to Archaic colonisation. Moreover, some demographic manipulations by non-Greek rulers may not fall under the rubric of colonisation, but are analogous to tyrannical or patronal colonisation.

Had one less evidence for the *arche*, some hegemonic reinforcements (for example Sinope) or reorganisations (for example Notion) would have been missed as *colonial* activity. Without Thucydides, Attic *epoikoi* would have been liable to misconstrual. But for the remains of Atthidography and inscriptions, classification of cleruchies as colonisation might seem doubtful, since cleruchies were not new *poleis*. Which movements of population and reorganisations to include under the rubric 'colonisation' could be ideologically determined. One particularly

strategic resettlement in the mid-450s B.C. involved Messenian refugees at Naupactus.[177] The Messenians consolidated with the local Locrians rather as in a recolonisation. The Athenians refrained from applying colonial terminology to Naupactus, because they treated it as a refuge for the legitimate Messenian state. It will be necessary below to follow semantic usage in our evidence, albeit that the spotty incidence of testimonia will cause under-reported colonisation.

Any demarcation between colonisation and decolonisation can cloak the affinity between historical processes.[178] Greek leaders habitually viewed various transfers and reorganisations as colonisation. When non-Greek states absorbed *poleis*, they expelled residents, changed their status, brought in new settlers, or introduced a new component to the political class. In the case of the Carthaginians, politically sophisticated and capable of conceptualising in Greek categories, what is arguably 'decolonisation' is represented with a colonial terminology. Where assimilation of Greek institutions was less self-aware, reorganisation lacks a 'colonial' terminological gloss. The actions of Philip II are particularly enigmatic in this light. Although he doubtless settled/resettled large numbers on his new holdings, little is said in surviving Greek accounts of Philip as an *oikist* or *ktistes, i.e.* a founder of colonies. In the following discussion, a geographical organisation has been adopted for ease in presentation, moving outward from the homeland and the Aegean basin.

Homeland Greece

A brief mention is owed to the important east Locrian law concerning a dispatch of *epoikoi* to Naupactus (*ML* 20 for full bibliography). Its date is disputed; 500–475 B.C. is most widely accepted, which at its lower end would just qualify for our period, but *ca.* 460 B.C. has its supporters, who connect it with the Attic seizure of the site.[179] Regulations involve naturalisation, repatriation, taxation, metropolitan legal rights, succession and relations with Opuntian Locris.[180]

After 479 B.C., Corinth pursued a forceful policy of hegemony in north-west Greece. Military pressure and economic influence sup-

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[177] Figueira 1991, 199–200.
[178] *Cf.* Asheri 1996, 90–6.
[179] Summarised in Badian 1993, 163–9.
[180] Graham 1983, 44–60; Figueira 1991, 22–4; Prandi 1994.

ported a campaign for deference and obedience from their Archaic colonies. These *poleis* were established by the Bacchiad oligarchy or by the Cypselid tyrants. Some controversial sites had been colonised in co-operation with Corcyra. Hence colonisation undertaken by Corinth in 435 B.C. and thereafter was intended to solidify a *colonial* hegemony with roots in the main movement of Archaic colonisation. The plight of Epidamnus in 435 provided an opportunity to Corinth to embarrass its recalcitrant former colonists on Corcyra, who were impediments to their regional hegemony (Thucydides 1. 24. 5–7). Responding to an appeal of Epidamnus, Corinth resolved to strengthen the city by recolonising with volunteers aided by garrison troops from Corinth and its satellites, Leucas and Ambracia (1. 25. 1–1. 26. 2).[181] The arrival of these reinforcements by land via Apollonia led to a vigorous Corcyrean response, culminating in a siege of Epidamnus when garrison and colonists were not withdrawn (1. 26. 3–5). Corinth next proclaimed a colony for Epidamnus, offering equal terms to anyone willing to participate, τὸν βουλόμενον (Thucydides 1. 27. 1).[182] Hence they followed two essential conditions of contemporary Attic colonisation: the equality of the allotments offered each colonist and the process of self-selection from a wide pool of volunteers (all allies and colonists of Corinth or even all Greeks).

Corinth intended to break the siege and strengthen the city with an infusion of manpower, rendering it less vulnerable to another siege or harassment by oligarchic exiles, supported by the neighbouring Illyrians. Clearly, they hoped to settle many capable fighters. Their fleet would carry 3,000 hoplites, some of whom would enlist as settlers (1. 27. 2). Eager to increase the eventual number of settlers, they gave those unwilling to sail at once a chance to reserve a place in the colony on paying 50 drachmas (1. 27. 1–2). As many accepted both options, many of the 2,000 hoplites who actually sailed (Thucydides 1. 29. 1) were perhaps colonists, and the expedition was subsidised (to an extent) by those intending to colonise subsequently. If this 2,000 or the previous 3,000 is not emended, it may be that the Corinthians had failed to raise

[181] Graham 1983, 147–53; Salmon 1984, 270–92; Wilson 1987, 25–33.

[182] *HCT* 1. 161–162: 'imply a grand new foundation, with everybody starting equal, it being hoped that there would be enough land (from that confiscated from the *barbaroi* allied with the oligarchs) to put the fresh colonists on an equality with the older inhabitants.' Such confiscations would doubtless have been a source of the allotments, but nothing suggests a redistribution of the property of the Epidamnian *demos*. See also Graham 1983, 59; Hornblower 1991, 71–2.

the hoped-for number of colonists, or, at least, enough willing to go on a potentially dangerous campaign to defend Epidamnus.[183]

Corcyra energetically opposed the Corinthian intervention, initially trying diplomacy to achieve a withdrawal of troops and cancellation of the colony (Thucydides 1. 28. 1). They were prepared to use force to stop Corinth, and the ensuing battle at Leukimne was a resounding victory (1. 29. 4–5). On the same day Epidamnus came to terms, including a surrender of the Corinthians (1. 29. 5). The Corcyreans later executed non-Corinthian prisoners, who presumably included any settlers serving on ships of the failed colonial expedition (1. 30. 1). Although Corinth soon turned to strenuous efforts to bring Corcyra to heel (1. 31. 1–2; 1. 45–46. 2), another attempt to colonise Epidamnus was not contemplated. In 433 B.C., when the Athenians deprived Corinth of exploitation of its victory over Corcyra at Sybota, the retreating Corinthians seized by treachery Anaktorion, a joint foundation with Corcyra, and established Corinthian settlers there (Thucydides 1. 55. 1). Anaktorion, however, was poor compensation for failing to resettle Epidamnus. It fell in 425 B.C. to the Athenians and Acarnanians, who inserted Acarnanian settlers (Thucydides 4. 49; *cf.* [Skymnos] 460–461].

A similar pattern of resettlement occurred at Amphilochian Argos, which cannot be dated (450s?, 437 B.C.?) save its preceding an allusion in Thucydides' account of a campaign in 430 B.C. (2. 68. 1–7).[184] The Ambraciots cohabiting with Hellenised Amphilochians expelled them from Argos. The Argives submitted themselves to the Acarnanians, who called in Phormion and an Attic squadron that subjected Argos to an *andrapodismos*. The Amphilochians and Acarnanians then resettled Argos.

Heracleia, founded in 426 B.C., was the significant Spartan colonial venture during the Peloponnesian War (Thucydides 3. 92. 1–4).[185] The Trachinioi in Malis had suffered badly against the inhabitants of Mt Oita, and consequently sent embassies to Sparta and Athens for

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[183] See *HCT* 1. 163–164. The discrepancy is ancient, noted by *Schol.* Thucydides 1. 29. 1. The emendation πεντακισχιλίοις is attractive, though perhaps problematic for the total of triremes, and would offer an expedition primarily Corinthian (3,000 hoplites), with 2,000 allies and colonists serving as hoplites. See also Hornblower 1991, 73.

[184] Hornblower 1991, 351–2; Schoch 1997, 35–7. Note the Athenian occupation of Alyzia (Thucydides 7. 31. 2 with Schoch 1997, 31–2).

[185] See *HCT* 2. 394–399; Béquignon 1937, 344–55; Andrewes 1978b, 95–9; Kagan 1974, 195–7, 208–9; Hornblower 1991, 501–8; Falkner 1999. See also Andrewes 1971, 221–6.

intervention. So Sparta pre-empted an Attic chance to strengthen their position in central Greece or even to threaten western Boeotia (as a reactive Boeotian intervention there in 419–418 B.C. implies). Sparta intended too to exploit the short crossing from the Malian Gulf to northern Euboea for operations, particularly raids by *leistai* against Euboea.[186] Finally, Sparta hoped to dominate a crucial stage on the route toward the Thraceward district of the *arche* (Thucydides 3. 92. 4). Most Thessalians inclined toward Athens, but Sparta did not lack its partisans (*cf.* 4. 78. 1–3). Just as Athens was unable to deny Spartan access to Thessaly, so the Peloponnesians failed to achieve unchallenged ability to operate across Thessaly against Thrace. Heracleia also shielded Spartan allies against Thessalian counteraction. Notably, Heracleia was the jumping-off point for Brasidas in 424 (4. 78. 1). Reinforcements meant to join him were held up there in 422/1 B.C. (5. 12. 1–2).[187]

Sparta consulted Delphi, which unsurprisingly, given its pro-Peloponnesian tilt during the Archidamian War, consented (3. 92. 5). Three Spartan *oikists*, Leon, Alkidas (the navarch of 428/7) and Damagon, were perhaps chosen as representatives of the Dorian tribes. Dorian conquest myth was used to promote the project. For Thucydides, 'Dorians' of Doris joined the Trachinian appeal. Heracles' sojourn in Trachis prompted the naming of the city (Diodorus 12. 59. 3–4). Myths touching on Heracles' status during his stay in Trachis and relations with neighbouring peoples were subject to a subtle, fluid play of submerged polemics about the status of various Heracleiot groups.[188] Different versions served claims of priority for Laconian settlers by right of heroic conquest or portrayed the Oitaioi as Heracles' protégés, to be treated honourably. The Spartans proposed to create a 'great city' (Diodorus 12. 59. 4) with numerous settlers (Thucydides 3. 93. 2). Ephorus' account contained further detail (Diodorus 12. 59. 5; [Skymnos] 597). According to Diodorus Siculus, 4,000 Spartans/Peloponnesians joined 6,000

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[186] See Figueira 1993, 330–5 for Heracleia as base for attritional *leisteia* against the *arche*. In 431 Athens fortified Atalante in the Malian Gulf to curb raiders from Opuntian Locris, on the coast eastward from the naval facilities at Heracleia (Thucydides 2. 32; *cf.* 3. 89. 3).

[187] See Béquignon 1937, 350; Hornblower 1991, 501–2 for the hypothesis that a Malian vote in the Delphic Amphictyony (which Heracleia later exercised) also attracted the Spartans.

[188] Hermippus fr. 4–5 W; Scythinus *FGrHist* 13 F1; Macrobius 5. 21. 18; Nicandrus *FGrHist* 343 F12; Polemon fr. 56, *FHG* 3. 133. See Asheri 1975; Malkin 1994, 219–35.

other Greeks. So Heracleia matched the large Attic composite colonies of 10,000 settlers.[189] The Spartans fortified a virgin or (at least) unfortified site 7–8 km from Thermopylae and 3.5–4 km inland (Thucydides 3. 92. 6). They prepared a coastal facility and fortified the narrows of Thermopylae. The foundation spared few expenses or exertions, very much the 'fair city' mentioned in a fragment of Hermippus (fr. 4 W).

Colonists were drawn from Laconia, both Spartiates and *perioeci*, and from disparate volunteers (Thucydides 3. 92. 5: τὸν βουλόμενον; *cf.* Diodorus 12. 59. 5). Included in the latter were Trachinioi. Spartan sponsorship and the colony's size inspired confidence (Thucydides 3. 93. 2). A self-selection principle was operative similar to contemporary Attic colonies, where recruits were motivated not only by economic factors but also by identification with the institutions and ideology of the prospective community. Tellingly, however, Sparta barred Ionians and Achaeans (specifically of Phthiotis?) and members of other unspecified *ethne* (Thucydides 3. 92. 5). This stipulation reflected the ethnic *leitmotif* in Spartan polemics, but also had a practical rationale. Sparta was less assured of the allure of oligarchy (than Athens of democracy), owing to the disparity between its own traditions and formulations of its foreign partisans. Short of applying ethnic criteria, Sparta lacked means to exclude volunteers to whom a democratic order might be more attractive,[190] and may well have distrusted the democratic tendencies of a large disparate community. Thucydides says that τοὺς πολλοὺς were frightened off by Spartan officials (*cf.* Diodorus 14. 38. 4). Later dissension at Heracleia may be coupled with traces of controversy over its structure and lineage submerged in mythological treatments. The unfolding dispute over a paradigm for Heracleiot institutions was keenly watched in Athens: Hermippus fr. 5 W refers to Helotage and Laconism (even if distorted by the prism of invective).

Although Athens was frightened by Heracleia (Thucydides 3. 93. 1), this anxiety was excessive, because the Thessalians, equally disturbed, subjected it to unremitting attrition (3. 93. 2). This led to Heracleia being dependent on direct Spartan military assistance, but Spartan officers handled affairs ineptly, as well as engendering fear, resulting in *stasis* and consequent *oliganthropia* (3. 93. 2). Heracleia experienced a

[189] The 10,000 settlers was conventional, not only ideologically, but also pragmatically. Such a population distinguished major *poleis*, affording a large hoplite force. *Cf.* Schaefer 1961.

[190] *Cf.* Bockisch 1967.

series of oscillations in its viability and adherence to Sparta. On only one occasion in 426 B.C. did the Heracleiots actually participate in a Peloponnesian campaign (3. 100. 2). Thucydides charts a decline after Brasidas used the colony as base in 424 B.C. (4. 78. 1). Mishaps included a diversion of Spartan troops to its aid in 422/1 B.C. (5. 12. 1–2), a massive attack in 420/19 B.C. by a coalition of neighbours leading to a catastrophic defeat (5. 51. 1–2; *cf.* Diodorus 12. 77. 4), and a Boeotian precautionary occupation (5. 52. 1; Diodorus 12. 77. 4). A second period as a Spartan ally was marked by extreme strife between various elements of the community (Thucydides 8. 3. 1; Xenophon *Hellenica* 1. 2. 18; Diodorus 14. 38. 4–5; 14. 82. 7; Polyaenus *Strategemata* 2. 21).

Just as for Heracleia, Sparta was ready to employ ethnic affiliation in Greek politics. Spartan policy, however, was less dynamic than Athenian so that precedents from heroic colonisation never had a degree of articulation comparable to the status of Athens as *metropolis* of Ionia (and eventually of all its allies). A group of Aegean and Cretan *poleis*, where Doric was spoken, claimed Spartan origin (Thera, Cnidus, Cythera, Gortyn, Lyktos and Polyrrhenia).[191] The single 5th-century claim of most interest is Melos (Herodotus 8. 48; *cf.* Diodorus 12. 65. 2).[192] Notable is the effect of the supposed colonisation on negotiations in 416 B.C. during the final Attic campaign against Melos. Athens believed this affinity encouraged resistance; the Melians expected the link to motivate Sparta to intervene (Thucydides 5. 84. 2; 5. 106; 5. 112. 2; *cf.* Xenophon *Hellenica* 2. 2. 3).[193] Earlier in the century, such colonial relationships might have been exploited by Sparta to retard Attic influence among the Dorian islanders. Thucydides was sensitive to the ironies of actual alignments as contrasted to rhetoric about colonial affinities. He emphasises the status of the Cytherans as Spartan colonists at a point of great incongruity—in Attic company at the crucial engagement at Syracuse (Thucydides 7. 57. 6; *cf.* 4. 53. 1–4. 54. 4).

Colonial Aspirations in Asia Minor

Various plans to colonise in Asia Minor during the Classical period provide the background to the Asian foundations by Alexander and the

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191 Malkin 1994, 67–83.

192 Brillante 1983.

193 *Cf.* Malkin 1994, 80 for Lyktos, Archidamus II and Knossos in 343 (Diodorus 16. 62. 3–16. 63. 1).

Diadochi.[194] Earlier aspirations established that placement of *poleis* on Persian territory could be an important tool in sustaining a hierarchy headed by a Graeco-Macedonian political, bureaucratic and military caste. The speculation over Asian settlement demonstrates awareness that companies of mercenaries constituted a large reservoir of displaced manpower for colonisation. Although Sicily was the first area in which conversion of mercenaries into colonists was exploited, nothing impeded similar designs elsewhere, as Philip II was also to realise.

At the start of the campaign of Cyrus the Younger, the possibility of acquiring land for his Greek followers was probably aired (Plutarch *Artaxerxes* 6. 3; *cf.* Xenophon *Anabasis* 1. 7. 4, 7). Awards of land in Asia did not indeed entail 'colonisation', for the king had always assigned land to his Greek agents (grants sometimes as sizable as the towns given Themistocles). After the defeat of Cyrus at Cunaxa, the possibility was still open that his mercenaries would seize a position controling an appreciable agricultural territory.[195] One instance involved the 'island' formed by the Tigris and a large irrigation canal (Xenophon *Anabasis* 2. 4. 21–22). As Xenophon encouraged after their leaders' murder, the mercenaries could occupy a tract or use that threat to get the Persians to aid them in a march homeward (*Anabasis* 3. 2. 23–26). Xenophon was just the first to suggest a lesson if the Ten Thousand escaped, when he noted at the beginning of their march that one motivation to return home was to demonstrate the possibilities for settlement in Asia (*Anabasis* 3. 2. 26).

After the fugitives reached the coast, Xenophon himself was attracted to the idea of colonising along the south shore of the Euxine Pontus (*Anabasis*. 5. 6. 15–21). He judged that a strong force would be able to co-operate with the local Greeks to colonise a native site. In pursuit of favourable sacrificial results, Xenophon confided in the seer Silanos, who sabotaged the project. The majority of the soldiers wanted to go home, and Sinope and Heracleia Pontica (afraid of a rival *polis*) supported a departure from the Black Sea. Xenophon's opponents suggested alternative prospects for profit in the Troad, Hellespontine Phrygia and the Chersonese (*Anabasis* 5. 6. 22–26). Significantly, Thorax suggested a chance not only of wages but land in the Chersonese. Faced with such resistance, Xenophon downplayed his colonial project, presenting it as

[194] van Soesbergen 1982–83.
[195] Dalby 1992.

an option only where a means homeward was not available (means soon provided by Heracleiot and Sinopean ships: Xenophon *Anabasis* 5. 6. 28–33). Xenophon next had to defend against a charge of authoring a plan to occupy the Phasis river valley in Colchis, really hatched by his adversaries when they could not provide the promised money from Heracleia and Sinope (*Anabasis* 5. 6. 35–6. 7. 12).

Having passed Sinope and Heracleia, the mercenaries reached an anchorage called Calpe, halfway between Heracleia and Byzantium, the access to a fertile district (*Anabasis* 6. 4. 1–6; *cf.* 6. 2. 3). The soldiers, determined to sail homeward, were suspicious that stopping was the start of a plan to colonise, and, accordingly, refused to camp (6. 4. 7). When sacrifices for sailing were inauspicious, Xenophon was suspected of manipulating the rites to promote a foundation (6. 4. 12–14). Nonetheless, this location had strong prospects for success. The camp was soon visited by ships, whose masters had heard a city was being founded (6. 6. 3). Local powers sought the friendship of Xenophon and his men, believing that they could be benefactors and allies of the new foundation (6. 6. 4).[196]

Isocrates for one read the implications in the *Anabasis* (4. 145–149). His *Panegyricus* (*ca.* 380 B.C.) proposes as a goal for Attic policy joining with Sparta in a crusade against Persia. Asian spoils rendered the current disputes of the two powers meaningless (4. 132–137). The plight of dislocated and impoverished persons could only be eased through conquests from Persia (4. 168, 173–174, 187; *cf.* 4. 184, 186). A paradigm for prospective Asian colonisation was the earlier colonial movement to the islands and Ionia that he viewed as benevolent Panhellenism (4. 34–37, 99, 122). He even praised colonisation in the *arche*, with an *apologia* for the treatment of Melos and Scione as needed discipline (4. 100–102). He offered his audience a co-hegemonal version of 5th-century colonisation at Persian expense. In his *Philippos* of 346 B.C., he was preoccupied by the experiences of Cyrus' mercenaries as lessons for an anti-Persian war (5. 90–105). He presses on Philip a design for taking territory in Asia Minor and establishing *poleis*, using

[196] Note also Seuthes' offers to Xenophon of various coastal strongholds, if Xenophon would bring a force into his service (*Anabasis* 7. 2. 25, 35–36 [offers to others]; 7. 3. 19; 7. 5. 8; 7. 6. 42–44; 7. 7. 50). The Greeks would have become recolonisers. Compare the forts of Alcibiades in the region (Xenophon *Hellenica* 1. 5. 17, 2. 1. 25; Plutarch *Alcibiades* 36. 3–5; Nepos *Alcibiades*. 7. 4–5; *cf.* Diodorus 13. 74. 2).

displaced Greeks as colonists, a refocus of Philip's strategy in Thrace (5. 89, 120–122; *cf.* 5. 9, 83, 86, 125).

A handful of cases of resettlement may be noted, including an undated *sympoliteia* of Milesians at Scepsis in the Troad (Strabo 13. 1. 52). More notable was the reception of the Delians, uprooted by the Athenians in 422/1 at Adramyttion in Mysia that was managed by the satrap of Phrygia, Pharnaces (Thucydides 5. 1; 5. 32. 1; 8. 108. 4; Diodorus 12. 73. 1). Strabo's description of Adramyttion as an Attic colony might imply Athenian compliance with the plan (13. 1. 51). At Leuce in northern Ionia, Takhos, the successor of the rebel Persian admiral Glos, established a coastal base that appears to have included Greek settlers, for, after his death, its ownership was contested by Cumae and Clazomenae (Diodorus 15. 18. 1–4). Clazomenae prevailed by founding a subordinate settlement to fulfill a condition set by Delphi. We may close by noting, but also excluding, various attested or surmised relocations of cities in Asia Minor as representing a different category of reorganisation from colonisation (for example synoecism), although there is an undeniable kinship between the two processes.

Colonisation in the Northern Aegean and Thrace

Philip II's colonial efforts are among the most poorly attested aspects of his career.[197] The affinities of his policies are readily apparent: he stands in succession and emulation of the 5th-century Athenians rather as Ducetius stands *vis-à-vis* the earlier Sicilian tyrants. A few notable foundations are recognisable, mostly through their nomenclature. However, the greatest impact from Philip's 'colonisation' was through assignment of properties within pre-existing communities, assimilation of mercenaries, relocation of Macedonian villagers, and recruitment or coercion of groups for settling on his territories. Some of the obscurity cloaking his efforts extends to the appropriate legal conditions or terminology. Philip may have adapted the term *cleruchos* to denote settlers provided estates in order to undertake military service.[198] His colonisation links the Attic *cleruchoi* and the Ptolemaic *cleruchoi*.

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[197] Hammond 1995.

[198] Figueira 1991, 48 (n. 18) treats *SIG*³ 332 in which Cassander reconfirms a grant of Philip.

The effect of *stasis* between democrats and oligarchs or Atticisers and Laconisers within *poleis* generated a population of displaced persons. The Athenians were first to recruit displaced sympathisers in large composite colonies like Thurii. In the 4th century, when inherited partisanship and decline in communal loyalty eroded the ideological coherence of factions, exploitation of the displaced for colonies by a founder such as Philip, without an ideological programme, became feasible as pure personal patronage. We depend on a single rhetorical passage in Justinus' *Epitome* for understanding the final impact of Philip's colonial activities, a treatment placed after the punishment of the Phocians in 346–343 B.C. (8. 5. 7–8. 6. 2).[199] Justinus describes transplantation of people to the frontiers of the kingdom and augmentations of the citizens of unnamed cities, with the goal of knitting the disparate demographic elements under Philip's control into a single, Macedonian people. Understanding this process is complicated by its entanglement with other modes of urbanisation and by gauging the nature of Macedonian *polis* life.[200]

Philip's policy included concentration of Paionians and Illyrians into fortified towns away from the mountains and onto the montane plains of Upper Macedonia,[201] as the recriminations of Alexander to the mutineers at Opis imply (Arrian *Anabasis* 7. 9. 2–3).[202] Demosthenes too speaks of Philip founding towns in Illyria (*cf.* Demosthenes 4. 48). A chance notice from Polyaenus details such an initiative, a removal of 10,000 Illyrian Sarmisioi or Sarnousioi to Macedonia (*Strategemata* 4. 2. 12; *cf.* Stephanus of Byzantium *s.v.* Sarnous). Justinus tells of Philip bringing 20,000 women and children from Scythia in 339/8 B.C. (9. 2. 14–16). Some settlements belonging to consolidation of the western frontier can be noted specifically. Heracleia Lynkestis may date from a frontier colonisation in *ca.* 352 B.C., as its name suggests foundation by a Macedonian king.[203] Hammond would place Kellion and Melitousa

[199] In abbreviation Justinus enacts the *topos* of the dying city, rather like Livy's description of the end of Alba Longa (1. 29. 1–6). In general, see Ellis 1969; Hammond and Griffith 1979, 558–9; Hatzopoulos 1996, 70–1, 191–208, who adduces archaeological, epigraphic and onomastic evidence for land grants to Macedonian 'colonists'.

[200] Hatzopoulos 2003.

[201] Hammond and Griffith 1979, 654–6.

[202] Ellis 1969, 14–5.

[203] Stephanus of Byzantium *s.v.* Heracleia; *cf.* Demosthenes 4. 48; Diodorus 16. 8. 1, but Stephanus would need to be emended (Hammond and Griffith 1979, 660–1; Hammond 1994, 27, 54, 210; Hatzopoulos 1996, 88, 208).

in this category.[204] A line of settlements (initially from *ca.* 346/5 B.C., but including interventions in 342) along an earlier frontier with the Thracians is not well attested, but deserves noting for possible colonies. Philippoupolis near Mt Orbelos suggests its lineage by its name (Strabo 7a. 36). Astraia and Dobera might belong in this category (Stephanus of Byzantium *s.v.* Astraia).[205] The name of Heracleia Sintica is suggestive of a royal foundation (Strabo 7a. 36).[206] The territory of the Thracian Sintians lay north of Lake Prasias. Other points mentioned by Strabo may also have been founded to guard the lands between the middle courses of the Axios and Strymon.

Some efforts at strategic colonisation are better known for the notoriety of the settlers. After his defeat of Cersobleptes, Philip founded substantial cities to overawe the Thracians. One was Philippopolis (Plovdiv) to guard the Upper Hebrus in *ca.* 342 B.C. (Pliny *NH* 4. 11. 41; Dexippus *FGrHist* 100 F27; *cf.* Stephanus of Byzantium *s.v.* Philippopolis; Ptolemy *Geographia* 3. 11. 7). The city acquired the derisive name *Poneropolis*.[207] Theopompus says Philip relocated 2,000 criminals, perjurers and sycophants from Macedonia there (*FGrHist* 115 F110; *cf.* Plutarch *Moralia* 520B). Judging from these categories, he removed from the *poleis* absorbed into Macedonia persons who were enthusiastic, if socially suspect, participants in populist politics (τοὺς συνηγόρους). He may have repeated the ploy, since Strabo notes that Cabyle in the Taxos valley received πονηροτάτοι (7. 6. 2; Stephanus of Byzantium *s.v.* Kabule; *cf.* Theopompus F83, F220; Anaximenes *FGrHist* 72 F12; Polybius 13. 10. 10; Ptolemy *Geographia* 3. 11. 7; *Suda s.v.* Kabule, Adler).[208] Cabyle is grouped with Drongilos and Masteira as Thracian strongpoints held by Philip (Demosthenes 8. 44; [Demosthenes] 10. 15). Another settlement, supposedly uniting adulterers was, aptly and lewdly called Bine, if the story is not folk etymology (*Etymologicum Magnum s.v.* Bine 197. 45–46; *cf.* Theophrastus *De Lapidibus*. 15. 4W; Procopius *De Aedificiis* 4. 4. 3). These initiatives may be compared with a notice of Diodorus Siculus under 344/3 B.C. in which Philip is recounted as having established cities in eastern Thrace for defensive purposes (16. 71. 1–2). Although it

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[204] Hammond 1994, 54, 110–1; *cf.* 1981, 212–4; Hatzopoulos 1996, 94–5.

[205] Hammond and Griffith 1979, 654–6, 661; Hammond 1994, 54, 110–1.

[206] Hammond and Griffith 1979, 559, 656–7; Hammond 1994, 210.

[207] Ellis 1976, 167–8; Cawkwell 1978, 40, 44, 107; Hammond and Griffith 1979, 557–8, 673–4; Hammond 1994, 138–9; Archibald 1998, 235–9; 2004, 894–5.

[208] Ellis 1976, 168; Cawkwell 1978, 44; Hammond and Griffith 1979, 557–8; Archibald 2004, 893–4.

stands as the first foundation of Alexander, Alexandropolis, established after his first independent campaign in 340, probably on the territory of the Maedoi, is another in the same series (Plutarch *Alexander* 9. 1; *cf.* Stephanus of Byzantium *s.v.* Alexandreiai; Theopompus *FGrHist* 115 F217). Its mixed character well illustrates Philip's precedent of using non-Macedonians and Greeks to fill out his holdings, just as Justinus noted. At the start of his reign, Alexander awarded lands among the Bottiaians to Macedonians (*SEG* 36. 626).[209]

Athens once dominated demographic initiatives on the northern Aegean littoral in the settlements of the *arche* and during recolonisation in the 4th century. Rivalries with Macedonia and with the Odrysians complicated the interplay of relations with earlier foundations in the region. A rare initiative by another *polis* was a Thasian establishment in 360/59 B.C. in the district of Mt Pangaion, at Crenides (Diodorus 16. 3. 7) and/or at Daton ([Skylax] 67; Harpocration *s.v.* Daton [Ephorus *FGrHist* 70 F37; Theopompus *FGrHist* 115 F43; Philochorus *FGrHist* 328 F44]; *cf.* Strabo 7. 36; *IG* IV.I^2 94. 32). The specification and relationship of Crenides and Daton is uncertain (*cf.* Appian *Bellum Civile* 4. 13. 105).[210] The project was aided by the exiled Attic statesman Callistratus ([Skylax] 67; Isocrates 8. 24; Zenobius 4. 34, *CPG* 1. 94). The colonists, exploiting Pangaion's mineral resources, soon minted coins (Strabo 7. 36; *cf.* Appian *Bellum Civile* 4. 13. 106).[211] Crenides was threatened by a Thracian king (Cetriporis or Cersobleptes). When Thasos and Athens were slow to respond in 356/5 B.C. (*cf. GHI* 157. 46), Philip intervened, securing a future for Daton/Crenides under its second, more famous name, Philippi (Harpocration *s.v.* Daton; Artemidorus fr. 15, *GGM* 1.576; Diodorus 16. 3. 7; 16. 8. 6–7; Strabo 7. 34, 41–42; Stephanus of Byzantium. *s.v.* Philippoi; Theophrastus. *De Causis Plantarum* 5. 14. 5).[212] Philip would later derive 1,000 talents from its mines (Diodorus 16. 8. 6). The Thasian colony, Oesyme in eastern Pieria, was also settled by the

[209] Hammond 1988; 1994, 38; *cf.* Hammond and Griffith 1979, 193–4.
[210] Hammond and Griffith 1979, 187–8; Loukopoulou 2004, 859–62, 865–6.
[211] Bellinger 1964.
[212] See Ellis 1976, 68–70; Cawkwell 1978, 43–5; Hammond and Griffith 1979, 246–50; Hammond 1994, 35, 39–40. An inscription (*SEG* 34, 664: *ca.* 335) illustrates the jurisdiction of Philip and Alexander over settlement and land holdings at Philippi. See Vatin 1984; Hammond 1988.

Macedonians, and given the name of Emathia ([Skymnos] 656–658; Stephanus of Byzantium *s.v.* Oisume; *cf.* Strabo 7. 35).[213]

There remains a short list of further possibilities for refoundations by Philip. After Stephanus of Byzantium describes resettlement of Crenides/Philippi, he notes the renaming of two Thessalian towns as Philippi, Gomphi in Hestiaeotis and Thebes in Phthiotis (*s.v.* Philippoi; Livy 39. 25. 3).[214] At Gomphi the connexion with Philip was honoured in coinage *ca.* 300 B.C. In all likelihood, it was occupied shortly after the accession of Crenides. On the Macedonian border, territory in Perrhaibia may have been annexed to Elimiotis. Hammond believes that Pythion was a foundation of Philip there in the period *ca.* 350 B.C. (Stephanus of Byzantium *s.v.* Balla; Theagenes *FGrHist* 774 F3).[215]

The Black Sea

The division of modern power blocs plagued dissemination of the results of archaeology of the Euxine Pontus, with valuable works often published in languages in which Western ancient historians were seldom proficient. The political watershed of the 1990s has seen an exponential increase both in contacts with colleagues working in this region and in scholarship in Western languages. We shall proceed expeditiously through the region in a clockwise direction. Anhialos was a satellite foundation of Apollonia sometime during the Classical period (Strabo 7. 6. 1).[216] Krounoi, later Dionysopolis (in a refoundation), is said to be Milesian, probably dating from the 4th century ([Skymnos] 751–757; [Arrian] *Periplous* 78–79; Stephanus of Byzantium *s.v.* Dionisou polis; Strabo 7. 6. 1; Pliny *NH* 4. 11. 44). Dating Callatis, a Heracleiot colony south of Istria on the western shore of the Pontus, depends on which king of Macedonia named Amyntas—giving possible dates of *ca.* 550 or 394/3 B.C.—was beginning to rule when the city was established ([Skymnos] 761–762; *cf.* Memnon *FGrHist* 434 F13; Strabo 7. 6. 1). The matter has now been settled in favour of the later date by archaeological evidence.[217] Chersonesus Taurica seems to have been founded by the

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213 Hammond and Griffith 1979, 362–4; Hammond 1994, 35, 38, 111; Hatzopoulos 1996, 186–7.

214 Hammond and Griffith 1979, 286–7, 363–4, 539–40.

215 Hammond 1994, 53–4, 111; Hatzopoulos 1996, 108; *cf.* Hammond and Griffith 1979, 656.

216 Lazarov 1998, 89–90.

217 Graham 1994 (2001), 143; Hind 1998, 139–41.

Heracleiots and Delians in the late 5th or early 4th century (*cf.* [Skymnos] 822–830), as confirmed by finds, although there was an earlier Greek presence on Chersonesitan territory.[218] Survey archaeology and finds of artefacts demonstrate the vitality of the Spartocid kingdom and indicate that population was increasing and was accommodated by some form of expanded settlement in secondary colonisation.[219] Possibilities for the Kerch Peninsula are the subordinate settlements Cytaea, Acra and Cimmericum ([Skylax] 69; [Skymnos] 896–899; [Arrian] *Periplous* 76; *Schol.* Apollonius of Rhodes 162; Pliny *NH* 4. 12. 86; Strabo 11. 2. 8; Ptolemy *Geographia*. 3. 6. 5; Stephanus of Byzantium *s.v.* Kuta).[220] Some communities of the Taman Peninsula are possible Spartocid colonies.[221] A Gorgippus gave his name to Gorgippia (Strabo 11. 2. 10; Stephanus of Byzantium *s.v.* Gorgippeia).[222] If this is the son of Satyros and brother of Leucon (*cf.* Dinarchus *Demosthenes* 43; Polyaenus *Strategemata* 8. 55; *GHI* 171E), he may have administered the area under his father or brother. On the site of Gorgippia was formerly the Sindic *limen* an *emporion* (for example [Skymnos] 886–889; Strabo 11. 2. 14). Stratocleia may derive from Stratocles (Pliny *NH* 6. 18; *CIRB* 6).

Most commentators have not accepted an Attic colony at Nymphaeum on the south shore of the Crimea. Aeschines upbraids Demosthenes that his maternal grandfather, Gylon, had betrayed Nymphaeum to the enemies of Athens (3. 171–72). As Nymphaeum was a Spartocid possession, this would be an unusual way to refer to an acquisition by such friends (probably Spartocus specifically). After his conviction for *eisangelie*—a charge not necessarily connected with this episode—Gylon fled to the Black Sea. There he received (in what sense is unspecified) the community of Kepoi from the 'tyrants' connected with his earlier betrayal, for whom we might understand Satyrus, successor of Spartocus. Whether Pericles or any other Athenian ever reached the Crimea with a fleet is uncertain. It is not probable that any Athenian would have jeopardised the nascent co-operation with the Spartocids over Nymphaeum. Its tributary character might be noted (Craterus *FGrHist* 342 F8), but this is not an invariable sign of the absence of

[218] Saprykin 1998; Hind 1998, 141–52; Vnukov 2001, 153, 155–67; Nikolaenko 2001.
[219] Hind 1994, 492–8; Tseskhladze 1997, 60–71.
[220] See Tsetskhladze 1997, 64.
[221] Kuznetsov 2001.
[222] See Tsetskhladze 1997, 66–7.

a colony, but only of citizen participation. Rather than a colony, it is likely that Athens, either by embassy or through direct intervention, brought Nymphaeum into the Spartocid orbit with acceptable terms. Aeschines alluded tendentiously to such diplomacy, so obscure that few of his hearers could correct from their memories contentions about unnamed Spartocid kings. For his contribution to an outcome favourable to the Spartocids, Satyros was prepared to assign Gylon the enjoyment of revenues in Kepoi rather like patronage of a Persian king toward a Themistocles.

Skipping to Colchis, one can now envisage a 5th-century expansion of Greek settlement, beyond the earlier establishments at Dioskurias, Gyenos and Phasis, at Pichvnari.[223] Yet it must be emphasised that there is a continuous expansion of sites of habitation from 550 into the 4th century B.C., and in the absence of literary evidence it may be arbitrary to isolate certain 'foundations' from this process as colonisation.[224]

Colonisation in Sicily and Italy

Diodorus Siculus was engrossed by the history of his native island, and his *Universal History* drew on a rich tradition of Siceliot historiography. Hence, the history of Sicilian demographic changes is comparatively better known. The record of colonisation in Western Greece during the Classical period is one of reorganisations with transfers of inhabitants, introductions of new settlers, and recolonisations amid already existing cities.[225] Hippocrates and, especially, Gelon, tyrants of Gela, developed these tools in the arsenal of tyrannical policy during the 480s B.C. (as in Gelon's absorption of Megara Hyblaea and Euboea: Herodotus 7. 156. 2–3).[226] The Sicilian tyrants from one perspective were true heirs of Archaic aristocratic colonisers, for they sought advantage from the empowerment intrinsic to demographic manipulation (even in instances other than colonisation).[227] These hegemonic techniques were encouraged by fissures in the social order of Western *poleis* created

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[223] Braund 1994, 112–7, 139–40. *Cf.* Hind 1996, 209–11, who suggests Sinopean reinforcement of resident Greeks (*cf.* Xenophon *Anabasis* 5. 6. 36–37), even including Phasis itself.

[224] Tsetskhadze 1998a, 36–42; 1999, 100–9.

[225] Seibert 1982–83; Consolo Langher 1988–89.

[226] See Dunbabin 1948, 410–32; Consolo Langher 1988–89, 240–9; Asheri 1988, 766–75; Mafodda 1996, 71–80.

[227] Jacquemin 1993 and Vattuone 1994 survey the whole phenomenon.

by a differential derivation of various classes and deficiency/absence of their interpermeability.

To urge invasion of Sicily, Alcibiades emphasised this phenomenon to show the weakness of the Siceliots (Thucydides 6. 17. 2–3). Whether a less tendentious observer would judge the fluidity in the demography of these *poleis* as unrelievedly contributory to weakness is uncertain. The absorption of segments of population of defeated cities made available to victorious states inhabitants with varied economic strengths, who were motivated by their displacement to turn to activities other than absentee landowning. Alcibiades implied a tendency (damaging in his view) within Siciliot élites to amass monetary assets against the eventuality of a forced move (6. 17. 3). Yet this motivation may have encouraged an enterpreneurial spirit in preference to an élite concentration on leisured cultural and political activities with less aggressive asset management. Subjectively, Sicilian *poleis* seem to have often achieved notably high levels of affluence, at least when warfare and external threats were suspended.

Active manipulation of demographic components in Sicily preceded similar gambits by Athens during the *arche*, but the kinship of hegemonic techniques may be acknowledged. Both Siceliot tyrants and Athens sought to occupy strategic points and annex to their spheres sites controlling pools of resources. In doing so, they often impoverished and dispersed enemies in a punitive mode of colonisation. While Athens endeavoured to transform poorer citizens into hoplites of the *zeugitai*, the tyrants tried to reward followers, many of whom were dependable mercenaries of varied derivation, with the *kleroi* needed to support future service. Such outward relocations were matched by absorptions of the defeated designed to add economic output by concentrating manpower. In Sicily, there were benefits in sheer demographic manipulation, even where group movement did not greatly alter resource exploitation. This process in Sicily did, however, risk creation of communities with a precarious social harmony and fragile integration of disparate segments, conditions productive of future internal and external conflict.

Hieron and Theron: After the defeat of Carthage at Himera, the Deinomenid Hieron, brother and successor of Gelon at Syracuse, embarked on further transplantations in the early 470s. In 476 B.C., he removed the Naxians and Cataneans, establishing them at Leontini. At depopulated Catane, he founded Aetna with 10,000 Dorian colonists (Diodorus 11. 49. 1–2; Strabo 6. 2. 3; Pindar fr. 105a S/M; *Schol.* Pindar *Pythian*

Odes 1 inscr. b, 118a–c; *cf.* Diodorus 11. 67. 7).[228] In Diodorus Siculus these settlers were ἰδίοι οἰκήτορες, which expressed Hieron's hope that the Aetnians would retain special loyalty to his dynasty. There were 5,000 settlers from Syracuse, including native Syracusans with Megarians and Geloans earlier moved to Syracuse by Gelon (*cf. Schol.* Pindar *Pythian Odes* 1. 120b). Another 5,000 came from homeland Greece, especially the Peloponnese, although denomination as Dorians was clearly notional, for participation by Arcadians is likely (Pausanias 5. 27. 1–3; *Schol.* Pindar *Olympian Odes* 6 inscr. b).[229] This was a satellite tyranny of familiar type for which Kromios, a brother-in-law of Gelon, was local *epitropos*, acting for Deinomenes, Hieron's minor son until he came of age (Pindar *Pythian Odes* 1. 58–60b with *scholia; Schol.* Pindar *Nemean Odes* 1 inscr. a; 9 inscr. 95a = Timaeus *FGrHist* 566 F21).

Besides the practical advantages by Hieron, mobilisation of the talents of Aeschylus, Pindar and Bacchylides bespeaks an ideological programme in which Hieron's extra-constitutional authority was modulated by assuming the heroic charisma of an *oikist*. Thus he was buried with heroic honours at Aetna (Diodorus 11. 49. 2; 11. 66. 4; Strabo 6. 2. 3; *cf.* Pindar fr. 105a S/M). Deinomenes exploited Hieron's status by dedications at Olympia presented as *ex voto* from his father's victories (Pausanias. 6. 12. 1; 8. 42. 8). Hieron staged a commissioned play of Aeschylus, the *Aetnaiai* that memorialised the foundation (*TrGF* 5, fr. 6–11 Radt).[230] It may have been first performed when Deinomenes was old enough to take over at Aetna, 472–467 B.C. (Plutarch *Cimon* 8. 9; *cf. Vita Aeschyli* 8–9). Pindar's *Pythian Ode* 1 (celebrating a victory in 470 B.C.; *cf.* Bacchylides 4) marked another facet of the campaign to legitimise Deinomenid colonisation at Aetna (vv. 29–40, 58–70).[231] Bacchylides also elaborated the themes of Deinomenid glorification and celebration of Aetna (fr. 20C. 7 S/M). Thus Hieron's status as *oikist*, particularly *vis-à-vis* the ancient, revered legal traditions of Aetna, resonated thematically for the duration of his dynasty.

The viability of Aetna was affected by its setting, as it was soon damaged by an eruption of Mt Etna. One might be tempted to chalk this up

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[228] Consolo Langher 1997, 230–6. See Consolo Langher 1980, 554–6 for an absorption of Naxian territory in the same plan.

[229] For the Dorian/Laconian laws of Aetna: Pindar *Pythian Odes* 1. 61–62 with *scholia* (112, 116, 118a–c, 120a–b). Sinatra 1992, 349–50 suggests the 'Peloponnesians' were demobilised mercenaries.

[230] See Herington 1967 (testimonia on 82–5); Griffith 1978; Svarlien 1990–91.

[231] v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1901, 1278–82.

to an unforeseeable act of nature (Thucydides 3. 116. 2: in 475 B.C.?; *cf.* Pindar *Pythian Odes* 1. 15–28), except that chronography reported an earthquake shortly before its founding in 479/8 B.C. (*FGrHist* 239 A52). Accordingly, volcanic disturbance offered an opportunity for Hieron's restructuring and then blighted newly founded Aetna. Aetna could not sustain itself without Syracusan support. Deinomenes succeeded there,[232] but Aetna succumbed to the turmoil after the liberation of Syracuse and falling away of many external dependencies. Aetna was created not only to the disadvantage of the Chalcidians whom Hieron dislocated, but absorbed Sicel territory and was far more intrusive than Catane (*cf.* Diodorus 11. 49. 1). Hence a combined attack by a Sicel army in 461/60 B.C. (led by the emerging strongman Ducetius) and the army of liberated Syracuse led to restoration of the *status quo ante*, with colonists removed and Cataneans repatriated (Diodorus 11. 76. 3). Either through a lack of Sicel unanimity or by an accommodation with Ducetius, the Aetnians moved inland to the Sicel town of Inessa, where they refounded Aetna (Diodorus 11. 76. 3; Strabo 6. 2. 3). Here the Aetnians lived within a Sicel interstate political framework (Diodorus 11. 91. 1; *cf.* Thucydides 3. 103. 1; 6. 94. 3).[233] The ethnic aspect of the Deinomenid reorganisations ought to be observed. Gelon's deportation of Megarians and Chalcidians to Syracuse in the 480s created a heterogeneous population that he may have deemed less likely to consolidate against his rule. Hieron concentrated the Chalcidian component of north-eastern Sicily at Leontini, but balanced the regional impact by creating a new centre of (predominantly) Dorian ethnicity at Aetna, where the Dorian character of the institutions was emphasised and praised by Pindar (*Pythian Odes* 1. 61–62 with *scholia*).

The strategic character of Hieron's other major colonial effort is apparent. After his victory over the Etruscans at Cumae in 474 (Pindar *Pythian Odes* 1. 71 with *scholia* 137c; *Schol.* Pindar *Pythian Odes* 2. 1; Diodorus 11. 51. 1–2), he sent colonists to reinforce the residual population of Pithekoussai on Ischia that had been the first colony in the West (Strabo 5. 4. 9). Economic conditions in the region had changed so markedly that the colony did not thrive. Seismic activity caused the

[232] Pindar *Pythian Odes* 1. 61–62; *Schol.* Pindar *Pythian Odes*. 1. 112, 116, 118b; Philistus *FGrHist* 556 F50; Timoleon *FGrHist* 566 F 97.

[233] Rizza 1959.

colonists to abandon the island, and it was absorbed into the territory of Neapolis (modern Naples).

Hieron's ally and competitor for dominance was the Emmenid tyrant, Theron of Acragas. Himera was under Theron's hegemony as a satellite tyranny for his son Thrasybulus. Part of the local élite was restive, and attempted to enlist Hieron, which provoked Theron's retaliation, including executions, exiles and confiscations in 476/5 B.C.[234] To bolster the Emmenid hold on Himera, Theron introduced colonists that were Dorian (along with others of varied origin) into an ethnically mixed city where the Chalcidian component had been dominant (Diodorus 11. 48. 6–8; 11. 49. 3–4). Ergoteles, honorand of Pindar *Olympian Odes* 12, was a Knossian at Himera (*Schol.* Pindar *Olympian Odes* 12 inscr. a–b; Pausanias 6. 4. 11; *SEG* 11. 1223a). In a move perhaps connected with dissension at Himera, two relatives of Theron, Kapys and Hippocrates, tried to occupy and possibly colonise the Sican town Camicus, near the south coast (Hippostratos *FGrHist* 568 F2; *Schol.* Pindar *Olympian Odes* 2. 8a, 173f–g; *Pythian Odes* 6. 5a). Their adventure ended with a disastrous attempt on Himera.

Post-tyrannical Sicily: Just as construction of tyrannical blocs in Sicily entailed transfers of population, dissolution of the tyrannies (Acragas 472/1 B.C.; Syracuse 466/5 B.C.; Rhegion 461/60 B.C.) inspired parallel effects.[235] There were repatriations of ethnic or economic groups, shifted by the Deinomenids, who now sought recovery of previous status in their original homes. A legacy of tyranny was disruption created by disputes over rights by the settlers and other affected groups. These movements were congruent with reinforcements and resettlements, especially where asset reallocation was involved (*cf.* Diodorus 11. 76. 6; 11. 86. 3). Are they, however, better judged not as colonisation, but as decolonisation? The experience at Camarina is notable. Camarineans returning from Syracuse were joined by other settlers in a synoecism hardly distinguishable from a recolonisation (Diodorus 11. 76. 5; Timaeus *FGrHist* 566 F 19).[236]

One resettled group were Theron's mercenaries from Himera, dislodged by returning exiles and then going as settlers to Messana (the former Zancle) (Diodorus 11. 76. 5; perhaps Rhegion too: Justinus

[234] Meier-Welcker 1980, 53–6.
[235] Asheri 1980; Consosl Langher 1996, 236–40.
[236] *Cf.* Pindar *Olympian Odes* 5. 9 with *scholia* 19a–d. See Asheri 1980, 150–1.

4. 3. 1).[237] Dispatch of expelled mercenaries to Messana became a chief remedial provision for liberated Siceliot communities. Along with repatriation of exiled groups, it was enshrined in a *koinon dogma*, a reconciliatory enactment (Diodorus 11. 76. 5; *cf.* 11. 72–73; 11. 76. 1–2). A statesmanlike distinction was drawn between new citizens, beneficiaries of tyrannical patronage, and their descendants, on the one hand, and those serving the dynasts at the moment of their fall, so that only the latter appear to have been uprooted by the successor régimes.[238]

Demographic manipulation was so effective that the Sicel leader Ducetius emulated the tyrants in his reorganisation and foundation of cities.[239] We have already noted how the Aetnians relocated. Inessa/Aetna fell under his dominance at its height (Diodorus 11. 91. 1).[240] Ducetius established Menaenum (or Menae), his birthplace, and Palice, a traditional cult centre, as *poleis* (Diodorus 11. 78. 5; 11. 88. 6; 11. 90. 1).[241] Diodorus Siculus' date is 453/2 B.C. but his programme may have begun as early as 459 B.C. Both towns assumed the physical order and institutionality of *poleis*, although introduction of Greek settlers is not attested directly. A later initiative was clearly a colony, founded under the auspices of Syracuse, for whom Ducetius' charisma among his people made him a valuable agent. After leaving exile at Corinth in 448–446 B.C, he presented himself as an *oikist*, acting under oracular instruction, to found a *polis* at Cale Acte on the north coast of Sicily (Diodorus 12. 8. 1–4).[242] A contingent of colonists raised in Greece was reinforced by Sicels, perhaps including diehards from Ducetius' earlier following, but also involving a force led by Archonides of Herbita (in another of the transfers well attested in Sicily). Acragas perceived Syracusan sponsorship at Cale Acte as a threat. A war broke out between the two cities, each supported by Sicel communities. Ducetius tried to employ Cale Acte as base for rebuilding a Sicel federation (this time perhaps under Syracusan hegemony) until he was cut off by illness and death in 440/39 B.C. (Diodorus 12. 29. 1).

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[237] Meier-Welcker 1980, 63–4.

[238] For an Arcadian immigrant settled at Gela, see Guarducci 1953.

[239] See Adamesteanu 1963, 167, 193. In general, note Rizzo 1970; Consolo Langher 1996, 246–54; Galvagno 1991; 2000, 65–89.

[240] Adamesteanu 1963, 169–74; Galvagno 2000, 76–7.

[241] Adamesteanu 1963, 174–81; Messina 1967; Galvagno 1991, 113–7; 2000, 71–5.

[242] Adamesteanu 1963, 190–6; Maddoli 1977–78; Gavagno 2000, 82–6.

Dionysius I: Defeat of the expedition against Syracuse assured that the Siceliots would not fall under Attic hegemony. There would be no Athenian-sponsored reorganisations of population in the west. Instead, transfers of demographic segments began again in Sicily during the Carthaginian invasion of 409/8. Himera was replaced by Thermai, a Carthaginian foundation (Diodorus 13. 79. 8; *cf.* 13. 62. 1–5; Cicero *In Verrem* 2. 2. 35 [86]).[243] As the Carthaginians overran Sicily, many inhabitants of Himera, Acragas, Gela and Camarina (all fleeing capture) were evacuated by their leaders and various Syracusan generals, including Dionysius (Diodorus 13. 61. 4–6; 13. 89. 1–4, *cf.* 13. 91. 1; 13. 108. 6, 13. 111. 1, 3–4). A body of Acragantines and the evacuated Geloans and Camarineans went to Leontini, which had been absorbed by Syracuse and served as refuge for displaced persons (Diodorus 13. 89. 4; 13. 95. 3; 13. 113. 4).[244] Just later in 405 B.C., a treaty between Dionysius and the Carthaginians left Leontini autonomous (Diodorus 13. 114. 1).[245]

As Dionysius consolidated power, he used the time-honoured practices of demographic manipulation. Along with restorations of previous exiles, banishments, confiscations and distributions of property to supporters (Diodorus 13. 92. 4–7; 14. 7. 4–5; 14. 9. 6; Plutarch *Moralia* 338B), he used establishment of new communities and reorganisation or recolonisation, creating ties of personal, not civic loyalty.[246] Throughout this period, respites in hostilities probably saw partial repatriation back into the *epikrateia*, the zone controlled by Carthage. Yet, those disadvantaged by Dionysian displacements saw the *epikrateia* as a haven, a situation which militated on behalf of Dionysian bellicosity (*cf.* Diodorus 14. 40. 1 under 399).

Following a well-established pattern, Dionysius considered the Chalcidian cities as natural targets for Syracusan expansion. *Ca.* 403 B.C., Naxos was taken and colonised with loyal Sicels, while Catane received Campanian mercenaries (Diodorus 14. 15. 2–4; *cf.* 14. 66. 4).[247] Later in 396 B.C., during Himilco's invasion, the Sicels on Naxian territory

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[243] Meier-Welcker 1980, 108–11; Belvedere 1982–83.

[244] Stroheker 1958, 42–52; Sanders 1987, 56–7; Caven 1990, 72–6.

[245] Leontini had previously been absorbed by Syracuse, although dissidents reoccupied several points (Thucydides 5. 4. 2–4; Diodorus 12. 54. 7) and the Athenians had intended to refound it, after defeating Syracuse (Thucydides 6. 33. 2; 6. 48).

[246] Giuliani 1995.

[247] See Stroheker 1958, 59–62; Caven 1990, 86–7. Naxos: Consolo Langher 1980, 561–2.

consolidated at Carthaginian urging to found Tauromenium (Diodorus. 14. 59. 2; *cf.* Strabo 6. 2. 3). The inhabitants of Leontini were uprooted again to swell the population of Syracuse (Diodorus 14. 15. 4). Greek fugitives from points further west also participated in the augmentation of Syracuse. Adrano on the slopes of Mt Etna, which had not strictly been a *polis*, was colonised for mercenaries in 400/399 (Diodorus 14. 37. 5). The Campanians at Catane were moved to Aetna (14. 58. 2). Other similar foundations may have occurred in the Sicel hinterland under Syracusan control (*cf.* Diodorus 14. 78. 7).[248] Diodorus Siculus offers a rare glimpse into the inducements behind Dionysian demographic manipulation when he notes an abortive effort by him to gain massive Sicanian reinforcements against Himilco by promising them greater territory or later repatriation (14. 55. 6–7).

Although Dionysius' invasion of western Sicily stimulated a powerful Punic counter-invasion leading to a siege of Syracuse, the next translocations (after his discomfiture of Himilco during 396 B.C.) saw him in the ascendancy. He placated his mercenaries by another reinforcement of 10,000 at Leontini (Diodorus 14. 78. 2–3).[249] Himilco's storming of Messana left room for a Dionysian reorganisation, where colonists were his Italiot allies from Locri (1,000) and Medma, supposedly the large contingent of 4,000 (Diodorus 14. 78. 4–5; *cf.* 14. 58. 3–4).[250] Six hundred Messenian refugees from Zakynthos and Naupactus, originally marked for Messana, went instead to Tyndaris on the coast to the west, because Sparta objected to them at Messana (Diodorus 14. 78. 5).[251] They had apparently learned skills at state-formation during their Attic tutelage, since they increased their citizens to 5,000 through judicious naturalisation. Rhegion, feeling threatened by Dionysius' hold on Messana and influence over its Italiot rivals, countered by putting fugitives from Catane and Naxos at Mylae in 394 B.C., but Dionysius soon took Mylae (Diodorus 14. 87. 1–3). After checking the Carthaginian Mago and imposing terms, Dionysius got Tauromenium in 392 B.C., and used it for still another group of mercenaries (Diodorus 14. 96. 3–4;

[248] Halaisa could be a Sicel counterpart to the Dionysian interventions as a foundation of Archonides of Herbita (Diodorus 14. 16. 1–4) or a foundation of Himilco after the end of this war.

[249] Stroheker 1958, 80; Caven 1990, 121–2.

[250] Stroheker 1958, 111–3; 1968–69, 121–2; Caven 1990, 124–7.

[251] In general, see Consolo Langher 1996, 577–80; 1997, 115–8. See Barreca 1957; Holloway 1960. For background, see Asheri 1983, 36. On Messana and Rhegion, see, most recently, Raccuia 1981.

cf. 14. 87. 4–5).[252] Later Andromachus, father of the historian Timaeus, refounded Tauromenium in 358/7 B.C., collecting survivors from Naxos, its destroyed predecessor (Diodorus 16. 7. 1).[253]

The rhythm of Sicilian colonisation was governed by grim realities. Carthage, drawing on commercial and fiscal might, mobilised large composite paid armies over which its generals exhibited unique skill in co-ordination. Therefore, the Carthaginian military apparatus possessed unusual recuperative ability and staying power that rendered levies of Syracuse and other cities less capable of sole deterrence. So Dionysius needed to mobilise large bodies of mercenaries, who were not only expensive during hostilities but an unsustainable drain during *spondai*. Colonisation became for Dionysius and other players in Sicilian affairs a means of 'addition through subtraction' in that conversion of mercenaries into settlers relieved the paid rolls, while opening the option they could be expeditiously mobilised subsequently as allies. The dangerous by-product was the generation of hostile populations from those dislodged, who could unite with Dionysius' enemies or leave for the Carthaginian *epikrateia*, strengthening its economy. The Carthaginians themselves were affected by a situation where political power was strengthened by demographic manipulation. Their *epikrateia* experienced reurbanisation similar to that attested for Sicilian districts under Syracusan influence.[254]

The early 380s saw Dionysius intervening massively in Italy, with consequences being his depopulation of Caulonia in 389 B.C. and Hipponium in 388 B.C. (Locri being beneficiary) and their populations moved to Syracuse (Diodorus 14. 106. 3; 14. 107.2; Pausanias 6. 3. 11; Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Antiquitates Romanae* 20.7.2–3).[255] The Carthaginians later refounded Hipponium during a poorly attested conflict in 379/8 B.C. (Diodorus 15. 24. 1; *cf.* Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Antiquitates Romanae* 20. 7. 4). The greater depopulation of Rhegion in 387 B.C. followed a siege and led to a transfer of population to Syracuse (Diodorus 14. 111. 4; *cf.* 14. 108–112. 4; also Theophrastus *Historia*

[252] See Stroheker 1958, 171–2; Caven 1990, 130–1. See also Castellana 1984 for the suggestion that Caltafaraci in the hinterland of Acragas was a Dionysian settlement.

[253] Consolo Langher 1996, 537–48. The site has a complex history with several foundings attested in the literary sources, and other indications of communities on the site provided by numismatics. See Calderone 1956; Muccioli 1999, 251.

[254] Tusà 1990–91.

[255] Stroheker 1958, 115–20; Sabattini 1986; Lombardo 1989, 438–43; Caven 1990, 136–48; Consolo Langher 1997, 131–8.

Plantarum 4. 5. 6; Pliny *NH* 12. 3. 7; Strabo 6. 1. 6). Dionysius II later rebuilt Rhegion under the name Phoibia, which remained Syracusan until 351/50 B.C. (Strabo 6. 1. 6; *cf.* Diodorus 16. 45. 9; Plutarch *Moralia* 338B–C),[256] and probably Caulonia (Diodorus 16. 10. 2; 16. 11. 3; Plutarch *Dion* 26. 7). There were probably other instances of colonisation, but the later wars of Dionysius against Carthage were treated cursorily in Diodorus Siculus (*cf.* 15. 15–17; 15. 73. 1–5; also 16. 5. 2). The third Platonic epistle reports discussion at the court of Dionysius II over a programme to resettle Sicilian *poleis* in the manner realised by Timoleon, and later recriminations over failure to act (3. 315D, 316B–C, 319A–D).

In the middle 380s, Dionysius also embarked on a plan to dominate the Adriatic, including planting colonies (Diodorus 15. 13. 1).[257] His regional hegemonic strategy included alliances with the Illyrians (under their strong king, Bardylis) and Alcetas, exiled king of the Molossians (Diodorus 15. 13. 1–3). In 385, he founded a colony at Lissus, and assisted a Parian settlement at Pharos (Diodorus 15. 13. 4; *cf.* Stephanus of Byzantium *s.v.* Ankhiale).[258] Unfortunately, a lacuna in Diodorus Siculus occurs here and has led to the loss of the full record of the Adriatic foundations, which may include Heracleia (*cf.* [Skylax] 22). In 384 B.C., when the Parians on Pharos were threatened by the Illyrians, Dionysius' governor at Lissus (or perhaps at Issa) won a major victory (Diodorus 15. 14. 1–2).[259] Issa, described as a Syracusan colony,[260] for which no attestation of founding survives, has been thought controversially to belong to Dionysius.[261]

There is a tradition that Adria was founded by Dionysius, but a reorganisation is more probably the nature of his intervention (*cf.* Justinus

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[256] Stroheker 1968–69, 128–9; Lucca 1995; Muccioli 1999, 251–7.

[257] Anello 1980, 37–65; Beaumont 1936, 188–9, 202–3; Gitti 1952; Woodhead 1970; Braccesi 1977, 185–246; 1989; Kirigin 1990, 294–302; Stylianou 1998, 191–7.

[258] Schilardi 2002.

[259] For a sceptical view on Illyrian piracy as a factor, see Dell 1967, 345–6, 354–6.

[260] Note [Skymnos] 413–414; *cf.* [Skylax] 23.

[261] Gitti 1952; *cf.* Beaumont 1936, 202–3; Woodhead 1970, 508–9; Caven 1990, 149–53; Kirigin 1990, 303–11; D'Andria 2001; Lombardo 2001. For the Issaean colony on Black Corcyra, *SIG*^{3} 141 displays names of colonists with onomastic affinities with Dorian Sicily. Early 4th-century date: *SIG*^{3} pp. 184–185; *DGE* 147; *SEG* 19. 435. Date of 300–250 B.C.: Woodhead 1970, 508–12; *Bulletin épigraphique* 1971, 386; *SEG* 40. 511; also Braccesi 1977, 307–22. See Lombardo 2002. Numismatic evidence: Visonà 1995.

20. 1. 9).[262] Coastal colonies served as points of intermediation between a non-Greek hinterland that was rapidly consolidating and maritime commerce, controlled by Greek traders. In a counterbalancing move, a group of Syracusan exiles founded a settlement at Ancona in Picenum (Strabo 5. 4. 2). The identity of their patrons is unknown, but Dionysius himself, disburdening Sicily of his enemies, cannot be excluded. The neighbouring site of Numana may also have seen some resettlement (*cf.* Pliny *NH* 3. 12. 111). While Dionysius II did not act with the same vigour in the region, he did nonetheless found two settlements in Apulia in order to secure commerce against the threat of *leistai*, who were probably Illyrians, leaving early signs of the damage they would wreak in the 3rd century (Diodorus 16. 5. 3; *cf.* 16. 10. 2; 16. 11. 3; Plutarch *Dion* 26. 1; Nepos *Dion* 5. 4).[263]

Timoleon: The final round of Sicilian colonisation in our overview was part of the culmination of Timoleon's restoration of Sicilian *polis*-life (Diodorus 16. 90. 1; *cf.* 16. 65. 9).[264] The accounts of Timoleon's colonisation present a simplified chronology. He clearly began in 343 B.C. after his achievement of solid control over Syracuse with an appeal to the Corinthians to send settlers (Plutarch *Timoleon* 22. 7–23). They initially focused on repatriating refugees from Syracuse and other Sicilian cities, attracting them through a promise of property distributions on an equal basis by proclamations at Panhellenic games and direct appeals to communities harbouring refugees. When the response turned out disappointing, a chance to settle was opened to anyone wishing to go (Plutarch *Timoleon* 23. 5; *cf.* Nepos *Timoleon* 3. 1). That reached completion between summer 339 and summer 337 B.C. Widening eligibility was sought by the returning émigrés, who considered themselves too few. A managed summons, engineered by agents of Timoleon or by the Corinthians, may be freely suspected, as inclusion of many new immigrants patently affected economic prospects for the returning Sicilians. Moreover, Timoleon would later negotiate with Carthage a right of free emigration for Greeks living within the Carthaginian *epikrateia* in western Sicily (Plutarch *Timoleon* 34. 2; note

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[262] *Etymologicum Magnum s.v.* Adrias, α 46 Gaisford, *cf.* Phlegon *FGrHist* 257 F23; Tzetzes *ad Schol.* Lycophron *Alexandra* 631. Compare Pliny *NH* 3. 16. 121. See Beaumont 1936, 202–3; Mambella 1984.

[263] See Muccioli 1999, 257–8.

[264] See Westlake 1942, 79–86; Sordi 1961, 50–2; 72–7; 1983, 67–9, 73–6, 162–4, 178–80.

Diodorus 19. 2. 8, Timaeus *FGrHist* 566 F124 for the emigration of the family of Agathocles in 343 B.C.). Furthermore, there were many displaced persons in Magna Graecia available as settlers in the Timoleontic recolonisations (Plutarch *Timoleon* 23. 6).

Sources disagree on the number settled in Sicily by Timoleon. One explanation for the differences is perhaps application of varying definitions for persons included in the category undergoing enumeration. Diodorus Siculus states that the Corinthians responded to the initial request by providing Timoleon with 5,000 colonists for Syracuse in 339/8 B.C. (16. 82. 3). Plutarch numbers the new colonists as 10,000 after the pool of recruits was widened at Corinth (*Timoleon* 23. 5). Diodorus, whose account derives from Theopompus or Diyllus, speaks of 40,000 settled on *adiaireton* 'undistributed' Syracusan land (16. 82. 5). A notably high number of 10,000 went to Agyrion (for whose history, as Diodorus' hometown, a different source may be used). Inhabitiants there, along with the Centuripans, received Syracusan citizenship (Diodorus 16. 82. 4–5; *cf.* 16. 83. 3).[265] Athanis stated that 60,000 individuals from Sicily and Italy presented themselves for participation in the resettlement plans of Timoleon (*FGrHist* 562 F2; Plutarch *Timoleon* 23. 6).

Full maturation of Timoleon's colonial enterprise, however, belongs to a later stage of his career, where Diodorus and Nepos place it. That culmination followed his liberation of Syracuse, decisive victory at Crimisus (leading in time to peace), and expulsion of the last of the tyrants, endeavours achieving unlikely success in a way perceived by Siceliot historiography as providential. Along with institutional reforms, Timoleon manipulated elements of the Siceliot population in the well-known fashion of Sicilian 'statesmanship'. Besides recolonisation, his policy had several aspects. Timoleon punished communities composed of demobilised Dionysian mercenaries, who had demonstrated their readiness to support various strongmen in their resistance to the new dispensation (at Aetna, Agyrion, Centuripe, Catane and Leontini: Diodorus 16. 82. 4; Plutarch *Timoleon* 31–34. 1). New settlers were probably introduced into these towns to replace those expelled. It is likely that Timoleon took this occasion to disburden himself of his own veteran

[265] Conceivably two initiatives were implemented at the towns: the original population was given Syracusan citizenship *and* moved to Syracuse; new settlers replaced those relocated *in situ*.

mercenaries no longer needed.[266] During reconfiguration of the Syracusan state, elements of the composite population of Leontini were again transplanted to Syracuse (Diodorus 16. 82. 7).

The new socio-economic dispensation at Syracuse was surprisingly bold for a basically conservative statesman.[267] The 'equal and just' terms for land allotment, mentioned by Plutarch (*Timoleon* 23. 2, 6), entailed grants of land and houses with citizenship, presumably through redistribution as well as reallocation of vacant property (Diodorus 16. 82. 5: κληρουχία; *cf.* Nepos *Timoleon* 3. 1–2). Resettlement was probably aided by conversion of booty and a radical sell-off of public property. The account underlying Plutarch, which may belong to Timaeus, focuses on the unusual detail of a sale of public statues (*Timoleon* 23. 8). A truly radical feature was selling all the houses within Syracuse, including those owned by citizens in good standing, with the proviso that owners might repurchase (Plutarch *Timoleon* 23. 6–7). The measure was in essence a capital levy with the imaginative feature that poorly exploited assets were most likely to be distributed to new buyers like colonists. And the market usefully set the value for those property-holders who wanted to repurchase their primary residences.

As sources attest, many settlers went to Syracuse, which continued as the largest *polis* on the island. The city probably enjoyed a return of people who had taken refuge in fortified towns of the interior (Plutarch *Timoleon* 22. 6). Many arrivals from the Greece took up residence on Syracusan territory, especially in the plain of the Symaithos (near now vacated Leontini). Yet it was also true that Acragas and Gela underwent substantial revival owing to arrival of many new citizens (Plutarch *Timoleon* 35. 2). According to Plutarch, colonists from Elea (Hyele) reinforced Acragas, while settlers from Keos went to Gela.[268]

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[266] How a liberated Syracuse might be rid of mercenary forces was being pondered as early as 356, when Dion's mercenaries were offered *isomoiria* (Plutarch *Dion* 38. 4). See Sordi 1983, 30–1.

[267] It had roots in earlier populist agitation, illustrated by a proposal of Heraclides in 356 for a redistribution of land (Plutarch *Dion* 37. 5; 48. 5–6). See Fuks 1968. The wider recruitment of colonists through the Corinthians may have troubled Syracusan democrats. See Sordi 1961, 50–2. Plato (or the author of *Epistle* 7) recognised the need for recolonisation at Syracuse that included returning fugitives and new settlers within a context of *isonomia* (332E–333A; 336A, D; *cf.* 8. 357A), basing himself on Deinomenid precedent. The direction of derivation of ideas, however, is controversial. See Sordi 1961, 21–7; Talbert 1975, 116–22.

[268] See Asheri 1970 for corrections: Elis or Epirote Elea for Elea; Kos for Keos (also attested).

In addition, Camarina also received many settlers (Diodorus 16. 82. 7). Heracleia Minoa was also perhaps refounded (Diodorus 16. 82. 3 with 19. 71. 7). When the dependents of Timoleontic colonists and resettlers are factored in, they comprise a sizable portion of the entire Greek-speaking population of free Sicily (Diodorus 16. 83. 1). Hence Timoleon received veneration as an *oikist* by the Siceliots (Plutarch *Timoleon* 35. 3; 39. 5–7).[269]

Further Colonisation In Italy

Most attested Classical Italian colonisation was led by outsiders, and is less well known than Sicilian and homeland colonisation. There are, however, several resettlements deserving attention. But first, a few words are in order on Thurii. For completeness, the major facts can be reiterated. Sybaris was destroyed in 511 B.C. by a coalition of neighbours led by Croton. The Sybarites did not disappear as a community. Some retreated to colonies such as Poseidonia. An attempt was made to refound Sybaris by descendants of the expelled, for in 453 B.C., reinforced by some Thessalians, they refounded Sybaris, only to be expelled again by the Crotoniates (Diodorus 12. 10. 1–3). Next came appeals to Sparta and Athens, eventuating in the Attic expedition to create Thurii (Diodorus 12. 10. 3; 12. 11. 2–4). Interestingly, this collaboration took a path unfortunately characteristic of the western Greeks. The restored Sybarite descendants adopted an oligarchic/aristocratic outlook to the refoundation by trying to reserve good, nearby agricultural land, access to certain high offices and ritual precedence, though Athens clearly intended to found a democratic *polis*. Their claims were resisted by other settlers, who destroyed the Sybarites (Diodorus 12. 11. 1–2; Aristotle *Politica* 1303a31–33). As Sybarite participations at Thurii unravelled, some Sybarites established still another Sybaris on the River Traeis (Diodorus 12. 22. 1; *cf.* Strabo 6. 1. 14).

In 471/70 B.C. Pyxus on the Tyrrhenian shore of Calabria was refounded by Mikythos (Diodorus 11. 59. 4; Strabo 6. 1. 1).[270] He was a freedman and associate of Anaxilas, tyrant of Rhegion and Messana, who had taken over as tyrant, an *epitropos* until his patron's children

[269] For archaeological evidence for the Siceliot revival, see Sordi 1961, 74–6; Talbert 1975, 146–60. *Kokalos* 4 (1958) contains much valuable material on this topic.

[270] See Cordiano 1995; *cf.* Johannowsky 1992, 176, 179–80.

reached maturity (Herodotus 7. 170. 4; Diodorus 11. 48. 2; Justinus 4. 2. 5; *cf.* Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Antiquitates Romanae* 20. 7. 1). Diodorus Siculus' account is a bare notice at the end of the year, after he had concentrated on the later career of Themistocles (11. 54. 3–11. 59. 4). Coins survived bearing a Sybarite obverse and Pyxous on the reverse, indicating that a Sybarite satellite colony or a point of refuge existed after the fall of Sybaris and before Mikythos' dispatch of settlers. Strabo adds that all but a few founding settlers withdrew, but the chronology and context is not specified. The colonists at Pyxus were perhaps available through some change in status at the instance of Anaxilas or Mikythos. They may have returned home in the reorganisations that took place after the fall of the tyrannical dynasty.

In 433/2 B.C., Taras and Thurii reconciled and collaborated in reoccupation of the territory of Siris by founding a new city, later given a new name of Heracleia.[271] Taras was the dominant partner and was later honoured as *metropolis*. Heracleia served as an outpost of Taras, and a means for the implementation of Tarantine aspirations on the Ionian Gulf. Its final name bespoke the traditional image of Heracles as an occupier and founding hero. The location of Heracleia at Policoro is firmly established, but where Archaic Siris stood is disputed.[272] Its site was fertile and offered a good route across the peninsula (*cf.* Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* 12. 523D). By initiative of Archytas of Taras, Heracleia became the headquarters of the Italiot League (Strabo 6. 3. 4), the confederacy to resist interventions of Dionysius I, as well as fostering co-operation against the ever-strengthening native peoples of southern Italy such as the Lucani.

Conclusion

Archaic and Classical society presents certain similarities to recent social orders in degree of complexity and extent of differentiation of economic and social rôles. Thus the intermediate character of Greek

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[271] Strabo 6. 1. 14 = Antiochus *FGrHist* 555 F12; Diodorus 12. 36. 4; Pliny *NH* 3. 11. 97; [Aristotle] *De Mirabilibus Auscultationibus* 840a. Wuilleumier 1939, 61–2; Sartori 1967, 16–30; Adamesteanu 1974, 93–119.

[272] Neutsch 1967.

institutionality is clear when compared to the preceding tribal or peasant societies that lay somewhat closer to bare subsistence in their output. Nevertheless, demographic manipulation had significant capacity for providing political power in a culture where total output was sensitive to population fluctuations, because technical productive means were virtually absent, and capital formation and investment *per capita* were low. Therefore, colonisation was an important political tool during the Classical period, since reordering and recolonising communities provided more resources, manpower and taxes to their initiators. These gains were important enough to endure the enmity of those harmed by such exercises. The psychological benefits of the rôle of *oikist* were the symbolic counterpart of the practical conditions where only the most powerful and charismatic could aspire to found or refound cities.

The *polis* was the premier organisational medium in the ancient Mediterranean, and its institutions often conferred advantages not only on *politai* but also on those controlling *polis*-formation. Aside from transformation from *ethnos* (a process with hierarchical variants), *polis*-formation was usually implemented through colonisation. Colonisation in the Classical period did not have the total impact of the great Archaic movement of the Greeks overseas. Archaic colonising aristocracies could find so many more virgin sites and encountered many populations whose cultural repertoire left them vulnerable to exploitation. Classical colonisers were usually recolonisers. The prevalence of recolonisation—its true prevalence, not the portrait above drawn from fragmentary evidence—bespeaks the vitality of the *polis* as a societal order. The benefits of even partial participation in colonisation, such as supplying an augmentation of settlers to a long-existing city, continued to motivate policy-makers during the 5th and 4th centuries.

Table 1
Athenian Classical Colonisation

A. Athenian Colonies[273]

LOCATION	DATE	NATIVES	ATHENIANS	MAJOR SOURCES
Eion	476/5	Dislodged?	Some?	Plut. *Cim.* 7. 1–3; 8. 2
Ennea Hodoi	476/5	Dislodged?	Some + local Greeks?	*Schol.* Aeschin. 2. 31; *cf.* Plut. *Cim.* 7. 2–3
Scyros	476/5	Expelled	All (+ traitors = defectors?)	Thuc. 1. 98. 2; Diod. 11. 60. 2; Plut. *Cim.* 8. 3–7; *Thes.* 36. 1–2; Nepos *Cim.* 2. 3–5
Ennea Hodoi	465/4	Dislodged?	Some (<10%) + allies + local Greeks? = 10,000	Thuc. 1. 100. 2–3; 4. 102. 2; Diod. 11. 70. 5; Plut. *Cim.* 8. 2; Nepos *Cim.* 2. 2; *Schol.* Aeschin. 2. 31
Ennea Hodoi	453/2	Dislodged?	Some + local Greeks?	*Schol.* Aeschin. 2. 31
Chersonese	448–446	Reorganised	1,000 *epoikoi* reinforce local Greeks; some enfranchised?	Plut. *Per.* 11. 5; 19. 1; Diod. 11. 88. 3; Andoc. 3. 9; Aeschin. 2. 175
Colophon	447/6	Reorganised	non-Athenians join local Greeks?	*IG* I^3 37
Brea	*ca.* 446–445	Dislodged	1,000 Athenians	*IG* I^3 46; Hesych. *s.v.* Brea, Plakia; Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Brea; Plut. *Per.* 11. 5 (?)
Thurii	Following 446/5	Reorganised	Athenians <10% + Panhellenic Greeks	Diod. 12. 9. 1, 10. 3–6; Strabo 6. 1. 13 C263; Plut. *Per.* 11. 5; [Plut.] *Mor.* 853C–D; Dion. Hal. *Lys.* 1

[273] Tables 1 and 2 are derived (with correction and amplification) from 'Table 4: Athenian Colonization (478–404)' in Figueira 1991, 217–21. The contents have been simplified by the removal of footnotes and of the reproduction of references in Greek. Citations of comparative material marked there by '*cf.*' have not been included.

Table 1A (*cont.*)

LOCATION	DATE	NATIVES	ATHENIANS	MAJOR SOURCES
Histiaea	*ca.* 445	Expelled	1,000 or 2,000 Athenians	Thuc. 1. 114. 3; 7. 57. 2; Philochorus *FGrHist* 328 F118; Theopompus *FGrHist* 115 F387; *Schol.* Ar. *Nubes* 213f; Diod. 12. 22. 2; Plut. *Per.* 23. 4. *Cf. IG* I[3] 41
Astacus	after 443 or 430s	Reorganised	some Athenians?	Strabo 12. 4. 2 C563; Memnon *FGrHist* 434 F12
Erythrae	440s	Reorganised	Non-Athenian	*IG* I[3] 513
Unknown	440–425	Unknown	some Athenians (*epoikoi*?)	*IG* I[3] 47
Amphipolis	437/6	Dislodged	some Athenians + Brea settlers? + many allies = 10,000	Thuc. 4. 102. 3; *cf.* 4. 103. 3–4, 4. 106. 1, 5. 11. 1; Diod. 12. 32. 3; *Schol.* Aeschin. 2. 31; Polyaen. *Strat.* 6. 53; Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Hagoneia
Amisus (later Piraieus)	mid-430s	Reorganised	some Attic volunteers?	Theopompus *FGrHist* 115 F389 = Strabo 12. 3. 14 C547; Plut. *Lucull.*19. 7; App. *BM* (83) 373
Sinope	mid-430s	Reinforced	600 Athenians	Plut. *Per.* 20. 1–2
Neapolis (Campania)	433/2	Reinforced	some Athenians	Strabo 5. 4. 7 C246
Aegina	431	Expelled	Attic *epoikoi* + sympathisers	Thuc. 2. 27. 1; *cf.* 5. 74. 3; 7. 57. 2; 8. 69. 3; Diod. 12. 44. 1; Plut. *Per.* 34. 2–3; Strabo 8. 6. 16 C375; *Schol.* Ar. *Ach.* 654b; Theogenes *FGrHist* 300 F2; Diog. Laert. 3. 3
Poteidaea	430/29	Expelled	1,000 *epoikoi* + traitors = defectors?	Thuc. 2. 70. 4; Diod. 12. 46. 7; *IG* I[3] 514
Notion	427	Reorganised	Colophonians + displaced allies	Thuc. 3. 34. 1–4.
Scione	421	*andrapodismos*	Plateans	Thuc. 5. 32. 1; Diod. 12. 76. 3

Table 1A (*cont.*)

LOCATION	DATE	NATIVES	ATHENIANS	MAJOR SOURCES
Torone?	After 421	*andrapodismos*	allies?	*Cf.* Thuc. 5. 3. 2–4; Diod. 12. 73. 3
Melos	416/5	*andrapodismos*	500 Athenians + traitors = defectors	Thuc. 5. 116. 4; *IG* XII. 3 1187 = *IG* I^3 1505
Adriatic Region	325/4	Unknown	?	*GHI* 200

B. Athenian Cleruchies

LOCATION	DATE	ATTIC NUMBERS	CITATIONS
Andros	453–448	250	Plut. *Per.* 11. 5
Eretria	453–448	250 (with Karystos?)	*Schol.* Ar. *Nubes* 213e; *cf.* Diod. 11. 88. 3; Paus. 1. 27. 5
Karystos?	453–448	250 (with Eretria?)	*Cf. Schol.* Ar. *Nubes* 213e; Diod. 11. 88. 3; Paus. 1. 27. 5
Naxos	453–48	500	Diod. 11. 88. 3; Plut. *Per.* 11. 5; Paus. 1. 27. 5
Lemnos?	*ca.* 449	?	?
Chalcis?	446/5	500	Ael. *VH* 6. 1
Lesbos	427	2,700	Thuc. 3. 50. 2; *IG* I^3 66–67

C. Athenian Recolonisation

LOCATION	DATE	INHABITANTS	ATHENIANS	CITATIONS[274]
Lemnos	392–386	re-integration as citizens	possibility of returning exiles	Andoc. 3. 12; Xen. *HG* 4. 8. 15; 5. 1. 31; *IG* II^2 30
Imbros	392–386	re-integration	?	Andoc. 3. 12; Xen. *HG* 4. 8. 15; 5. 1. 31
Scyros	392–386	re-integration	?	Andoc. 3. 12; Xen. *HG* 4. 8. 15; 5. 1. 31

[274] Citations relate the dispatch of cleruchs; for the history of these communities, see the text.

Table 1C (*cont.*)

LOCATION	DATE	INHABITANTS	ATHENIANS	CITATIONS
Samos	366/5 and/ or 361/0 and 352/1	Integration with cleruchs; later expulsion(s)	cleruchs (*epoikoi*) ~ returning exiles	Diod. 18. 18. 9; Aeschin. 1. 53 with *scholia*; Aris. fr. 143. 10. 35; Philochorus *FGrHist* 328 F154; Strabo 14. 1. 8 C638; Douris *FGrHist* 76 F96; Craterus *FGrHist* 342 F21
Poteidaea	362/1	integrated with cleruchs	cleruchs (*epoikoi*)	*GHI* 146; Liban. *Decl.* 17. 6; *cf.* Diod. 15. 81. 6; Isoc. 15. 108, 113; Din. 1. 14; 3. 17.
Chersonese	353/2; *ca.* 346	citizens in place join cleruchs; allies left in place; *andrapodismos* at Sestos.	cleruchs (*epoikoi*)	Diod. 16. 34 3–4; *IG* II^2 1613. 297–298; Dem. 8. 6; 9. 15; Liban. *Arg. Dem.* 8. 1–2; *cf.* Dem. 9. 16

Table 2
Greek Classical Colonisation (in Chronological Order)

LOCATION	DATE	COLONISER	COLONISTS	MAJOR SOURCES
Naupactus	500–475	Opuntian Locrians	200?	*ML* 20; *cf.* 13
Aetna (and Naxos)	476/5	Hieron and Syracuse	5,000 Syracusans 5,000 Pelo-ponnesians	Diod. 11. 49. 1–2; Strabo 6. 2. 3 C268; Pin. fr. 105a S/M; *Schol.* Pin. *Pyth.* 1 incr. b, 118a–c
Himera	476/5	Theron of Acragas	Dorian supplementary settlers	Diod. 11. 48. 6–8; 11. 49. 3–4
Pithekoussai	*ca.* 474	Hieron and Syracuse	Siceliots	Strabo 5. 4. 9 C247–248
Pyxus	471/0	Mikythos of Rhegion	unknown	Diod. 11. 59. 4; Strabo 6. 1. 1 C253

Table 2 (*cont.*)

LOCATION	DATE	COLONISER	COLONISTS	MAJOR SOURCES
Inessa	*ca.* 461/0	Aetnians under Deinomenes?	Aetnians with local Sicels	Diod. 11. 76. 3; Strabo 6. 2. 3 C268
Menaenum or Menae	453/2 or 450s	Ducetius	Sicels with some local Greeks?	Diod. 11. 88. 6; 11. 90. 1
Palice	453/2 or 450s	Ducetius	Sicels with some local Greeks?	Diod. 11. 88. 6; 11. 90. 1
Sybaris	453	Sybarite refugees	Sybarite exiles with Thessalians	Diod. 11. 90. 3; 12. 10. 2
Cale Acte	448–446	Ducetius (with Syracuse?)	Sicels and homeland Greeks	Diod. 12. 8. 1–4; 12. 29. 1
Argos in Amphilochia	450s or *ca.* 437	Argives and Acarnanians, with Attic aid	Argive refugees and Acarnanians	Thuc. 2. 68. 1–7
Sybaris on Traeis	*ca.* 446/5	Sybarite refugees	Sybarites withdrawing from Thurii	Diod. 12. 22. 1; *cf.* Strabo 6. 1. 14; 12
Epidamnus (abortive)	435	Corinth	Corinthians, allies and volunteers	Thuc. 1. 25. 1–26; 2. 27. 1
Anaktorion	433	Corinth	Corinthians	Thuc. 1. 55. 1
Heracleia (Lucania) (formerly Siris)	433/2	Taras with Thurii	Italiots	Strabo 6. 1. 14 C264 = Antiochus *FGrHist* 555 F12; Diod. 12. 36. 4; Pliny 3. 11. 97; *cf.* [Aris.] *De Mir. Ausc.* 840a
Heracleia in Trachis	426	Sparta	Spartans, Peloponnesians and local allies	Thuc. 3. 92. 1–3 93. 2; Diod. 12. 59. 3–5
Anaktorion	425	Acarnanians with Athenians	Acarnanians	Thuc. 4. 49; *cf.* [Skymnos] 460–461
Adramyttion	422–421	Pharnaces; with Attic acquiescence?	Exiled Delians	Thuc. 5.1; 5. 32. 1; 8. 108. 4; Diod. 12. 73. 1; *cf.* Strabo 13. 1. 51 C606
Naxos	*ca.* 403	Dionysius I	Sicels	Diod. 14. 15. 2–4
Catane	*ca.* 403	Dionysius I	Campanian mercenaries	Diod. 14. 15. 2–4

Table 2 (*cont.*)

LOCATION	DATE	COLONISER	COLONISTS	MAJOR SOURCES
Halaisa	*ca.* 403	Archonides or Himilco	Mercenaries, Sicels, *demos* of Herbita	Diod. 14. 16. 1–4
Chersonesus	Late 5th or early 4th century	Heracleia Pontica	Heracleiots and Delians	[Skymnos] 822–830
Adrano	400/399	Dionysius I	mercenaries	Diod. 14. 37. 5
Leontini	*ca.* 396	Dionysius I	10,000 mercenaries	Diod. 14. 78. 2–3
Messana	*ca.* 396	Dionysius I	Italiots from Locri and Medma	Diod. 14. 78. 4–5
Tyndaris	*ca.* 396	Dionysius I	600 Messenians from Zakynthos and Naupactus	Diod. 14. 78. 5
Mylae	*ca.* 394	Rhegion	fugitives from Catane and Naxos	Diod. 14. 87. 1–3
Callatis	394/3	Heracleia Pontica	unknown	[Skymnos] 761–762
Lissus	a little before 385	Dionysius I	unknown: displaced Italiots and Siceliots? and/or mercenaries	Diod. 15. 13. 1–3
Pharos and Heracleia	385	Paros, aided by Dionysius I	Parians and other homeland Greeks?	Diod. 15. 13. 4; *cf.* Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Anchiale; also [Skylax] 22; *GGM* 1. 29
Issa?	late 380s	Dionysius I	unknown: displaced Italiots and Siceliots? and/or mercenaries	[Skymnos] 413–14, *GGM* 1. 213; *cf.* 4 [Skylax] 23, *GGM* 1. 29–30
Adria?	late 380s	Dionysius I	unknown: displaced Italiots and Siceliots? and/or mercenaries	*Etym. Mag. s.v.* Adrias
Ancona with Numana?	late 380s or 370s	Unknown	Syracusan exiles	Strabo 5. 4. 2 C241; Pliny *NH* 3. 12. 111

Table 2 (*cont.*)

LOCATION	DATE	COLONISER	COLONISTS	MAJOR SOURCES
Hipponium	379/8	Carthage	displaced Italiots, especially from Hipponium	Diod. 15. 24. 1
Rhegion (= Phoibia) and Caulonia	after 367 and before 357/6	Dionysius II	mercenaries and displaced Italiots/Siceliots?	Strabo 6. 1. 6 C258; *cf.* Diod. 16. 45. 9; Plut. *Mor.* 338B–C
Apulian Colonies	after 367	Dionysius II	mercenaries and displaced Italiots/Siceliots?	Diod. 16. 5. 3; 16. 10. 2; 16. 11. 3; Plut. *Dion* 26. 7
Crenides, later	360/59	Thasians, with Callistratus and Athenians	Thasians and other Greeks	Diod. 16. 3. 7; Isoc. 8. 24; [Skylax] 67, *GGM* 1. 54–55; Zenobius 4. 34, *CPG* 1. 94
Philippi	356/5	Philip II	added Macedonian settlers	Diod. 16. 3. 7; 8. 6–7; Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Philippoi; *cf.* Strabo 7. 34, 41–42
Tauromenium	358/7	Andromachus	Naxian refugees and other displaced Siceliots	Diod. 16. 7. 1
Oesyme? later Emathia	after 356/5	Philip II?	Macedonians	[Skymnos] 656–658, *GGM* 1. 221; Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Oisume; *cf.* Strabo 7. 35
Gomphi	after 356/5	Philip II	reorganised, with Thessalian partisans	Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Philippoi
Thebes in Phthiotis	after 356/5	Philip II	reorganised, with Thessalian partisans	Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Philippoi
Western Frontier of Macedonia: Heracleia Lynkestis; perhaps Kellion, Melitousa	from *ca.* 352	Philip II	Illyrians, upland Macedonians, transplanted lowland Macedonians	Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Heracleia; *cf.* Dem. 4. 48; Diod. 16. 8. 1
Pythion in Elimiotis?	*ca.* 350	Philip II	Macedonians with Thessalian partisans	*cf.* Theagenes *FGrHist* 774 F3

Table 2 (*cont.*)

LOCATION	DATE	COLONISER	COLONISTS	MAJOR SOURCES
Inner Thracian Frontier of Macedonia: Philippoupolis; Astraia; Dobera; Heracleia Sintica	from *ca.* 346/5	Philip II	transplanted Macedonians; Greeks; demobilised mercenaries	Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Astraia; Strabo 7. 36
Philippopolis	*ca.* 342	Philip II	politically or socially suspect Macedonians	Pliny *NH* 4. 11. 41; Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Philippopolis; Theopompus *FGrHist* 115 F110; Plut. *Mor.* 520B
Cabyle (with Drongilos, Masteira?)	*ca.* 342	Philip II	politically or socially suspect Macedonians	Strabo 7. 6. 2 C320; *cf.* Dem. 8. 44; [Dem.] 10. 15; Ptol. *Geog.* 3. 11; also Diod. 16. 71. 1–2
Alexandropolis	340	Alexander the Great	mixed composition	Plut. *Alex.* 9. 1
Syracuse and other Sicilian cities including Acragas, Agyrion, Camarina, Gela and Heracleia Minoa	early 330s	Timoleon and Corinth	Siceliot refugees; homeland Greeks; Italiots	Plut. *Tim.* 22. 4–23; 35. 1–2; 39. 3; Diod. 16. 82. 3–7; Nepos *Tim.* 3. 1–3; Athanis *FGrHist* 562 F2

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INDEX FOR VOLUME 2

Abantes 10–1, 164, 171
Abantis 171
Abdemon 267
Abdera/Abderites 75, 80, 85, 91–100, 104–5, 128
Abderos 99
Abydos 468
Acanthus 53–61, 75
Acarnanians 480, 512
Achaea/Achaeans 11, 158, 161, 163, 172, 235, 270, 322, 327, 338, 391–5, 413, 418, 420, 347, 444, 482
Achaemenid(s) see Persia
Achais 444
Acheron (river) 157
Achilles 172, 418–9
Achilleus 347
Acrae 362, 387, 389, 396–7, 406
Acragas 387–9, 396–7, 402, 409, 496–8, 500, 504, 515
Acro 398
Acroceraunian mountains 158, 164
Acrolissus 177
Adikran 205
Admesu/Admitos 261
Adramyttion 486, 512
Adrano 499, 513
Adria 169, 174–5, 501, 513
Adriatic (coast/sea) 155–83, 471, 501, 510
Aea/Aeëtes 158
Aeacids 172, 179, 181
Aegean 1–129 passim, 227–31, 238, 247, 250, 254, 268, 277–8, 300, 308, 310, 312, 316, 318–9, 341, 405, 428, 462, 464, 466, 478, 483, 489–90
Aegialus/Aegialeia see Achaea
Aegina/Aeginetans 174, 429, 436–7, 439–41, 443–4, 449, 451, 453–4, 461, 463, 474–5, 509
Aegira 322, 349
Aelianus 430, 433–4, 451, 510
Aeneas/*Aeneid* 11, 31, 60–3, 119, 172, 398–9, 410, 415
Aeneas Tacitus 208
Aenos 80, 118–20
Aeolis/Aeolians/Aeolian migration 35, 40, 69, 110, 114, 116, 118–21, 126–7, 391–2
Aepeia 270
Aeschines 440, 444–5, 454, 463, 466, 469–70, 476, 491–2, 508–10
Aeschylus 155, 157, 429, 447, 494
Aetna (see also Catane) 493–5, 497, 499, 503, 511–2
Agamemnon 245, 271–2, 338, 418–9
Agapenor/Agapenoridai 270–1, 275–6
Agariste 170
Agathocles 503
Agenor 75
Aglaophon 129
Agnon 71–2
Agora 430
agriculture 32, 34–5, 40, 42, 54, 65–6, 71, 73, 80, 96, 114–5, 120, 125, 178–9, 187, 189, 204–5, 210, 223, 295, 300, 302, 317, 319–21, 327–32, 338, 438, 440, 443, 451, 455, 458–60, 466, 474, 484, 505
Agron 181
Agyrion 503, 515
Ai-Lia 76
Aï-Yannis 47
Aiakos 275
Aïdonohori 70
Aige 37–8
Aigion 322
Aineia 11, 24, 28, 31, 33, 41
Ainyra 75
Aisyme see Oesyme
Ajax 172, 270, 454
Akamas (person/place) 11, 66, 270, 454
Akanthian Gulf 50
Akestor 261, 264
Akontisma 87
Akropotamos 84
Akrothooi/Akrothynnoi/Akrothoion 50–1
Akrovita 336
Akte 39, 50–1
Al Mina 311

Alaas 241–2
Alassa-Paliotaverna 231
Alazeir of Barca 207, 209
Alba Longa 487
Albania 156–82
Alcaeus 122, 129, 429
Alcetas 176, 501
Alcibiades 42, 485, 493
Alexander I of Molossia 419
Alexander the Great 178, 180, 244, 467, 471, 483, 487, 489, 515
Alexandria 278
Alexandropolis 489, 515
Alexandroupoli 115–6
Alkidas 481
Alkinoos 162, 180
Alopeconnesus 119–21
Aloros 18
alphabet/syllabary/script/writing/language 4, 6, 28, 84, 116, 128, 159, 194, 220, 225, 227–9, 233–8, 240–3, 245, 250–6, 262–3, 264–6, 268–9, 277, 341–5, 403–4, 418, 447, 483
Alyki 77
Amantes 159, 171
Amantia 164, 171
Amarynthos 353
Amasis/A-ahmes 205, 212
Amathus 234, 242–3, 245, 247–9, 251, 256, 259, 262, 266, 268, 270, 272–3, 320
Ambracia 158–9, 173, 479–80
America 293, 296, 298
Amisus (Piriaeus) 447, 509
Ammon 213
Amorgos 349, 354
Ampelos 49
Amphiaraus 158
Amphimnestos 170
Amphipolis 66–72, 126, 440, 444–5, 449, 451, 453–4, 457–9, 468, 470, 475–7, 480, 509
Amyclae 412, 418
Amygdaleon 90
Amyntas 490
Anacreon 91, 129
Anaktorion 480, 512
Anastasius I 161
Anat 272
Anatolia 159, 300, 405
Anaxibios 468
Anaxilas of Rhegion 392, 397, 505–6
Anaximenes 488
Ancona 163, 174–5, 177–9, 502, 513
Andocides 461, 463, 508, 510
andrapodismos 453, 456, 469, 475, 480
Androcles 252, 268
Androdamas 5
Andromachus 500, 514
Andros/Andrian(s) 52–66, 70, 126, 323, 356, 362, 437, 510
Angites 66
Anhialos 8, 16, 19, 21, 490
Antalcidas 464
Antenor 161–3
Anthemus 26
Antiochus of Syracuse 361, 388, 392, 396, 398–401, 406, 412–4, 439, 506, 512
Antiphemos of Rhodes 388, 399, 406, 410
Antiphon 442
Antisara 81, 83, 86–7, 90
Antissa 354
Antonius Liberalis 161
Aoos (river/valley) 169, 171
Apapenor 270
Aphrodite 31, 70, 160–1, 272, 275
Aphytis/Athytos 8, 37–9, 449
apoikiai/apoikoi 174, 178, 254, 271, 277, 292, 361–2, 386, 413, 415, 435–7, 439, 442, 444, 457, 462, 464, 471–2
Apollo 38, 63, 72, 74, 77, 87, 99–101, 116, 157, 169, 172, 190, 195–6, 198, 200, 205, 213, 267, 272, 298, 336, 385, 400, 418–9, 421
Apollo Archegetes 77
Apollodorus 160, 165, 429, 455
Apollonia (Akte) 51
Apollonia (Illyria) 157, 165–6, 168–73, 179–80, 182, 480
Apollonia (Libya) 197–8, 201, 203
Apollonia (Macedonia) 65
Apollonia (Mygdonian) 65
Apollonia (Thasian) 84
Apollonia Pontica 120, 490
Apollonius of Rhodes 155, 158, 164–5, 175, 385, 402, 491
Appian 66, 127, 157, 162–4, 179, 182, 447, 489, 509
Apsinthians 119, 123
Apsinthos 119
Apsos (valley) 169
Apulia 161, 179, 182, 502, 514
Aquileia 175
Aratos 261

Aradus 310
Arcadia 234, 270, 275, 307, 444, 455, 494, 497
Arcas 444
Archias 165, 398, 401
Archidamian War 443, 459, 481
Archidamus II 483
Archidamus III 417
Archilochos 12, 45, 70–1, 73–4, 77, 85, 91–2, 94, 101, 126, 129, 290, 327–8, 346
Archonides of Herbita 497, 499, 513
Archytas of Taras 506
Ardian dynasty 181
Ares 160
Arethousa 65
Argeadae 5
Argilus/Arkilos 53–4, 63–4, 70, 445, 460
Argolis/Argolid 300, 302, 321, 325, 336
Argonauts 158–9, 161, 190, 193
Argos 9, 161, 270, 275, 333, 337, 349–50, 356, 362, 420, 480, 512
Argos (Amphilochian) 480, 512
Argyrippa 161
Aristagoras of Miletus 69, 455
Aristides 443, 455, 461
Ariston 441, 449
Aristonous 388
Aristophanes 210, 399, 401, 440–3, 449, 451, 456, 458, 509–10
Aristoteles, Decree of 464–5
Aristotle 5, 43, 60, 171, 187, 291, 329, 391, 393, 416–8, 428–9, 439, 446, 450, 461, 463, 466–7, 505–6, 511–2
Arkesilas I 200
Arkesilas II 196, 201, 203, 207–8, 210
Arkesilas III 189, 194, 200, 203, 207, 212
Arkesilas IV 190
Arkesilas vase 210
Arne/Arnai/Arnaia 65
Arrian 487, 490–1
Arsanas 50
Artabazos 45
Artachaies (tomb of) 63
Artaxerxes 464
Artemidorus 489
Artemis 40, 72, 111, 129, 165, 200, 322, 353, 412–3, 421
Artemision 77
Artemon of Pergamum 399–400
Aryandes 189, 212
Asbystai 207
Asclepius 48, 72, 86–7
Asia Minor (see also specific places and regions) 94, 120, 270, 300, 302, 421, 483–6
Asine 336, 349–50
Askalon 315, 341
Askra 290
Aspros Kavos 47
Assa/Assera 47–8
Assyria(ns) 248, 257, 259, 261, 263
Astacus 448, 453
Astarte 254, 271–2
Astraia 488, 515
Athanis 503, 515
Athena 45, 60, 72, 78, 83, 86, 111, 114, 161, 208, 275, 336, 338, 418, 436, 455
Athena Alea 275, 336
Athenaeus 9, 399, 463, 467, 506
Athenais 444
Athens/Athenian 9–10, 12, 16, 42, 65–7, 70–2, 79, 81, 87, 121–4, 126, 128–9, 173–4, 178–9, 270, 291, 297, 306, 319, 325–6, 329, 334–5, 339, 341, 350, 356–8, 361–4, 390, 398, 417, 429–77, 480–3, 486–7, 489, 491–3, 498, 505, 508–11, 514
Athenian Confederacy/League
  First 5, 26, 31, 33, 35, 38–40, 42, 45, 47, 50, 54, 60–1, 64–5, 69, 79, 81, 87, 90, 98, 103, 105, 107, 114, 120, 122
  Second 456, 461, 464–6, 468, 506
athletes 122–3, 211, 429
Athos (canal/peninsula) 5, 50–1, 53–4, 61, 126
Atreus 418–9
Attica 12, 39, 47, 56, 61, 64, 67, 70–1, 78, 96, 98, 116, 123, 302, 320–2, 325–6, 331, 434, 438, 444, 454, 462, 466, 472
Augustine 455
Aulon 171
Auschisai 207
Australia 292–3, 296, 323
Avienus 402
Axiohori/Axios valley 8, 34
Axiokeros/Axiokersa 112
Ayia Paraskevi 24, 26, 106
Ayios Andreas 354
Ayios Athanassios 24, 101, 103

Ayios Dimitrios 19
Ayios Mamas 50
Ayios Nikolaos 39, 48
Ayios Yeoryios 40, 48, 101, 103, 106
Azbaal 267
Aziris 196, 206

Baalmilk 263, 267
Babylon 315
Bacchiadae 159, 163–6, 170, 398, 401, 429, 479
Bacchylides 494
Bactria 212
Bakales 207
Bakla Burnu 121
Balkans 159
barbarians/*barbaroi* see native
Barca 191, 196, 201, 203, 207–13
Bardylis 501
Bassit see Ras el-Bassit
Baton 158
Battiads of Cyrene 189–90, 193–6, 198, 200, 203–4, 207–10, 212, 214, 410, 416
Battos (the Founder) 189–90, 193–4, 196, 198, 200, 210, 410
Battos II 204, 206, 208
Battos III 193
Battos IV 213
Bellerophon 343
Bendis 72, 99, 129
Berge 69–70
Bergepolis 96
Beroia 34
Berytus 310
Bible 292, 304, 307–8, 312, 317, 340, 395
Bibline *chora* 83
'Big-man' societies 260, 297, 356
Bisaltae/Bisaltia(ns) 5, 34, 51, 63–4, 67, 69–70, 72, 79–80, 128
Bisanthe 104
Bistonians 79, 91, 104
Bistonis (lagoon/lake) 92, 104–5
Black Corcyra (Korčula) 158, 161, 169, 174–5, 178, 501
Black Sea 28, 80, 82, 120, 158, 296, 346, 447, 468, 484, 490–2
Bocchoris 409
Boeotia(ns) 163, 300, 302, 305, 321, 330, 344, 432–3, 444, 481, 483
Boreas 129
Bosporus, the 80
Bottiaia(ns) 20, 34, 49, 52, 489
Boubaya 104
Bouthoe/Budva 160
Bouthrotos (peninsula) 162, 164, 172
Brasidas 72, 449, 481, 483
Brea 33, 128, 439–41, 443, 445, 449, 453, 473, 508–9
Brentesini 418
Brentesion 159
Brentos 159
Brindisi (Brundisium) 180
Brittany 307
bronze/bronzework(ers) 305–7, 336–8, 361
Brychos 111
Bryges 158–9, 163
Budva see Bouthoe
Bulgaria 12, 79, 89, 125
burials see tombs
Busursu 261
Byblos 310–1, 331, 339, 343
Byzantium 208, 458, 476–7, 485

Cabyle 488, 515
Cadmus 75, 110, 158–61, 163, 456
Caesar 164–5
Cairo 278
Calabria 505
Calame, Claude 385
Cale Acte 497, 512
Callatis 490, 513
Callias, Peace of 267
Callimachus 190, 193, 195, 200, 209, 385, 391
Callipolis 391, 403
Callistratus 489, 514
Calpe 485
Caltafaraci 500
Camarina 166, 387, 389, 396–7, 496, 498, 505, 515
Cambyses 211–2
Camicus 496
Campania(ns) 498–9, 512
Canaan(ite) 309
Cape Bouloustra 92
Cape Hrousso 38
Cape Thrambos/Kanastron 38
Cardia 120–1, 123, 430, 446, 469
Caria(n) 28, 110–1
Carthage/Carthaginian 194, 211, 257, 310, 312, 478, 493, 498–503, 514
Casmenae 362, 387, 389, 396–7
Cassander 24, 61
Cassandra 161, 179

Cassandra/Pallene Peninsula 13, 37–8, 41
Cassandreia 43
Cassius Dio 169, 179, 182
Castor 363
Catane (see also Aetna) 362, 387, 389–91, 396–7, 403, 406, 493, 495, 498–9, 503, 512–3
Caulonia 387, 389, 392, 394, 399, 401, 500–1, 514
Celts 157, 178
cemeteries see tombs
Centuripe 503
Ceraunian mountains 159
Cersobleptes 469, 488–9
Cetriporis 489
Chabrias 463, 465
Chalastra 21
Chalcidice 1, 4–6, 8, 10–2, 15–7, 21, 33–5, 38–9, 41–5, 49–53, 64–6, 83, 96, 124–6, 306–7
Chalcidian League 466
Chalcis/Chalcidian 1, 4–6, 10, 12, 16–7, 33, 37, 45, 47, 51–3, 66, 126, 305–6, 312–3, 331, 344, 351, 353, 361, 390–2, 394–5, 398, 403–4, 433–4, 447, 450–1, 458, 466–8, 495–6, 510
Chania 222
Chaonians 162, 166
Charadries/Charadrou 50
Charakoma 107, 117
Chares 463, 469–70, 476
Charidemos 469–70
chariots 158, 170, 208, 213
Charon of Lampsacus 439
Chelandariou Monastery 50
Chersicrates 18, 163–5
Chersonesus (Thracian)/Chersonese 118, 120–1, 123, 430–1, 433–4, 437, 439, 445–6, 453–4, 457–60, 462–3, 468–9, 472, 475, 484, 508, 511
Chersonesus Taurica (Crimea) 490–1, 513
Chios/Chian(s) 39, 78, 98–101, 104, 120, 126, 326, 418, 456, 476–7
Chora 111
chora/agricultural lands (see also agriculture) 18, 83, 427
Christodoros 161
Chrysopolis 67
Chytroi 242, 257, 261, 266
Chytropolis 39
Cicero 291, 498
Cimmericum 491
Cimon/Cimonids 67, 123, 128, 430, 434, 443, 445, 457
citizenship 268, 364, 432–4, 436, 439–41, 447–50, 457, 466, 471–2, 503–4
Claudius Ptolemy see Ptolemy
Clazomenae/Clazomenian(s) 56, 60, 91–2, 94, 96, 98, 121, 126, 486
Cleisthenes/Cleisthenic 170, 432, 434
Cleonae 50
Cleopatra 178
Cleosthenes 170
cleruchies 42, 435–8, 440–4, 448, 450–3, 458–9, 461–2, 464–9, 471–3, 475–7, 486, 511
climate 94, 301–2, 361–2
Cnidus/Cnidian 174, 463, 476, 483
Cobrys 121
Cocytus 157
coinage 6, 11, 24–6, 31–2, 34, 40–1, 43, 45, 48, 54, 56, 61, 64, 68–9, 72, 79, 81, 88–90, 96–7, 103–6, 120, 127–8, 180, 194, 204, 210, 213, 263–7, 273, 400, 415–6, 489–90, 500–1, 506
Colchis/Colchian(s) (see also Aea) 158–9, 485, 492
colonisation/settlement (see also under Aeolian, Dorian, Ionian, Mycenaean, Phocaean, Phoenician, etc. and under individual regions, areas and colonies/settlements)
  decolonisation 478
  foundation stories 269, 290–1, 383–422
  irredentism 466, 474
  modern comparisons 292–8
  patronal 429, 431–2, 434, 477
  reasons for 293–6, 360–4, 427
  recolonisation 465–71, 474–9, 485, 489, 492, 496, 498, 503, 507
  revanchism 463
  terminology/anachronism 290–2
  typology/structure 291, 296, 386, 429–32, 434–40
Colophon 392, 394, 447, 453–4, 460, 508–9
Conon 66, 463
copper (ore/trade) 21, 225, 231, 275, 305–6, 336, 360–1
Corcyra 5, 18, 157–9, 163–6, 169, 173, 179, 182, 291, 479–80
Corfu 165

Corinth(ians) 18, 26, 28, 35, 37, 39–42, 44, 47, 52, 56, 61, 64–5, 67, 70–1, 78, 82–3, 96, 98, 122, 126, 159, 164–73, 178, 204, 291, 293, 302, 327, 333, 337, 340, 359, 361–2, 394, 407–8, 419–20, 428–9, 463, 478–80, 497, 502–4, 512, 515
Cornwall 307
Craterus 466–7, 476, 491, 511
Crenides (person) 490
Crenides (place) (see also Daton and Philippi) 88, 90, 489–90
Crete/Cretan(s) 20, 34, 187, 194, 197, 221–3, 225, 229, 303, 319, 329–30, 333–5, 337, 391, 412, 483
Crimea 490–1
Crimisus (battle) 503
Croesus 213
Croton 387, 389, 392–4, 396, 398–401, 505
Cumae/Cyme (Aeolian) 1, 119, 121, 290, 353, 391–2, 486
Cumae (Euboean—Campania) 387, 389, 391–2, 394–6, 398, 447, 495
Cunaxa (battle) 484
Cyclades 35, 56, 82, 177, 305, 349, 442
Cyclopean masonry 101, 229, 276
Cyclops/Cyclopes 100, 353
Cylon 358
Cyme see Cumae
Cypasis 121
Cyprus/Cypriote 219–79, 305, 308, 310, 312–3, 316–8, 320, 334, 338, 341–4, 361
  Arcado-Cypriote 234–5, 237, 252, 256, 269, 277
  Cypro-Archaic 220, 248, 250, 259–60
  Cypro-Classical 220, 248, 260, 263, 273
  Cypro-Geometric 236, 241–2, 248–51, 255, 259–60, 272–3
  Cypro-Minoan 221, 225, 227–8, 233–4, 236–8, 240, 256
  Cypro-Phoenician 262–3, 271
  Cypro-Syllabic 264
  Eteocypriote 251–2, 256, 268
  Greek-speaking 220–3, 233–5, 242–3, 249, 251, 256, 269–70
  state formation 255–60
  syllabary 233, 236, 240, 252, 255–6, 264, 266, 277, 342
Cypselus/Cypselids 123, 429, 479
Cyrenaica 187
Cyrene/Cyrenaean(s) 189–201, 203, 205–13, 291, 385, 410–1, 416
Cyrus 484–5
Cytaea 491
Cythera 483

Daedalus/Daedalic 421
Dafni 50
Dalmatia 157–9, 163, 169, 173, 175, 177
Damagon 481
Damasos 261
Damastion 170
Damusi 261
Danube 79, 155, 158
Dardanelles see Hellespont
Dardani/Dardanos 159, 161
Darius 69, 117–8, 123, 431
Dark Age 222, 230, 247, 260, 301, 308–20, 322, 337, 354, 427
Daton(ians) (see also Crenides and Philippi) 86, 90, 489–90
Daunia(ns)/Daunus 161, 173
Dazos 175
decrees 178–9, 189, 439–40, 450, 452, 456, 464–5, 476
Deinomenes/Deinomenids 399, 406–7, 493–5, 504, 512
Deiphobus 171–2
Delian League 452, 456
della Valle, Loreenzo 291
Delos 486, 491, 512–3
Delphi/Delphic Oracle (see also Apollo) 42, 54, 72–4, 99, 121, 123, 172, 174, 176, 190, 195, 213, 291, 294, 296, 337, 385, 400–1, 412, 414–5, 419, 481, 486
Delphi, treasuries at 42, 172, 174
Demades 463
Demeter 74, 84, 201, 455
Demetrian Harbour 112
Demetrios of Pharos 182
Democritus 91, 129
Demonax of Mantineia 193–4, 209
Demonikos 266
Demophon 11, 66, 270
Demosthenes 459, 463, 466, 468–70, 472–4, 476–7, 487–8, 491, 511, 514–5
Derenos 99
Dexippus 488
dialect see alphabet
Dicearchia-Pozzuoli 387, 389, 391

Dikaia 5, 24–6, 31, 44, 80, 97–8, 104–5
Dikaia (Thracian)/Dikaiopolis 104
Dikaios 44, 104
Dikella 109, 118
Dinarchis 179
Dinarchus 466, 468, 476, 491, 511
Diodorus Siculus 6, 166, 176–7, 179, 187, 364, 388, 391, 395–6, 398–404, 408, 414, 416, 428, 431, 436, 439–40, 442–5, 448, 456, 461–2, 464–71, 476, 481–3, 485–9, 492–506, 508–15
Diogenes Laertius 429, 432, 441, 462, 472, 509
Diomedes 99, 104, 129, 158, 161–2, 172
Dion 50, 504
Dionysius I 404, 498–502, 506, 512–3
Dionysius II 501–2, 514
Dionysius of Halicarnassus 31, 53, 162, 398–9, 401–2, 441, 444, 476, 500, 506, 508
Dionysius of Syracuse 174–8, 181
Dionysius the Periegete 399, 401–2
Dionysopolis 490
Dionysus 8, 39, 99–100, 103, 129, 160, 455
Diopeithes 469
Dioskouroi, the 112, 393, 418–9
Dioskurias 492
Diotimos 447
diplomatic gifts see gifts
Dipylon Master 320
Diyllus 503
Dobera 488, 515
Dodona/Dodonians 157, 333
Dologians 123
Doloncoi 430
Dorians/Dorian migration etc. 175, 194, 222, 383, 390–2, 404, 418, 481, 483, 493, 495–6, 511
Dorieus 193–4, 211
Doris 481
Doriscus 117–8
Douris 466–7, 476, 511
Doxandros 266
Drabeskos 67
Drakotrypa 77
Drama (place) 12
Drepane-Corcyra 158
Drin (river) 175, 177
Drongilos 488, 515
Drys 105, 107, 109, 114–6, 118
Ducetius 486, 495, 497, 512
Dunbabin, Thomas 292–4, 383, 401, 405–6
Durazzo/Durrës see Epidamnus-Dyrrhachium
Dymanes 175
Dyrrhachium see Epidamnus
Dyrrhachus 157
Dyspontium 171

East Greece/Greek (see also Ionia) 28, 35, 40, 56, 64, 67, 71, 77–8, 82–3, 96, 98, 194, 197, 204, 297, 455
Ebysos (Ibiza) 310
Echedoros 21, 32, 44, 307
Echetimos 271
Edessa 11
Edil 261
Edones/Edonians 5, 32, 51, 63, 66–8, 79, 445
Edonis/Odonis 77
Egypt(ian) 34, 78–9, 96, 105, 187, 192, 205, 211–3, 225, 234, 248, 251, 253, 278, 306, 309–10, 312, 316, 338–9, 343, 346, 409
Egyptianising 310
Eion 34–5, 38, 67–70, 440, 453, 508
Eioneus 67
eisphora 450
Elaious 118, 121–3, 468–9
Elea see Hyele
Eleia 444
Eleusis 320, 338, 349–50, 432, 455
Eleutherai 432
Elimiotis 490, 514
Elis 171, 333
Elpia(s) 161, 173
Emathia 490, 514
emporia (definitions, etc.) 86, 386
Encheleans 158, 160
Enkomi 225–7, 231, 233, 243–4, 247, 274
Ennea Hodoi 66, 71, 445, 453, 508
Entimos of Crete 388, 399
Eos 172
Epaminondas 476
Epanomi 33
Epetium 175
Ephesus 456
Ephippos 467
Ephorus 390, 396–8, 402, 406, 412–3, 430, 434, 439, 443–4, 481, 489
Epicurus 467

Epidamnus (king) 157
Epidamnus-Dyrrhachium 157, 161, 163, 165–7, 169–73, 179–80, 182, 291, 479–80, 512
Epidamnus, Treasury at Olympia 171
Epidaurum 173
Epidaurus 24, 48
epikrateia 498, 500, 502–3
Epipalos 268
Epirus/Epirote 157, 159, 162, 164, 166, 172, 176, 179–81
Epistrophos 170
epoikoi 436, 439–40, 444, 446, 449–50, 458, 460, 467–8, 470–1, 477–8
Eratoclides 166
Eretria(ns) 1, 5, 13–4, 17–8, 24, 26, 33, 37–8, 51–3, 66, 81, 126, 159, 163–5, 329, 336–7, 352–3, 356, 358, 362–3, 390–2, 398, 433, 436, 438, 510
Ergani 101
Ergoteles 496
Erusu 261
Erythrae 448, 453, 509
Erzen (valley) 169
Erzgebirge 307
Esfigmenous Monastery 50
Eski Hisarlik 122
Essarhaddon 257, 261–2, 264, 266
Eteandros 261, 264
ethnicity 272, 436, 482–3, 495–6
Etruria/Etruscan(s) 163, 174, 178, 181, 210, 310, 338, 421, 471, 495
Euagoras (king of Salamis) see Evagoras
Euagoras (son of Periander) 41
Euanthes 100, 124
Euboea(ns) 1, 4–6, 8–19, 21, 24, 28, 31, 33, 39, 41, 43–4, 51–2, 65–6, 73, 125–6, 163–5, 171, 192, 293, 300, 302, 305–14, 316–9, 329, 333, 336, 338, 343–4, 349, 351, 356, 362, 392, 395, 428, 433, 436–7, 440, 442, 453, 456, 458, 461, 465, 481, 492
Eubois 444
Eu(h)esperides 191, 194, 196, 201, 203–4, 206–7, 209–10, 212–3
Eumaeus 318, 332
Euripedes 100, 129, 160, 162, 172
Eusebius 53, 73, 166, 192, 291, 390, 395, 397–8, 406, 408
Eustathius 160, 399, 401
Euthycles 469
Euxine see Black Sea
Evagoras 267–8
Evelthon 244, 264
Evenius 171
Ezekiel 304, 307–8, 340

Fabius Pictor 181–2
Famagusta 244
Fari 78
Felsina 174
Festus 429
flora and fauna 302–4
Frontinus 476

Gaïdourokastro 83
Galepsus 47, 83–4, 90
Galepsus (person) 84
Galicia (Iberian) 307
Galilee 312
Gallikos 21, 307
Gallipoli see Chersonesus
Gamoroi 428
Gareskos 25
Gargano 174, 179
Gatos 105, 109
Gaul(s) 163, 178
Gefyra of Servia 8
Gela 387–9, 391, 396–7, 399–400, 402, 406, 408–10, 492, 494, 497–8, 504, 515
Gelon of Gela 492
Gelon of Syracuse 390, 404, 406, 493–5
Genthius 182
Genusus (river/valley) 169, 179
Geryon/*Geryoneis* 157–9
gifts 54, 100, 317, 338, 340, 360
Gigonos 33–4
Giligamai 207
Glarokavos 38
Glaucus 74, 77, 161
Glaukias 179
Glos 486
Gnathia 182
gold 21, 54, 75, 81, 88, 90, 305–7
Golden Fleece 158, 161
Gomati 47
Gomphi 490, 514
Gona Toumba 24
Gonia 24
Gorgippia 491
Gorgippus 491
Gorgon 165
Gortyn 483
graffiti 35, 342–3

grain 178–9, 317, 319–20, 327, 331, 440, 451, 455, 458, 474
graves see tombs
Greece, Central 297, 289–364 *passim*
Greek expansion, etc. see colonisation
Greekness 278–9
Gyenos 492
Gylaceia see Apollonia (Illyria)
Gylax 169
Gylon 491–2

Hades 157
Hagnon 454
Haisa 33–4
Hala Sultan Tekke 231, 244
Halaisa 499, 513
Haliakmon 18–9, 34, 307
Halkyoneas 44
Hama 408
Hanioti 38
Hannibal (son of Gisco) 404
Harmonia 75, 158–61, 163
Harpocration 489
Hebrus (river) 80, 105, 115–9, 127, 488
Hecataeus of Miletus 26, 109, 158, 165, 456
Hecate 99
Hector 162
Hegesistratos 122
Helenus 162, 172
Hellanicus 160, 390, 399, 406, 430
Hellenisation 91, 129, 221–3, 238, 268, 300, 430, 480
Hellespont 121, 123–4, 459
Hephaistia 432, 472
Hera 275, 298
Heracleia 501, 513
Heracleia (Mygdonian) 24
Heracleia Lucania (Siris) 419, 506, 512
Heracleia Lynkestis 487, 514
Heracleia Minoa 505, 515
Heracleia Pontica 208, 484–5, 490, 513
Heracleia Sintica 488, 515
Heracleia Trachinia/in Trachis 481–3, 512
Heracles 32, 43–5, 76, 99, 104, 157–9, 180, 272–3, 313, 398–400, 481, 506
Heraclides Lembos 361, 400–1, 466
Heraclides Ponticus 504
Heraclium 6, 32, 76–7
Herbita 513
Herkeios 84
Hermes 77, 112, 120, 418
Hermione 336
Hermippus 481–2
Hermos (river/valley) 300
Herodian 399
Herodotus 10, 24, 37, 43–5, 47–8, 51, 54, 61, 63–4, 68–9, 73, 75–6, 80, 88–9, 98, 107, 109, 116–8, 124, 157, 159–60, 165–6, 170–1, 173, 187, 189–98, 200–1, 203–13, 264, 267, 270, 272, 290–1, 296, 307, 313, 344, 346, 357, 361, 385, 392, 396, 403–4, 406, 414, 416, 428–31, 433–4, 439–41, 445, 454–6, 483, 492, 506
Hesiod 155, 160, 290, 297, 302, 327–32, 338–9, 346
Hesychius 445, 508
Hierapytna 20
Hieron of Syracuse 406, 493–6, 511
Himera 387, 389, 391, 395, 403–4, 493, 496, 498, 511
Himilco 498–9, 513
Hippias of Elis 403
Hippobotae/Hippobotai 5, 433
Hippocrates (1) 129
Hippocrates (2) 496
Hippocrates of Gela 166, 492
Hipponium 500, 514
Hippostratos 496
Hiram (Sidonia) 262
Hiram of Tyre 311–3, 317
Histiaea(ns) 436–7, 440, 443, 449–50, 453, 460–1, 465, 509
Histiaeus 68–9
Hittite(s) 309, 311
Holomondas 26
Holophyxos/Holophyxis 50
Homer/Homeric (poems/society) 75, 83, 91, 100–1, 112, 119, 160–1, 192, 194, 235, 269, 271, 276, 290, 302–6, 308, 318, 327–32, 338–40, 343–8, 352, 359, 363, 393
Hortiatis 26
Hrousso Peninsula 38
Hvar see Pharos
Hyacinthia, festival 412–3, 418
Hyblon 390
Hyele 504
Hyginus 455
Hylleis 175
Hyllus/Hylleans 158–9
Hyperboreans 155, 157

Hyperides 179, 471–3
Hypsele 323, 356
Hysiai 432

Iamblichus 399
Iapygia(n) 159, 181, 412, 414–6, 419
Ias 444
Iasus 467
Iatnana 257
Iberia/Iberian Peninsula 173, 307, 310
Ibiza see Ebysos
Idalion 242, 257, 261, 264, 267
Iliad see Homer
Ilium 16
Illyria(ns) 157–61, 163, 165–6, 168–73, 175–7, 179–81, 479, 487, 501–2, 514
Illyrian Wars 180–3
Illyrius 160
Imbros/Imbrians 124, 431, 436, 454, 462–4, 472–4, 476, 510
Inessa (see also Aetna) 495, 497, 512
inscriptions, etc. 14, 24, 28, 34, 48, 61, 68–9, 71, 82, 84–6, 89–90, 116–7, 174, 178, 187, 190, 194, 220, 227, 248, 251–2, 255, 262–4, 267–8, 418, 432, 435, 437, 447–8, 451, 464, 467, 474, 477
Io 157
Ion of Chios 456
Ionia(ns) (see also East Greece) 10, 15–6, 28, 35, 56, 69–70, 75, 89, 91, 96, 99–101, 104, 110, 118, 121–6, 383, 392, 394, 427, 431, 447, 455–6, 460, 482–3, 485–6
  Gulf 506
  Islands 165, 278
  migration etc. 10, 75, 99, 101, 121–4, 126, 220, 383, 427, 456
  revolt 244, 263, 267, 431
Ionius, son of Dyrrhachus 157
Iphicrates 468, 470
Iraklitsa 83
Irasa 197, 209
iron 304–5, 317, 337–8
Is of Helice 411
Ischia 337
Isis grave 320
Ismara 100–1, 103
Ismaris 100
Ismaros 99, 101, 107, 115
Isocrates 439, 443, 445, 455, 462, 464–6, 468, 470, 474, 476, 485, 489, 511, 514
Issa (Vis) 158, 162, 174–5, 177, 182, 501, 513
Isthmia 322
Istria (Pontic) 490
Istros (river) 158
Italiot League 506
Italy (peninsular) 34, 79, 277, 293, 305, 310, 346, 362, 387–422, 492, 505–6
Ithaca 157, 162, 300, 342, 347
Iviron Monastery 50

Jason 99, 158–9
Joannes of Epidamnus 161
Justinus 161, 393, 418, 487, 489, 496–7, 501, 506

Kabeiroi 112
Kadmilos 112
Kalamitsa 86
Kalamoto 65
Kalandra 13
Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios 228, 231, 245
Kalindoia 65
Kallithea 39
Kalyves 49
Kampsa 33
Kanastron 38
Kapros 61
Kapsohora 38
Kapys 496
Karabournaki see Therme
Karnabik 121
Karyes 50
Karystos 436, 440, 510
Kastamonitou Monastery 50
Kastanas 19, 31
Kastianeira 83
Kastri 76
Kastro 329
Katerini 19
Katsamakia 104
Katyani 83
Kavala 60, 80, 82, 86–7, 90
Kelli 48
Kellion 487, 514
Keos 504
Kephalai (Thasian) 80
Kepoi 491–2

Kerameikos (Attic, Euboean) 9, 330, 359
Kerch Peninsula 491
Kerdylion 63
Kerkyra Melaina see Black Corcyra
Kestrine 158–9, 166
Khirokitia culture 223
Khorsabad 257
Kikones 100–1, 103, 106
Kinyps 193–4, 211
Kinyradai 271
Kinyras 245, 259, 271–2
Kissos 26
Kisu 261
Kithas 33
Kition (-Bamboula/Kathari) 231, 240, 242, 244–6, 248–9, 253–8, 261–4, 266–8, 270–1, 273–4, 316
Kitrusi 261
Kleio 72
Kleoboia 74
Kleon 458
Knossos 222, 319, 483, 496
Koinyra 75
Kombreia 33–4
Kommos 303, 319, 329–30, 337
Kophos 45
Korčula see Black Corcyra
Kore 200–1
Korkyra see Corcyra
Korybantes 27
Kostas 49
Kosovo 159
Kotor, Mouths of 158, 169
Koukos 12–3, 15
Koukounaries 354
Koulia 47
Kourion 242, 245, 248–9, 257, 261, 264, 267, 270
Koutso 96
kraters 26, 40, 312, 330, 338, 360
Kremastos 101
Krestonia(ns) 51
Krithote 430, 446, 468
Kritziana 33–4
Kromios 494
Krounoi 490
Krousis/Krousian(s) 31, 33, 38, 40–1
Kuri 261
Kryopiyi 37
Kucuk Kemikli 121
Kydias 467
Kyknos 32, 44
Kyme see Cumae
Kyme (modern) 349
Kypseli 18

Laconia(n) 28, 40, 82, 204, 210, 266, 270, 304, 420–1, 481–2, 487
Lagadas basin 8
Lake Ahinos 69
Lake Bistonis 104–5
Lake Bolbe 65
Lake Ismaris 100
Lake Kerkinitis 69–70
Lake Ohrid 170
Lake Prasias 488
Lamian War 178, 471
Lamis 390, 410
language see alphabet
Laodice 212, 275
Lapithos 242, 266, 270
Larnaca see Kition
Larnaki 77
Latium 11, 342
Laurion 100, 305–7, 316–7, 440
lead 305–6
Leagros 66
Lebanon see Levant, Phoenicia, etc.
Ledra 257, 261, 266
Lefkandi 1, 13–5, 298, 309, 312–20, 324, 336, 339, 344, 351, 353, 356
Lefki 89
legend see myth
Lekythos (place) 13, 45, 47
Lelantine plain 52, 300, 305, 317, 320
Lelantine War 5, 41, 52, 125, 353
Lemnos/Lemnians 51, 75, 124, 126, 338, 431–4, 436, 446–7, 451, 454–5, 457, 460, 462–4, 472–6, 510
Leocrates 178
Leon 481
Leontini 362, 387, 389–90, 396–7, 409, 493, 495, 498–9, 503–4, 513
Lepcis Magna 193, 211
Leptines 74
Lesbos 28, 110, 119–20, 122, 306, 354, 435, 437–8, 442–3, 452, 458, 510
Lete 32, 68
Leto 32
Leucadia 178
Leucas 479
Leuce 486
Leucon 491
Leuctra 466

Leukimne (battle) 480
Levant 192, 225, 229, 259, 308–13, 316, 318, 320, 339–41, 343–4, 346
Lëzhë see Lissus
Libanius 439, 468–9, 511
Liburni(an) 159, 161, 163, 165, 177
Libya(ns) 187–214, 346, 385
Lidir 261
Limassol 262
Limenas 77
Limnae 121
Lindii see Gela
Linear A 221
Linear B 12, 222, 229–30, 235, 269, 276, 353
Liotopi 61
Lipaxos 33–4
Lisai 33
Lissus 175–7, 179, 182, 501, 513
Livy 396, 398, 410, 487, 490
Locri(an)/Locris 319, 351, 356, 387, 389, 391–6, 398, 402, 478, 499–500, 511, 513
Lombarda 174–5
Loutra/Loutro 116
Lucani 404, 506
Luceria 161
Lusitania 307
Lychnis 161
Lycophron 161, 399, 418, 447, 471, 502
Lycurgus 129, 178, 455
Lycus of Rhegium 161
Lydia 213
Lyktos 483
Lyncestrians 170
Lysander 446, 462, 466
Lysandros (of Amathus) 268
Lysias 441, 445

Maa-Palaeokastro 232
Macedonia(ns) 5, 8–11, 15, 18, 20, 24, 34, 52, 65, 70, 78, 81, 90, 97, 106, 117, 125, 164, 170, 177, 180, 182, 298, 307, 319, 468–71, 478, 484–9, 514–5
Machaon 86
Macrobius 481
Maedoi 489
Magna Graecia 4, 10, 79, 165, 175, 293, 305, 387–422, 492, 503, 505–6
Magnesia 398
Makri 100, 105–6, 109, 116, 118
Makriyalos 19
Malian Gulf 481
Malika 273
Malis 480
Mallakastra 169
Maltepe 3
Mandal' Panayia 111–2
Mandra 333
Marathon 433
Marcellinus 430
Mariandynoi 208
Marion 259, 266
Maritsa (river) 89, 120
Marmara, Sea of 104
Maron 100, 103, 124
Maroneia/Maronites 78, 85, 97, 99–107, 124, 128
Maroneia (Kikonian) 103, 106
Maroni-Vournes 231, 245
Masteira 488, 515
Mausolos 476
Meander (river) 300
Mecyberna 48–9
Medea 158–9, 190
Medma 499, 513
Megali Kypsa 40
Megali Panayia 48
Megara 178, 302, 308, 321
Megara Hyblaea 291, 364, 386–7, 389–90, 396–7, 404, 406, 409–11, 432, 492, 494–5
Megisti Lavra Monastery 51
Melanesia 297, 356
Melas (gulf) 121
Melita 158
Melitousa 487, 514
Melos 440, 443–4, 453, 461–2, 483, 485, 510
Melqart 273, 313
Memnon 172, 448, 490, 509
Memphis triad 310–1
Menaenum/Menae Palice 497, 512
Mende 5, 8, 13–5, 21, 34–5, 37–40, 43, 65, 124
Menecles of Barca 190, 195, 385
Menelaus 172, 192, 332, 338
Meneptolemus of Apollonia 171
merchants 316, 319, 338
Mesembria (Pontic) 120
Mesembria (Zone) 105, 107–9, 115
Mesopotamia 34, 96
Messana (see also Zancle) 496–7, 499, 505, 513

Messenia(ns) 300, 391–2, 396–7, 412–4, 478, 513
Messimeriani 33
Messimeri 33
metals, metallurgy, etc., 21, 23, 54, 61, 73, 75, 81, 88, 90, 97, 100, 105, 127, 170, 174, 225, 229, 231, 249–50, 271, 274–5, 304–7, 316–8, 336–7, 360–1, 489
Metapontum 387, 389, 392–4, 398–9
Methon 18
Methone (Thracian/Euboean) 6, 17–20, 164
Methymna 443
Mikri Samareia 50
Mikro Vouni 111
Mikythos 505, 511
Miletus/Milesian(s) 68–9, 121, 126, 333, 456, 486, 490
Milkyaton 267
Miltiades 51, 123, 128, 178, 430–1, 434, 471
Mimnermus 161, 394
mining see metallurgy
Minoa (Amorgos) 349, 354–5
Minoan(s) 111, 221, 225, 229
Minos 76, 412
Missotoumba 33–4
Mitari 48
Mitrou 351, 356
Molossia(ns) 162, 166, 172, 176, 501
Molyvopyrgos 49
Molyvoti Peninsula 85
Monounios 180
Monte di Vico 324
Morto Bay 122
Mount Dysoron 69
Mount Etna 494, 499
Mount Gargano 162, 173
Mount Hymettus 322–3
Mounts Ismaros 99, 101, 103, 115
Mount Itamos 49
Mount Kerdyllion 65
Mount Lekani 88
Mount Oita 480
Mount Orbelos 79, 488
Mount Pangaion 66, 75, 81, 88, 96, 123, 306–7, 430, 451, 489
Mount Symbolon 79
Mount Zone 115
Musaios 129
Mycenae/Mycenaean(s) 11–2, 14–6, 19–20, 31, 34, 45, 50, 66–7, 76, 84, 99, 101, 124–5, 159, 222–3, 227–31, 234–6, 269, 276–7, 301, 308–9, 321–2, 327, 334, 343, 346, 348, 353, 356, 393
Mygdones/Mygdonia(ns) 5, 24, 31–2, 65, 125
Mylae (Chersonesus) 387, 389, 391, 403, 499, 513
Myrina 462, 472
Myrkinos 67–9, 71
Myrmidons 347
Mysia 486
Myskella/Physkelle 49
Myskellos 398–401
myths/foundation myths 21, 31–2, 43–4, 50, 99–100, 125, 129, 156–63, 190, 269, 272, 290, 383–422, 431–2, 434, 454–6
Mytikas Peninsula 39
Mytilene 119, 122, 429, 435, 460, 476
Mytilos 180

Naples (bay) 395
Naron-Neretva (river) 176
Narona 183
Nasamones 207
native peoples (see also under individual names) 100, 412–3, 506
Australia 293
Libya 205–10
intermarriage 208–9, 362
Naukratis 291
Naupactus 478, 499, 511, 513
Nausithoos 353
Naxos/Naxians 74–5, 126, 291, 313, 319, 333, 387, 389–90, 395–9, 404, 406, 409, 437, 442, 465–6, 493–4, 498–500, 510–4
Nea Agathoupoli 18
Nea Apollonia 65
Nea Iraklia 33
Nea Kallikratia 25, 33, 126
Nea Kavali 87–8
Nea Kerdyllia 63
Nea Moudania 33
Nea Paphos 256
Nea Peramos 80, 82
Nea Philadelphia 8
Nea Playa 33
Nea Roda 61
Nea Syllata 34
Neapolis (N. Aegean) 34–5, 37–8, 43, 60, 80–3, 88–90, 99, 120, 129
Neapolis ap'Athenon 430

Neapolis (Naples) 447, 454, 496, 509
Near East 222, 259, 309, 312, 315, 319, 341, 408–9
Nebuchadnezzar 304
Neo Ryssio 24
Neocles 467
Neoptolemus 419
Neos Skopos 69
Nepos 430–1, 434, 440, 443–4, 468, 476, 485, 502–4, 508, 515
Nesiotis 444
Nestians 159
Nestor 393, 455
Nestos (river) 44, 74, 79–80, 85, 88–9, 91–2, 127
Nicandrus 481
Nichoria 305–6, 329, 336, 345, 349, 355
Nicocles 271
Nicocreon 244, 275
Nicodromos 454
Nike 63
Nikias 447
Nikios 71
Nikiti 47
nomads 205
Nonnus 455
North Africa 187–214, 361, 385, 421
nostos/nostoi 158, 160–2, 269–71, 275, 278, 393
Notion 447–8, 453–4, 477, 509
Nouria 257, 259, 261
Nubia 306
Numana 174, 177–8, 502, 513
Nymphaeum 175, 491–2

Odomantians 79
Odrysians 103, 128, 489
Odysseus/*Odyssey* 11, 100–1, 157, 162, 172, 192, 194, 269, 290, 300, 303–6, 308, 318, 327–32, 338–40, 345, 347, 353, 359, 363
Oesyme 75, 80, 82–4, 90, 489, 514
Ohrid 170
Oikalia 353
oikists 41, 72, 94, 100, 123, 162, 164, 166, 169, 269, 272, 291, 384, 388–9, 399–400, 403, 405, 411, 415, 417, 422, 430, 454, 471, 473, 478, 481, 494, 497, 507
Oinopion 456
Oitaioi 481
oligarchy (see also Bacchiadae) 442, 448, 466, 479, 482, 487, 505
Olympia 170–2, 200, 336–8, 494
Olympiada 61
Olympic Games 53, 122–3, 170, 193, 211, 278, 383, 403, 429
Olympus 8, 19, 21, 32
Olynthus 5, 17, 34, 45, 48–9
Onasagoras 261
Onchesmus 182
Onesilos 267
Opheltas 236, 255, 272
Ophir 307
Opis 487
Orbelos 88
Oreos 436
Orestes 419
Oricus/Oricum 157, 159, 163–5, 182
Orientalising (art/period/revolution) 342
Ormylia (place/river) 48
Oromenos 308
Oropos 351, 356, 432
Orpheus 18, 21, 129
Orthagor(e)ia 105–6, 109
Osteria dell'Osa 342
Otranto (straits) 169, 176
Ouranoupolis 61, 63
Ovid 399
oxhide ingots 274

Padua 163
Paestum 182, 387
Paionians 31–2, 79, 125, 487
Paktye 123, 430, 446
Palaepaphos(-Skales/Xerolimni) 231, 236, 240–7, 249, 253, 264, 270, 272–3, 275
Palagruža/Pelagosa 162
Palaia Kavala 88
Palaichora 323
Palaiokastro 50
Palaiopolis (see also Corcyra) 165
Palaiotrion/Palaiorion 51
Palatiano 8
Paliapoli/Palaiopolis 112
Palice 497
Paliokastro 63, 76
Paliouri 38
Pallene 5, 34–45
Pallene Peninsula see Cassandra
Pamphyloi 175
Pan 77
Panathenaia 455–6
Panayia 77, 82

Pangaeus/Pangaion (mountains, etc.) 66, 75, 81, 88, 96, 123, 306–7 430, 451, 489
Panormos (near Acanthus) 64
Panphilus 129
Paphlagon 458
Paphos 247, 256–7, 261, 264–5, 267, 270–1, 273, 275
Pappa 261
Paralimnio 69
Parga-Kiperi 159
Paris 172
Paros/Parians 28, 44, 68–70, 73–8, 81–3, 85, 87, 91, 126–8, 176–7, 183, 290, 354, 434, 456, 501, 513
Partheniai 387, 410, 412–5, 421
Parthenionas 49
Parthenope 387, 389, 392–3, 400
Parthenopolis 48–9
Parthenos 81–3, 99, 129
Passaron 162
Patroios 84
Pausanias 74, 162, 169–72, 181, 204, 213, 268, 275, 291, 304, 392, 396–401, 413–5, 418, 436, 438, 442–3, 445, 455–6, 461–2, 494, 496, 500, 510
Peisistratos/Peistratids 26, 52, 66, 122–3, 430, 455
Pelasgians 51, 110–1, 125–6, 431, 434, 454
Peleus 172
Pelion 278
Peloponnese 11, 193–4, 204, 228, 234–5, 300, 304, 319, 336–7, 349, 383, 394, 413, 459, 461, 481, 483, 494, 511–2
Peloponnesian War 42, 54, 166, 172–3, 443–4, 448–9, 452–3, 457–9, 474–5, 480
Pelops 275
Pentekontaeteia 434, 454
Pentheus 160
Peraia (Corcyran) 164, 166
Peraia (Issa) 175
Peraia (Samothrace) 107, 109, 114–8
Peraia (Thasian) 72, 75, 79–91, 114
Peraia (Thessaloniki) 26
Peraia (Thracian) 74, 77, 114
Perdikkas 467
Pergamis/Pergamioi 162
Periander 41, 122, 169
Pericles/Periclean 434, 437, 439, 442–7, 452–3, 456–9, 474–5, 491
Periesto 86
Perinthus 104
Perivolaki 8
Perrhaibia 490
Persephone 112, 157, 418
Perses 338
Perseus 182
Persia/Persian(s) 24, 28, 42, 48–50, 54, 63, 67–9, 82, 89, 91, 98, 116–8, 123, 126, 166, 172, 189, 198, 203, 211–3, 244, 264, 267, 431, 433, 448, 453, 455, 459, 463, 466, 470, 475, 484–5, 492
Pethelino 70
Petropiyi 89
Petrota 105, 109
Peucetians 181
Phaeacians 157, 161–2, 347, 353
Phalanthos 398, 400, 412, 414–8, 421
Phalerus 270
Phalius 166
Phanodicus 434
Pharbelos/Pharbelians 65
Pharnaces 486, 512
Phari 333
Pharos (Hvar) 169, 175–7, 182, 501, 513
Phasis (place/river) 485, 492
Pherai 337
Pherecydes 160, 430, 454, 456
Pheretime 189, 203, 210
Philia 336–7
Philia culture 225
Philochorus 442, 489
Philip II 90, 106, 468–70, 478, 484–90, 514–5
Philip V 177, 179
Philippi (see also Crenides and Daton) 90, 489–90, 514
Philippopolis 488, 515
Philippoupolis 488, 515
Philistus 406, 495
Philochorus 440, 443, 467, 477, 489, 509, 511
Philocrates, Peace of 469–70
Philoctetes 393
Philostephanus 399
Phlegon 502
Phlegre 43
Phocaea(ns) 173
Phocians 487
Phoenice 75, 281–2
Phoenicia(ns) 75–6, 84, 110, 125–6, 160–1, 163, 194, 211, 247, 250–7,

262–6, 271–3, 277, 309–20, 331, 337–9, 341, 343–4, 346, 348
Phoenix 75
Phoibia see Rhegion
Phoibus 171
Phorbas/Phorboon 122, 434, 454
Photius 245
Phrygian(s) 78, 125, 159, 484, 486
Phrynon 122, 429
Phthiotis 300, 482, 490, 514
Phylagoras see Pylagoras
Phylarchus 471
Phyllis 66
Phyneus 129
Physkelle/Myskella 49
Pichvnari 492
Pieria(ns) 6, 18–9, 21, 32, 79, 164, 489
Pieris valley 18
Pillars of Haracles/Hercules 189
Pilorus 47–8
Pindar 91, 129, 155, 157, 189, 191, 193, 195–6, 198, 200–1, 209, 211, 213, 271, 290, 385, 400, 410, 432, 456, 493–6, 511
piracy 177, 181, 471, 501
Piraeus 178
Piraeus (Amisus) 447, 509
Pirithous 157
Pistiros 87–9, 120
Pithekoussai 1, 161, 324, 337, 342, 352, 362, 386–7, 389, 391–2, 394–6, 398, 409, 428, 447, 495, 511
Pittacus 122, 429
Plana 48
Platamon 6
Platamonas 32
Platea (battle/place) 42, 196–7, 440, 444, 509
Platia Toumba 48
Plato 295, 364, 441, 444, 504
Platys Limenas 50
Pliny the Elder 24, 48, 105–6, 127, 162–3, 174, 177–8, 187, 210, 304, 306–8, 488, 490–1, 501–2, 506, 512–3, 515
Ploça 171
Plutarch 6, 17–8, 53–4, 56, 159, 162, 164, 169, 172, 181, 270, 361, 402–3, 428–9, 432, 434–5, 437, 439–47, 453–4, 457, 460–2, 467–8, 471, 474, 476, 484–5, 488–9, 494, 501–5, 508–10, 514–5
Pluto 112
Pnytagoras 275
Po (plain/valley/delta) 155, 157–8, 169, 174, 178–9
Podaleirios 86
Polemarchos 441
Polemon 481
Polihni 24
polis (definition, life, nature of, etc.) 276, 298, 347–8, 427, 436, 477, 487, 497, 502, 507
Pollux 472
Polyaenus 179, 213, 390, 429, 444, 454, 463, 466, 468, 470, 476, 483, 487, 491, 509
Polybius 158, 175, 181–2, 418, 488
Polybus of Thebes 338
Polydoros 396, 398
Polygnotos 74, 129
Polyhrono 37–8
Polyphemus 100
Polyrrhenia 483
Pompeius Trogus 180
Pondolivado 88–9
Pontis 170
Pontus see Black Sea
Porto Lagos (gulf/lagoon) 85, 92, 104–5
Poseidi 12–5, 35–6, 43
Poseidon 14, 35–6, 43–5, 64, 75, 99, 104, 112, 322, 417
Poseidonia 387, 389, 391–2, 394, 404, 411, 505
Posideion 44, 64–5
Potamia 75
Poteidaea 24, 33, 38–44, 52, 65, 437, 439–40, 443–4, 449–50, 453, 467–8, 475, 509, 511
pottery 228, 231, 332–6, 339–40, 353
  Achaean 394–5
  Aegean-type in Cyprus 238
  Aeolian 37, 110
  Apulian 182
  Argive 9, 420
  Arkesilas Vase 210
  as evidence 340–1, 357–8, 407–9
  Attic 28, 37, 39–40, 47, 56, 61, 64, 67, 70–1, 78, 82–3, 96, 98, 174, 312, 319, 334–5, 438
  Atticising 78, 123
  Bird-cups 67
  Chalcidican 37, 64, 96
  Chian 28, 39, 78, 98, 120, 194, 418

Clazomenian 56, 96, 98
Corinthian 28, 37, 39–40, 47, 56, 58, 61, 64, 67, 70–1, 78, 82–3, 96, 98, 204, 340, 394, 407–10, 419–20
Cretan 194, 197
Cycladic 28, 56, 59, 82, 194
Cypriot(e) 319
Cypro-Geometric 249, 255, 272–3
East Greek 28–9, 40, 56, 58, 64, 67, 77–8, 82–3, 96, 98, 194, 197, 204
Eretrian 14
Euboean 6, 8–9, 13–6, 18, 21–2, 28, 65, 311–2, 318, 395, 341
G2–G3 67, 110
Geometric 6, 8–9, 13–6, 18, 21–3, 28, 40, 65, 69, 71, 312, 319–20, 333–4, 338, 350, 353, 420
Handmade Burnished 232
Ionian 28, 37, 56, 69–70, 96, 110
Ionicising 67
kraters see main heading
Laconian 28, 40, 56, 82, 204, 210, 420–1
Late Cypriote 229, 238
Late Helladic 228–9, 238, 249
Lesbian 28
Mendean 40
Mycenaean 13–5, 19, 34, 45, 66–7, 124, 228
Parian 28, 58, 77–8, 82–3, 87
Phoenician 319
Protocorinthian 18, 28, 141, 96–7, 408–9, 419
Protogeometric 6–7, 9, 12–4, 16, 37, 40, 312, 318–20, 333
Proto-White Painted 238–40
Rhodian 194, 395
Submycenaean 13–4, 40
Sub-Protogeometric 14, 71, 312
Thapsos cups/ware 409
Thasian 28, 56, 58, 61, 64, 68–70, 73, 78, 83, 87
Thasian-Parian see under Thasian and Parian
Thracian 120
Transitional 96
Praxander 266, 270
Priam 11, 83, 162
Prinias 333, 335
Priscian 402
Proasteion 13, 35
Procopius 488
Prodromos Monastery 70
Profitis Ilias (hill/village) 48, 67, 111
Prometheus 157
Propontis see Marmara, Sea of
Protesilaos 11, 121
Proteus 45
Pseudo-Skylax 17, 20, 31, 48, 109, 158, 175
Pseudo-Skymnos 122, 164, 175, 291, 388, 390–1, 396, 399, 403–4, 406
Ptolemies 203, 248, 253, 271
Ptolemy 64, 488, 491, 515
Ptolemy Ceraunus 180
Ptolemy Soter 251
Pumayyaton 263, 267
Puteoli see Dicearchia
Pydna 6–7, 18–20, 31–2, 60, 470
Pyla-Kokkinokremos 232
Pylagoras 261
Pyllos 175
Pyloros 24
Pylus/Pylians 166, 276, 321, 392–4, 455
Pyrgadikia 47
Pyrgos 33, 48
Pyrgos (Pontic) 120
Pyrrhus (king of Epirus) 179–80
Pyrrhus (place) 180
Pyrrhus-Neoptolemus 162
Pystilos 388
Pythion 490, 514
Pytna 20
Pyxus 505–6, 511

Qardihadasti 257, 261–3

Radamanthys 124
Ragusa 169
Ras el-Bassit 319
Ravenna 174–5
Redina 8, 44
Revenikia 48
Rhaikelos 26, 52, 430
Rhegion 5, 361, 387, 389, 391–2, 394, 397, 399–401, 416, 496, 499–501, 505–7, 513–4
Rhesos 67, 72, 119, 129, 454
Rhodes/Rhodian 173, 194, 290, 310, 313, 388, 391–3, 395, 476–7
Rimini 163, 178
Rome/Roman 178, 180–3, 248, 271, 292, 296
Roumtzouki 116
Russia 79

Sagra (battle) 393
Saians 79, 112
Salamis (new) 242–5, 247–8, 255–7, 261, 264, 267–8, 270, 273–6, 320, 432–4, 454–5, 473–4
Salamis (old) see Enkomi
Sale 107, 114–6
Sallentine Peninsula 159
Salonae 169, 183
Salpia see Elpia(s)
salt 308
Samaria 408–9
Samos/Samian 104, 110, 126, 194, 313, 358, 391, 458, 462, 466–7, 472–6, 510
Samothrace 75, 103–4, 107–18, 124, 129
Sane 39–41, 53, 61, 63
Saos/Saonnesos/Saokis 112
Sapaians 79, 91
Saratsi 8
Saraya 117
Sardinia 305, 310, 392
Sarepta 310
Sargon II 257–9, 262
Sarnousioi 487
Sarte 47
Sasmas 266
Satrians 79
Satsioikos 266
Satyrion 412, 419–20
Satyros 491–2
Sazan 158
scarabs 409
Scepsis 486
Scheria 157, 290, 347, 353
Scione 11, 38–40, 443–4, 453, 461–2, 485, 509
Scoglio del Tonno 419–20
script see alphabet
sculpture 38, 61, 68, 70–1, 78, 120, 171
Scyros/Scyrian 440, 443–4, 454–5, 460, 462–4, 468, 472–4, 508, 510
Scythia(n) 117, 497
Scythinus 481
'Sea Peoples' 308–9
Sedes see Thermi
Selinus 387, 389, 396–8, 407–9
Seman (river) see Apsos
Sena(ns)/Senigallia 178
Seneca 294–5
Sermyle/Sermylia 47–8
Servius 398–9, 415, 455
Sestus 446, 468–9, 475
settlers/settlement see colonisation
Seuthes 485
Shëngjin see Nymphaeum
Shkumbi (river) see Genusus
Shushica (valley) 171
Sican(ia) 496, 499
Sicels 292–3, 495, 497–9, 512
Sicily 165, 175, 192, 221, 250, 277, 291, 310, 346, 362, 387–422, 447, 484, 492–505, 511–5
Siculi 163, 177–8
Sicyon 170
Sidon(ian) 75, 310–1, 318
Sidqimilk 266
Sigeum (place/person) 121–3, 429–30, 447
Silanos 484
Silli/Sillua 261
silphium 209–10, 213
silver 88, 97, 105, 127, 170, 305–6, 316–7, 336
Sinda 231
Sindi(an) 491
Sindos 21–4
Singitic Gulf 47, 50, 53–4, 61
Singus 48
Sinope 447, 477, 484–5, 509
Sintians 79, 91, 488
Sintica 515
Siphnian Treasury at Delphi 172
Siphnos 306–7, 354
Siris 387, 389, 393–4, 454, 506, 512
Sithonia/Sithones 5, 12, 34, 45, 47–9
Skapsa 33
Skapte Hyle 88
Skete of St Anne 51
Skithai 33
Skoubris 315
Skylax (of Caryanda) 247, 266, 489, 491, 501, 513–4
Skymnos 31, 41, 166, 169, 174, 391, 399, 403–4, 406, 430, 434, 447, 454, 480–1, 490–1, 501, 512–4
slaves 80, 120, 127, 208, 317–8, 325, 331, 338, 340, 347–8, 412–3, 458
Smila 33
Smixi 48
Smyrna 306
Social War 476–7
Socrates 42
Solinus 159, 391, 399, 404, 411
Soloi 257, 261, 270
Solomon (king/temple) 312, 317

Solon 121, 210, 270
Sophanes 66
Sounion 454
Sozopoli 34
Sparta(ns) 189, 193, 337, 384, 391–3, 398, 412–4, 417–8, 420–1, 432, 443, 448, 453, 456, 461–6, 468, 480–3, 499, 505, 512
Spartocus/Spartocids 491–2
Spartolos 34
Spina 169, 174–5, 179
Split 177
Stagirus/Stageira 5, 53–4, 60–2, 105
Stasinos 276
Stavronikita Monastery 40, 50
Stavroupoli 8, 14, 24–5
Stephanus of Byzantium 64, 75, 86, 88, 90, 104, 118–9, 158–61, 164–5, 169, 173, 390, 393, 399, 401, 416, 439, 444–5, 476, 487–91, 501, 508–9, 513–5
Stesagoras 123
Stolos/Skolos 48
Strabo 4–5, 11, 17–8, 38, 45, 47, 50–1, 61, 90, 100, 103, 105–6, 116, 119, 159, 161, 163–6, 169–71, 174–5, 210, 270, 291, 305, 353, 361, 390–1, 393, 396, 398–9, 401, 403–4, 411–2, 418, 428–30, 440, 443–4, 447–8, 456, 462, 467–8, 472, 486, 488–91, 493–5, 501–2, 505–6, 508–9, 511–5
Stratocleia 491
Stratocles 491
Stratones 82
Stryme 79–80, 85–6, 100
Strymon (river/valley) 18, 35, 38, 44, 52–72, 74, 79–80, 90, 125, 445, 451, 453–4, 470, 488
Strymonic Gulf 44, 53–66
Suvla Bay 121
Sybaris/Sybarites 387, 389, 391–400, 404, 411, 444, 454, 460, 505–6, 512
Sybaris (on the Traeis) 505, 512
Sybota (battle) 480
Sykia (Lakou) 12–3, 63
Syleus 44
syllabary see alphabet and Cyprus
symposion 15, 340
Synaxis 103
synoikismos 24, 353, 486, 496
syntaxeis 461, 468, 475
Syracuse 165–6, 174–8, 208, 291, 295, 362, 387, 389–91, 396–8, 400–4, 406, 409–10, 428, 436, 447, 483, 493–500, 502–4, 511, 513, 515
Syria(ns) 96, 311
Syro-Egyptian 78
Syros 318

Tacitus 273
Tainarum 166
Takhos 486
Taman Peninsula 491
Tamassos/Tamesi 257, 261, 266–7
Taranto (gulf) 159
Taranto/ Tarentum 388, 419–21
Taras 384, 387, 389, 391, 395–6, 398–401, 404, 412–21, 506, 512
Tarshish 308
Tarsus 408–9
Tartessos/Tartessian 173
Tauchira 191, 193, 196, 201–4, 206–7, 209, 213
Taulanti 163, 173
Tauromenium 499–500, 514
taxation (see also tribute) 259, 446–7, 450–2, 459–60, 464, 474, 478
Taxos (valley) 488
Tegea 270, 275–6, 336
Tel Dor 312
Tel Hadar 312
Tel Rehov 312
Telamon 270, 275
Telekleides 441
Teleklos 412
Telemachus 338, 347
Telephe 75
Telesicles 73–4
Telles 74
Temesa 305, 338
Tempyra 107, 116–7
Teneates 428
Tenedos 120
Tenos 354
Teos/Teians 91, 94, 96–7, 99, 122, 456
Teyrapolis 432
Teucer/Teucridai 267, 270–1, 274–6
Teuta 182
Thamyris 50, 129
Thapsos 390, 409–10
Thasos/Thasian(s) 8, 28, 44, 56, 61, 64, 66, 68–92, 100–1, 104–5, 114–5, 120, 127–8, 290, 298, 306–7, 333, 411, 460, 489, 514
Thasos (person) 75
Theagenes 490, 514

Thebes (person) 160
Thebes (Egypt) 338
Thebes (Greece) 276, 337, 353
Thebes (Phthiotis) 490, 514
Themistocles 434, 440, 454–5, 484, 492, 506
Theocles 390, 398
Theocritus 399, 411
Theogenes 441, 509
Theophrastus 187, 192, 210, 302–4, 488–9, 500–1
Theopompus 245, 393, 400, 443, 447, 470, 488–9, 503, 509, 515
Thera 189, 193–5, 209, 326
Therambos 38
Thermai see Himera
Thermaic Gulf 5–6, 16–17, 19, 21, 26–8, 31–2, 41–2, 44, 60, 82, 123–5
Therme/Thermi 8, 11, 14, 17–32, 75
Thermi (modern) 25
Thermopylae 482
Thera 483
Theron of Acragas 496, 511
Theseus 66, 157, 270, 454, 456
Thesmophorion 77
Thesprotia 157, 166
Thessalonica/Thessaloniki 8, 11, 15, 19, 24–8, 31, 65
Thessaly/Thessalian 278, 300, 319, 336–7, 481–2, 490, 505, 512, 514
thetai/thetes 128, 440–2, 458
Thetis 172
tholos tombs/*tholoi* 158–9, 229
Thorikos 349, 351, 355
Thorykion 451
Thrace/Thracian(s) 5, 8, 18, 20–1, 26, 31–2, 50, 63–4, 67–8, 71–2, 74–7, 79, 82, 84–5, 91–2, 94, 96–7, 99–101, 103–4, 106, 109, 111–2, 114–25, 127–9, 298, 300, 306, 430, 443–4, 446, 450, 453, 460, 466, 468–9, 481, 486, 488, 515
Thracian Horsemen 129
Thrasybulus 463, 468, 496
Thronia 99
Thronium 171
Thucydides 5, 10–3, 16, 18, 34–5, 45, 48, 53, 63, 129, 165–6, 169, 171–3, 204, 270, 290–1, 296, 357, 388, 390–2, 396–400, 402, 406–9, 415, 435–45, 447–54, 456, 459–61, 467, 477, 479–83, 486, 493, 495, 498, 508–10, 512
Thucydides Melesiou 457
Thurii 364, 436, 440–1, 444–5, 452, 454, 457–8, 460, 487, 505–6, 508, 512
Thyamis (river) 158
Thysson 50
Tiberius 273
Tigris 484
Timaeus 161, 406, 428–9, 447, 494, 496, 500, 503–4
Timarchos 271
Timesias/Timesios 91, 94, 99
Timocharis 266, 271
Timoleon(tic) 495, 501–5, 515
Timotheus 466–8, 470, 475
tin 174, 307, 337, 360
Tinde 33–4
Tlepolemus 393, 395
Tokos 68–9, 71
Tolmeita 201, 203
Tolmides 461
tombs/burials 12–3, 19–20, 24, 26, 35, 42, 47, 55, 57, 60, 63, 67, 71, 83, 86, 94, 96–7, 105, 126, 158–9, 124, 174, 196, 228–9, 232, 240–3, 248–9, 260, 272, 297–8, 312, 314–5, 317–20, 325–6, 328, 330, 338, 342, 357–60, 409–11, 419–20, 428, 449
Tomb of a Rich Athenian Lady 320, 359
Tomis 27
Toronaic Gulf 41–2, 49
Torone 6, 8–9, 11–2, 14–5, 34, 41, 44–9, 65–6, 75–6, 333, 461, 468, 510
Toumba 8, 15, 19, 27–8, 312, 314–5
Toumba Lakkovikion 67
town-planning 356
Trachis/Trachinian 480–2, 512
trade, 27, 63, 65, 78–9, 96, 103, 105, 115, 120–1, 125, 204, 210, 228, 250, 306–8, 311, 318–9, 331, 337–41, 360–1
Tragilos 64, 70
Tragurium 175
Trajanopolis 116–7
Trebenishte 170
Treport 171
tribute/tribute lists 5, 24, 26, 33, 37, 39–41, 50, 60, 65, 79, 81, 87, 90, 106–7, 114–5, 259, 446–8, 451–2
Trilofos 24
Troezen(ians) 391–3
Troad 8, 110, 121, 159, 305, 429, 484, 486
Trotilon/Trotilus 390

Troy/Trojans/Trojan War 10–1, 15–6, 20, 31, 33, 39, 41, 52, 72, 100–1, 112, 121–2, 124–5, 158–9, 161–4, 172, 270–1, 392–3, 397–8
Trypiti 61
Tsaousitsa 8
Tundzha (river) 120
Tydeus 418
Tyndaris 499, 513
Typhon of Aegium 399
tyranny/tyrant 166, 170, 177, 392, 406, 429–32, 463, 477, 479, 486, 492–6, 505–6
Tyre/Tyrians 254, 257, 263, 267, 304, 306, 308–13, 316–8, 320, 340, 343–4
Tyrodiza 446
Tyrrhenia(n)/Tyrsenians 51, 173, 428, 505

Ugarit 262, 308–9
Umbria(ns) 163, 174
Unqi-Pattina 311
urbanism 223, 225, 231, 237, 243, 247

Valerius Maximus 180
Vardaroftsa 8
Varro 162
Vasilikos (valley) 245
Vatopedi Monastery 50
Velia see Hyele
Velleius Paterculus 353, 398
Vergina 8
Vetren 89, 120
Via Egnatia 87, 169
Vigla 13, 35
Viglatouri 333, 349, 353–4, 356
Villanovan 338
Virgil 160–1, 163, 389, 398–9, 410, 415, 419
Vis see Issa
Vjosa (river) see Aoos
Vlora/Vlorë (town/gulf/bay/valley) 158, 164, 171
Vourvourou 48

Wadi Bel Gadir 198, 200
Wadi Bu Turkia 198
Wadi el Chalig 197
wanax 276
workshops 9, 21, 26, 35, 40, 42, 69, 78, 120, 123, 310, 332–7, 353

Xenagoras 406
Xenophon 39, 208, 446, 455, 461–4, 466, 468, 483–5, 492, 510
Xeropolis 351, 353, 356
Xerxes (person/canal) 24, 28, 48, 50, 54, 61, 63, 89, 98, 109, 116–8, 166, 213
Xiropotamou Monastery 50
Xobourgo 354
Xylagani 101

Yiromiri 37

Zadar/Zara 158–9, 169, 175
Zagora 323–4, 356
Zakantha/Zakynthos 499, 513
Zancle (see also Messana) 387, 389, 391, 403, 496–7
Zenobius 467, 489, 514
zeugitai/zeugites 128, 433, 441, 458–9, 493
Zeus (Ammon/Ktesios/Lykaios, Orios etc.) 38–9, 49, 84, 86, 155, 158, 160, 172, 180, 193, 196, 198, 200, 213, 270, 274, 322
Zeuxis 129
Zonaras 182
Zone 105, 107–9, 114–5, 118

REPRINT OF INDEX FOR VOLUME 1

Abdera xxx, xliv, lxv, lxvii
Abu Shushe 49
Abu Simbel 529
Abusir 52, 55, 530
Abydos lxvii, 16, 52, 55
Acanthus lxvii
Achaea/Achaeans xxviii, xlvii, lx, lxiii, lxix–lxxii, 79, 82, 87, 102, 103, 115, 117–8, 121–2, 125, 128, 171, 173, 177, 182, 191, 196–7, 373, 408
Achaemenid see Persia(n)
Achilles lx
Acrae lxiv, lxvii, 254, 284–5, 290, 301, 321
Acragas lxiv, lxvii, 23, 254, 298, 301, 306–11, 334
Adana 90
adanawani 90
Adnijska Vodenica 21
Adonis 81
Adrano 338
Adria lxvii
Adriatic (coast/sea) lxiv, 63, 75, 84, 87, 97, 364, 397, 434
Aea/Aeëtes 90
Aegae 138
Aegean xxiii, xxvi, xxxvi–xxvii, xlvii, lxv, 433
Aegialus/Aegialeia see Achaea
Aegina lxiv, lxvii, lxix, 5, 23, 24, 25, 34, 120, 528
Aegiroessa 138
Aelianus 118
Aelius Aristides 118, 125
Aeneas 86
Aenos lxv, lxvii, 4, 9
Aeolian Islands 54–5, 64, 76, 94, 294, 311–2, 315–6
Aeolians/Aeolian migration xxiii, lxv, lxvii–lxix, 115, 119–20, 130–3, 136, 360, 439, 528
Aeolis 15, 115, 119, 130–3, 136
Aeotos 217–8, 230
Aeschylus 9, 79, 338, 380
Aetna (see also Catane) 172, 339, 341
Aetolia xliii
Afula 50
Agamemnon 78
Agapenor 79
Agathe/Agde lxvii, 364, 383, 389–90, 399, 414
Agia Irini 43, 46
Agias 88–9
Agios Epiktitos 46
Agios Iakovos 46
Agios Sozomenos 47
Agios Theodoros 47
Agios Thyrsos 47
Agrigento 54
Agrigentum 170, 386
Agyrion 85
Agyrippa 87
Ahhijawa̱ 102–3, 128
Aipeia 80
Akaki 47
Akamas (person/place) 80, 82
Akanthou 46
Akhenaton 60, 63
Akhera 47
Akko 49, 146
Akrotiri 42
Al Mina xxxiii, xlii, xlix–li, lxiii, 2, 32–3, 221–2, 511–8, 519, 521–2, 535–40
Alaas 72–3
Alalakh 43, 49, 513, 536
Alalia/Alalie (place/battle) lxvi–lxvii, 179, 367–71, 373–6, 388, 399, 402, 404, 409, 413–4, 434, 442, 476
Alambra 47
Alassa 47
Albania 77, 78, 97
Alcaeus 523
Alcazar 382
Aleria 402
Alesia 380
Alexandria 5, 23, 510, 526, 531
Alexandrus 82
Alghero/Algherese 240, 244, 247
Ali Mara 52
Almuñécar (Sexi) 157, 161, 432
Alonis 447, 470, 484–5
Alopeconnesus lxvii

alphabet/script/writing lxii, lxiv, 94, 149, 154, 305, 328–9, 336, 338, 459, 462–6, 488, 511, 518
Alps 397
Alps-Jura 399
Amarna 52, 60, 63
Amasis/A-ahmes 16, 19–20, 528–31
Amastris 11
Amathus 46
Ambracia lxvii, 201
Amendolara 171
Amenhotep III 63, 100
Amisus lxvi–lxvii, 361
Amman 43, 49–50, 59–60
Ammianus Marcellinus 118
Ampelos 391
Amphilochus 89, 519
Amphipolis 4, 8, 12
Ampurias see Emporion
Amuq Plain l, 509, 512–3, 536–7, 542
Anacreon 119
Anaktorion lxvii, 23
Anatolia xxxvi, 44–5, 58, 72–3, 77, 79, 90, 94, 102, 115–39, 509–10, 512, 536
Ancona (Montagnola) 54
Androclus 117–8, 137
Andros lxvii, lxxii, 82
Angastina 46
Aniba 52, 55
Ano Mazaraki 173
Anochora 46
Antalya 98
Antheia 361
Anticleides 119
Antigori 54, 67, 76, 101, 239–42
Antimachus 84
Antioch 88
Antiochus III 413
Antiochus of Syracuse 170, 311
Antipolis (Antibes) 390
Antissa 45, 133, 138
Apatouria 115, 124, 126
Aphek 50
Aphrodite xlv, 79, 81–2, 285, 295, 380, 391, 527
Apliki 46–7, 58
apoikiai/apoikoi xxvii, xli–xlii, 4, 12, 32, 152, 161, 169, 173, 177–8, 219, 221, 366, 392, 429
Apollo xliii, xlv, lxiii–lxiv, 195, 316, 527–9
Apollo Archegetes 253, 256
Apollo Delphinius 18, 315–6, 378, 380–1
Apollodorus 79, 82, 84–5, 87, 89
Apollonia (Illyria) xxx, lxv, lxvii
Apollonia (Libya) lxiv, lxvii
Apollonia Pontica lxvi–lxvii, 361
Apollonius of Rhodes 84
Apollonius of Tyane 118
Appian 435, 483, 485
Apries (Pharaoh) 315, 530
Apulia 53, 55, 86–7, 94
Arab el-Mulk 49
Arabi Hilla 52
Aradhipou 47
Aradus 510
Archilochos xxx
Arctic 388
Arelate see Arles
Arganthonius of Tartessos 2
360, 371, 375, 399, 434–5
Argilus lxvii
Argive(s) lx, 81, 84, 88, 120, 134–5, 137, 518
Argolis/Argolid xxix, 58, 60, 70, 81, 84, 125, 135
Argonauts 84, 90, 101
Argos xliii, 86, 120, 134
Arisba 138
Aristagoras of Miletus 525
Aristarcha 380
Aristarchus 122
Aristeus 391, 415
Aristonothos krater lvii
Aristophanes 30
Aristotle/Aristoteles 1–8, 26, 30–1, 83, 118–9, 322
Arles/Arelate 23, 376, 392, 401, 405, 410
Armant 52, 55
Arminna 52
Arodhes Pano 47
Arpera 47
Arrian 3
Arrubiu 54, 67, 240, 242–4
Artemis xlv, lxv, 173, 184, 447, 360, 374, 378–80, 391, 394, 400, 402, 447
Artemision 388, 402
Artemon of Pergamum 280
Arwad 146
Asclepiades 118
Asclepius 406
Ashdod(a) 49–50, 75, 94, 519
Asia Minor (see also specific places

and regions) xxiii, xxv, 15, 115–7, 122, 131, 136, 138, 360–1, 371, 379–80, 405–7, 409, 476
Asine (Argolis) 81
Asine (Laconian) 81
Askalon 50, 523
Asperg 397
Assardere 21
Assarhaddon 158
Assarlik 45, 135, 137
Assera lxviii
Assiros 77
Assus lxviii
Assyria(ns) xlviii, l, 94, 148, 158–9, 509–14, 516, 518, 521, 524
Assyut 52
Astacus lxviii
Astypalaea 120, 308
Atchana 513, 515, 542
Athena xlv, lxiii–lxiv, 87, 308, 360, 378, 389, 406
Athena Alea 79
Athena Polias 380
Athenaeus liii, 365
Athenopolis (Saint-Tropez) 391
Athens/Athenian xxiii, xliii, lviii, lxvi, lxviii–lxx, lxxii, 3–4, 7, 10, 16–7, 23–6, 34, 71, 79–80, 115, 117–8, 121–5, 129, 149, 295, 360–1, 385, 407, 436, 472, 477, 479
Athienou/Golgoi 46–7, 72
Atlit 49
Attica xxix, 24, 27, 115, 117–8, 121, 125, 131
Avetrana 53
Avienus 393, 449
Azania 391

Baal (of Tyre) 158
Babylon 521–3, 530
baityloi 150
Bacchiadae lvii
Balabish 52
Balearic Islands 67, 372, 472
Balkans 77–8, 87
Baltic 97
barbarians/*barbaroi* see native
Barca lxiv, lxviii
Bari 53
Barumini 54, 76, 240
Basilicata 54, 76, 190, 208
Bassit see Ras el-Bassit
Bebryces 361
Beirut 49
Berezan xxxiii, li, lxvi, lxviii, 32
Berre, Étang de 393, 396
Besik Tepe 45
Bessan 389–90, 405
Beth Shan 49–50, 59
Beth Shemesh 50
Bethel 50
Beycesultan 45, 58
Beylerbey 45
Béziers 392, 410
Bible 143, 149, 152, 158, 523
Bir el-Abd 50
Bisanthe lxviii
Bitalemi 281
Black Corcyra lxviii, 314
Black Sea xxiii, xxv–xxvi, xxix–xxx, xxxiii, xli, xliv, li, liii–lv, lxi–lxii, lxvi, 7, 77–8, 90, 101, 361, 380, 413, 510
Boeolin 24
Boeotia(ns) lxvi, lxix, 125, 130–1, 136
Bogazköy 43
Bon-Porté 388
Borg en Nadur 70
Borysthenes/Borysthenites 4, 8–9, 14, 34–5
Bosporus, the 84
Bosporus/Bosporan kingdom xli, 4–5, 13, 34
Bourges 384, 398, 410
Bourgidala 23
Bragny-sur-Saône 399, 410
Britain 3, 247, 384, 388
Brittany 247
Broglio di Trebisacce 54, 63, 65, 76
bronze/bronzework(ers) 76, 99, 189, 208, 224, 242, 244, 247, 295, 335, 339, 396–8, 404, 433, 454, 512, 520–1
Buhen 52
Bulgaria 77–8
Bura 82
Burgas 78
Burgundy 398
Buscemi 54, 255
Byblos 43, 49, 59, 94
Byzantium lxvi, lxviii, lxx, lxxii, 5–6, 23, 34

Cabezo Lucero 488
Cádiz see Gades
Caere 206, 210
Caesar 393, 414
Cagliari (gulf) 241

Calabria 54–5, 64, 76, 94, 151, 190, 207–8
Calchas 89
Caldare 54
Cale Acte 294
Callatis lxviii
Callimachus 265, 279
Callinus 89
Callipidai 4
Callipolis 340
Calymna 120
Camarina lxviii–lxix, 254, 284–5, 287, 289–92, 301, 312, 321, 323, 340, 386
Camicus 83
Camirus 120, 134, 137
Campania(ns) li, lvii, 54, 76, 85, 194, 203–4, 212, 215, 216, 222–3, 230, 245, 415
Canaan(ite) 99, 510–1
Cancho Roano 467–8, 470
Cannatello 54
Canobus (Nile Delta) 8–9, 14
Canysion 23
Cape Gelidonya 45, 58, 97–8
Cape of Nao 388
Cape Zephyrion 174, 271
Capo Milazzese 55
Capo Piccolo 54–5
Cape Schisò 258
Cappadocians lxi
Capua 203–4, 212–4, 230, 233
Carchemish 521
Cardia lxviii
Caria(n) liii, lxiv, 115, 127–8, 527, 529–30
Carpathians 97
Carpathus 120
Carthage/Carthaginian xxxi, xxxv, xlix, lx, 7, 9, 157, 160–2, 310, 317–8, 323, 369, 372, 376, 383, 386, 388, 409
Carthago Nova 23, 445, 456, 491
Casabianda 404, 414
Casale Nuovo 54
Casaubon 368
Casmenae lxiv, lxviii, 254, 284–5, 287–9, 301, 321
Cassiterides 361
Castello S. Filippo 269
Castillo de Doña Blanca 466
Castor 118
Cástulo 456, 467, 469
Catal Hüyük 49, 514
Catalonia 361, 390
Catane (see also Aetna) lxiii, lxviii, 172, 253, 259, 262–5, 269, 272, 335, 339, 341
Catumandus 389
Caucasus 77
Caulonia lxviii, 173
Cava Cana Barbara 54
Cave di Cusa 305
Celto-Ligurian 365
Celts 373, 375, 380, 382, 391, 396–8, 410
Cenchraea 6
Central Europe xxxv–xxxvii
Centuripe 338
Cerasus lxviii
Ceres lxiii
Çerkes Sultaniye 45, 132, 138
Cerro del Peñón 432
Cerro del Villar 439
Cesnola Painter 230
Cévennes, the 389
Chalcedon lxvi, lxviii, lxx
Chalcenor 81
Chalcidian(s) lxiii, lxv, lxxii, 172, 177–8, 221, 253–4, 259, 261, 265, 268, 292–8, 328, 330, 340, 372, 374, 398, 406, 408
Chalcidice 42
Chalcis lxiii, lxviii–lxxiii, 5, 232, 254, 283
Chalybes lxvi
Charax 23
Châtillon-sur-Glâne 397
Chersonesus (Sicily) see Mylae
Chersonesus (Thracian) lxvi, lxviii
Chersonesus Taurica (Crimea) lxviii, 8–9, 14, 24
Chios/Chian(s) xlii, lxiv–lxv, lxx, 125–7, 129, 137, 368, 527–8, 530
Chone 88
chora/agricultural lands xxix, xxxix, xli, xlix, lii, lxv, 32, 35, 155, 162, 180, 183–4, 188, 233, 266, 272, 302, 319, 324, 381, 391–3, 400, 407, 483
chronology xxxi–xxxviii
Chytroi 82
Chytrus 82
Cicero 379
Cilento 370, 375
Cilicia(n) 45, 58, 72, 89–90, 509, 512, 518–9
Cilla 138

Cimmerian xxxvi
Città di Castello 71
Cius lxviii
Clarus 89
Clazomenae/Clazomenian(s) xliv, lxiv–lxv, lxvii–lxviii, 6, 43, 45, 125–6, 128–9, 137, 527–8
Cleandrus of Gela 322
Cleonae lxviii
Clitophon 118
Cnidus/Cnidian lxiv, lxviii, lxx, 45, 120, 134–5, 137, 162, 284, 307, 311–5, 373, 528
Cobrys 4, 8, 11, 14
Codrus/Codridae 117–8, 121–3, 134
coinage 11–2, 14–5, 195–8, 322–3, 385–6, 402, 407, 479–81
Colchis/Colchian(s) (see also Aea) xxxiii, xli, liv–lv, lxi, lxvi, 90, 101
Colle San Mauro 262
Colline Metallifere 244
Colonae lxviii
colonialism xxvii
colonisation/settlement (see also Aeolian, Dorian, Ionian, Mycenaean, Phocaean, Phoenician, etc. and under individual regions, areas and colonies/settlements)
- general xxiii–xxvi, xxviii–xxix, xxxi, xlii–xliii, xlvii–xlviii, lii–liii, lviii–lxix, lxi–lxiii, lxv
- dating first settlements xxxi–xxxiv
- origins (see also myths) 115–35, 170–9, 484–5
- reasons for xxviii–xxx
- typology/structure xxxviii–xlii, 1–36, 92–4, 155, 169, 180–94, 319–23, 443

Colophon xxx, lxxii, 26–7, 45, 58, 89, 102, 118, 121, 125–7, 129, 137
Comana 23
Comanus 389
Comiso 338
Çömlekçi 45, 72, 136–7
Conon 118, 120
Coppa Nevigata 53, 75
copper (ore/trade) 96–8, 151, 241, 242, 244–5, 247, 384, 402, 520
Corcyra lxiv–lxv, lxviii–lxix, 261–2, 269, 271, 314
Corduba 23
Corinth(ians) xxviii, xxxii, xliii, xlix, li, lvii–lviii, lxiii, lxv, lxvii–lxviii, lxx–lxxii, 5–6, 18, 23–4, 125, 171, 201, 212, 217–9, 244, 253, 259, 261, 269–75, 283, 290, 364, 436, 515, 521, 527
Cornwall 384
Corsica 67, 179, 314, 367–70, 375, 388, 393, 402, 404–5, 410
Cos 82, 120, 134–5, 137
Costa del Marano 71
Cotyora lxix
Cotys 7, 20–1, 24
Cozzo del Pantano 54
Cozzo Marziotta 54
Cremni 8, 11, 14
Creontiades 368
Crete/Cretan(s) lxiv, lxix–lxx, 33, 42, 57–8, 63, 70, 83, 120, 134, 149–50, 155, 241–2, 248, 283, 307, 508, 515, 526
Creusis 24
Crimisa 88
Cromme 11
Croton xlvi, lxiii, lxviii–lxix, lxxii, 85, 87, 170, 173–4, 178, 182, 269, 316–7
Cryassus 120, 134
Cumae/Cyme (Aeolian) 132–3, 138
Cumae (Euboean) li, lxiii, lxix, lxxi–lxxiii, 33, 171–2, 179, 204, 212–3, 218–9, 224–5, 232–4, 245, 254, 259, 263, 372–3, 406
Cybele 360, 380
Cyclades 42, 57, 201
Cyclopean masonry 72–3, 76
Cydonia lxix
Cyllyrii liii
Cyme see Cumae
Cyme (Phryconian) 119
Cypasis 4, 8, 11, 14
Cyprus/Cypriot(e) xlix–l, 43, 46–7, 58–9, 67, 72–3, 78–83, 97, 99, 101–4, 144–5, 155, 202, 241–2, 244–5, 247–8, 361, 507–8, 512, 515–6, 518, 520
Cyrenaica lxiv, 413, 527, 530
Cyrene xxx, lxiv, lxviii–lxix, lxxii, 82, 433
Cyreneia of Achaea 82
Cyrnos see Corsica
Cyrnos (hero) 370
Cythera 26, 55
Cytorum 8, 11–12
Cyzicene 119, 131–2
Cyzicus lxvi, lxix

Daedalus 83
Danaans lx, 89
Danube 396
Daphnae see Tell Defenneh
Daqqa 52
Dardanelles see Hellespont
Dark Age xliii, 136, 144, 149, 218, 232, 515
Daton 29
Daunus 86
Debeira 52
Decimoputzu 54, 67, 240, 242
decrees 10, 12–3, 17
Deir Alla 59
Deir el-Balah 50
Deir el-Medineh 52, 63
Deir Khabie 49
Delian League 9–10, 13, 124
Delos 3, 29, 42, 415
Delphi/Delphic Oracle (see also Apollo) xlvii, 10, 12–3, 17–8, 170–1, 174, 217, 245, 315–6, 360, 369, 381
Delta (Nile) xli, lxiv, 14, 60, 63, 360, 525–8
Demaratos lvii
Demeter xlv, lxiv, 415
Demon 119
Demophon 80
Demosthenes 2, 4, 6–7, 25, 524
Dendera 52, 63
Denys the Periegete 119, 130
Dereköy 45
Deris 4, 8–10, 14
Deucalion lx
Dhali (Idalion) 46–7, 81
Dharat el-Humraya 50
Dhavlos 46
Dhekelia 47
Dhenia 47
Dhikomo 46
Dhiorios 46
Dhromolaxia 47
Dhrousha 47
diateichismata 407
Dicearchia-Pozzuoli lxix, 23, 179, 373
Didyma 45, 127
Didyme 316
Diodorus Siculus lxx, lxxii, 11, 83–5, 118, 120, 122, 156, 266, 289, 293, 295, 302, 306, 308, 310–8, 330, 341, 374, 380, 399, 526
Diogenes Laertius 118, 310
Diomedes 86–7
Diomedia 86
Dionysius of Halicarnassus 24, 85
Dionysius of Phocaea 373
Dionysius of Syracuse 386
Dionysius the Periegete 89
Dionysus xlv, lxv
Dioskouroi, the 527
Dioskurias xxxiii, xli, lxvi, lxix, 23
diplomatic gifts liii, 371, 397
Dirmil 135, 137
dnnym 90
Dodecanese (see also individual islands) 42, 57, 83
Domu s'Orku 54, 240–1
Dorians/Dorian migration, etc. xxiii, lx, lxiv, lxviii, 115, 120, 131, 134–6, 173, 177, 254, 258, 271, 279–83, 293, 308, 330, 386, 510, 518, 528
Dorieus 85, 316–8
Dothan 50
Doubs (river) 399
Douriskos 4
Drôme, the 383, 396
Drys 4, 9, 10, 14
Ducetius 341–2
Düver 45, 58
Dyme 82

East Greece/Greek (see also Ionia) xxiii, xliv, 367, 436, 448, 509, 521–4, 527
Ebros 4
Ebysos (Ibiza) 156, 162, 472–3
Egriköy 45
Egypt(ian) xli–xlii, xlix, lxi, lxiv, 11, 14–20, 25, 28, 34, 41, 43, 51–2, 60–1, 63, 73, 75, 89, 97, 99, 101, 144, 222, 375, 507, 509–11, 513, 516, 521, 524–31
Egyptianising 512, 524
Eion 9, 10, 14
Ekron 49
el-Arish 50, 59
el-Jib (Gibeon) 50
El Molar 486–7
El Oral 488
Elaia 132, 138
Elba 203, 222
Elche 458, 486, 489
Elea see Hyele
Elis lxxi, 86, 88, 125
Elymians 162, 301, 312–3, 330, 339, 341–2, 409
Emar 49, 59, 94

Emporio (Chios) 128, 137
emporia (definitions, etc.) xxvii, xl–xli, l–li, lxiv, 1–40, 374–5
Emporion/Ampurias xlv, liii, lxv, lxix, 2, 9, 10–1, 14, 23–4, 27–8, 34, 129, 367–8, 371–2, 375–7, 380, 383, 385, 390, 393, 400–1, 405–6, 409–10, 413–4, 442–6, 453, 462–3, 466, 469, 472, 474–84, 491–3
England see Britain
Enkomi 43, 46–7, 58, 72, 79, 92, 98
enoikismos/enoikismoi 149, 151–2, 154, 158
Epeius 88
Ephesus 23, 30, 45, 117–8, 125–30, 137, 138, 380
Ephorus lxvii, lxx, 9, 13, 25, 120, 275
Epidamnus lxv, lxix
Epidaurum 81
Epidaurus 120, 135
Epirus 78, 85
Erbe Bianche 305
Eresus 138
Eretria(ns) xliii, lxiii, lxv, lxviii–lxxi, 30, 149, 221, 233, 261–2
Ergetion 340
Erimi 47
Erythia 84–5
Erythrae lxxi, 45, 125–7, 137
Eryx 85, 316, 318
Eshera xxxiii–xxxiv
Espeyran 391
Essarhaddon 80
Étang de Berre 393, 396
ethnicity xlix–lxii, 170–79, 181, 190–2, 194, 248, 293, 330, 332
ethnos xxix, 181, 195
Etruria/Etruscan(s) liii, lv–lvii, lxiii, lxv–lxvi, 84, 151, 202–4, 206, 208, 215–6, 222, 224, 227, 230, 233, 244–7, 250, 314, 360–1, 364, 367, 369, 373, 375–6, 383–4, 386, 388, 397–8, 402, 404, 409, 414–5, 431
Etrusco-Carthaginian alliance 369
Euboea(ns) xxviii, xxxv, xlix–li, lxiii, 94, 125, 149, 171, 201–4, 211–3, 215–7, 219, 222, 224–6, 228, 230–4, 244–8, 253–4, 256, 258–9, 261–2, 265, 268–9, 272, 328, 380, 514–5, 520–1
Euboeo-Cycladic 245, 268
Eucheiros Painter 452
Eu(h)esperides lxiv, lxix
Eumelus 90
Euphorion 89
Euphrates 510
Eusebius xxxi–xxxiii, lxvii–lxxii, 89, 118, 132, 268, 529
Eustathius 79–80, 413
Euthymenes 388
Euxenus 365
Euxine see Black Sea
Evarchus 253, 259, 262

Fayum 60
Filicudi 54–5
Florida 54
Flumenelongu 247
Foça see Phocaea
Fonda Paviani 54
Fraktin 45, 72
Francavilla Marittima 54, 151, 171
France see Gaul
Franche-Comté 385
Frattesina 54

Gadeira 23
Gades (Cádiz) 85, 151, 155, 159, 452, 466, 470
Gadra 52
Gale lxix
Galepsus lxix, 8–9, 11–4, 24
Galilee 514
Galinoporti 47
Garife 49
Gastria-Agios Ioannis 46
Gastria-Alaas 46
Gaul(s) xxiii, liii, lxv, 360–1, 368, 371–2, 374–6, 385, 388, 392, 394, 396, 398, 409–11, 413
Gavurtepe 45, 58
Gaza 50
Gela xxxii, lxiii–iv, lxvii, lxix, 34, 83, 254, 279–83, 301, 306–8, 321–2, 328, 334, 340, 386
Gelon of Gela 254, 276, 287, 301, 317–8, 321–3, 341
Gelonoi lxi
Gelontes lxi
Genes 376
Genoa 408
Georgius Syncellus 118
Gephyraeans 149
Germany 396–8
Geryon/*Geryoneis* 84–5, 380, 409
Getae lxvi
Gezer 43, 49–50
Giarratana 335

Gibeon 50
Gibraltar see Pillars
gifts liii, 391, 397
Giovinazzo 53, 55
Glanon/Glanum 394
Gödelesin 45
Golden Fleece 84, 101
Golgoi 81–2
Golgus 81
Gonnosfanadiga 54, 240, 242
Gordion xxxvi
Gorgippia lxvi
Gortyn 30
graffiti 16, 334, 336, 376, 391, 393, 439, 441, 474, 488, 522, 529
Granicus 119
Gravisca lxvi, 2, 295, 360, 367, 372–3, 375–6, 405, 408, 410, 491
Greek expansion, etc. see colonisation
Greek gods see individual deities
Greekness (see also Hellenicity) lii, lix–lxi
Grotta di Polla 54
Gryneion lxix, 15, 138
Guadalhorce 432
Guadalquivir 70, 453, 480
Gurob 52, 55, 60
Gyenos lv, lxvi
Gyptis 365, 389

Hagia Triada 98
Hala Sultan Tekke 43, 46–7, 58, 95
Halicarnassus lxiv, 120, 135, 137, 528
Hallstatt 396
Halys (river) lxi
Hama 49, 59, 511, 522
Hannibal (son of Gisco) 293, 302
Harageh 52
Harpagus 368
Hatti 510
Hazor 49, 60, 102
Hebron 50
Hecataeus 11, 26, 29–30, 84–5, 126, 170, 194–6, 449
Hecatonnesoi 138
Helice 122
Heliopolis 52
Helios 90, 522
Hellanicus 86, 118–20, 123, 126, 130, 258
Hellenes, the lii, lx–lxi
Hellenic/Hellenicity xlii, lix–lx
Hellenion (at Naukratis) lxiv, 528–9
Hellenisation lvi, lviii
Hellespont 77, 360
Helorus lxiv, lxix, 274–5, 285, 289, 301, 321
Hemeroskopeion 399, 447, 484–5
Hera lxiii, 84, 173, 183, 391, 406, 433, 527–8
Hera Argeia/of Argos 84
Hera of Clarus 391
Hera Lacinia lxiii
Heracleia Minoa lxix, 306, 316–8
Heracleia Pontica liii, lxvi, lxviii–lxix
Heracles 84–5, 88, 123, 134, 151, 284, 305, 317–8, 380, 391, 409
Heraclidae, return of, etc. 117, 120, 126, 132, 134, 253, 271, 311
Heraclides (Crete) 30–1
Heraclides Lembos 83–4
Heraclides Ponticus 12, 118, 122
Heraclium 85
Heraeon 84, 128–9, 137
Hérault (river) 389
Hercle 85
Hercules 85
Hermeias 15
Hermocrates 322
Hermonassa lxvi, lxix
Hermos valley 360
Herodorus 84
Herodotus xxxi, xli, liii, lxi, lxix, 2, 6–13, 15, 17–9, 21–2, 27–8, 30, 34–5, 81, 83, 89, 115, 117, 120–1, 125, 130, 149, 179, 250, 287, 306, 314, 316–8, 321, 323, 340–1, 360, 364, 367–72, 375, 399, 402, 404–5, 409, 433–5, 510, 512, 519, 525–6, 528–30
Heronoiius 401
Hesiod 27, 84–6, 89, 130
Hesychius 28
Heuneburg 396
Himera lxiv, lxx, 8, 177, 268, 292–8, 311, 318, 321, 373
Hippocrates liv, 5
Hippocrates of Gela 254, 322–3, 340
Hippodamus xlvi, 182
Hipponium lxiii, lxx, 178
Hiram of Tyre 152, 158–9
Histiaea 2, 5
Histria xxxiii, lxi, lxvi, lxx, 32, 34
Hittite(s) 77, 100, 102, 128, 510, 512
Hochdorf 397

Homer/Homeric poems xxxi, lvii, lx, 27, 30, 78, 80, 85–8, 90, 123, 127, 131, 149, 158, 178, 510, 518, 520, 526
Huelva 153–4, 371, 405, 432, 435–9, 441, 448, 452, 453, 466, 470, 489
Hybla 335, 340–1
Hybla Herae 340
Hyele lxvi, lxix, 32, 179, 194, 197, 360, 368–70, 373–5, 380–1, 396, 398–9, 405–9, 413–5, 434, 493
Hyères 390, 414
Hyria lxx, 83
Hyskos 60

Ialysus 43, 120, 134, 137
Iamblichus 118
Iapygia 83, 190, 194
Iasus 43, 45, 57, 72, 102, 120, 135, 137
Iberia/Iberian Peninsula liii, lvi, 70, 85, 97, 152–3, 156, 163, 241, 247, 360, 364, 368, 375–7, 382, 384–6, 401, 404, 410–1, 429–505
Ibiza see Ebysos
Ibycus 86
Ichnussa 250
Idaean Cave 150
Idalion 46–7, 81
Iglesiente district 241–2, 247
Illa d'en Reixach 401
Illici 447, 486, 488–90
Illyria(ns) lxiv, 7
Incoronata 176, 213
Indicetans 367, 375, 393, 401
inscriptions, etc. lxii, 2, 9–10, 12–3, 16–7, 20–1, 25, 28, 94, 289–90, 299, 300, 305, 336–8, 372, 381, 400–2, 410, 515
Io 88
Ione 88
Ionia(ns) (see also East Greece) xxx, xxxiv, xliv, liii, lxiv–lxvi, lxxi, 2, 18, 115, 117–8, 121–30, 134, 176–7, 364, 372–3, 376, 378–80, 388, 401, 407–8, 434, 439–41, 462, 510, 519, 521, 528, 531
  Islands 217
  League 122, 127, 360
  migration, etc. xxx, liii, lxv–lxvi, lxxi, 115, 117–8, 121–30, 132, 176–7
Iopolis 88
Ireland 247
iron 222, 241, 245, 247–9, 384, 399, 402, 439, 445, 520
Ischia 54, 94, 219, 224–5, 259, 516
Isocrates 5, 25–6, 31, 118
Italy (peninsular) xxiv–xxvi, xxxv–xxxvi, xlvi, lxi, lxiii–lxiv, lxvi, 53–4, 63–5, 70, 75–6, 78, 83–8, 97, 101–2, 104, 151, 169–237, 244–5, 368, 382, 386, 404, 410, 431
Ithaca 217
Izbet Sartah 50

Jabal al-Hawajah 50
Jason 84, 90
Jatt 50
Jericho 50
Jerusalem 50, 158, 513
Jizreel 59
Jordan (river) 59
Judah 509, 513
Justinus liii, 88, 146, 162, 318, 366, 372, 374–5, 378–9, 389, 393–4, 399, 413

Kahun 52, 55
Kaimakli 47
Kalabaketepe xlvi, 128
Kalaris 367
Kalavassos 47, 58
Kalopsidha 47
Kalydon xliii
Kamid el-Loz 49, 59
Kanesh 94
Karatepe 89–90
Karchemish 49, 59, 94
Karnak 52
kârum 94
Kastanas 77
Katydhata 47
Kazanli 45, 58, 72
Kazaphani 46
Keftiu 99
Kelenderis lxx, 518
Keos 42
Kephalonia 118, 218
Kepheus 82
Kepoi lxvi, lxx
Kerkouane 162
Kerma 52, 55
Khalde 49
Khan Sheikun 49
Khirbet Rabud 50
Khirbet Selim 49
Khirbet Yudur 50

Khrayeb 49
Kinyras 78, 80–1
Kitharista (La Ciotat) 391
Kition 46–7, 58, 72, 92, 155
Kivisil 47
Klaros 129–30, 137
Klavdhia 47, 58
Knossos 57, 89, 149, 155, 508
Kolaios 375, 433, 435
Kom Abu Billo 52
Kom Rabia (Memphis) 52, 55, 529–30
Kommos 94, 150, 242
Kömüradasi 127–8, 130, 137
Kormakiti 46
Ko(u)lcha kingdom 90
Koureus 81
Kourion 46–7, 58, 81
kraters liv, lvii–lviii, 70, 99, 208, 212, 230–1, 374, 380–1, 396–9, 474
Kusadasi 45, 127, 137
Kyrene 391
Kyrenia 46

L'Acapte 391, 410, 415
La Cloche 393
La Crau 380
La Galère 391
La Moneédière 389
La Peña Negra de Crevillente 486
La Petrosa 408
La Picola 489
Lacco Ameno 219, 224
Lachish 43, 49–50
Laconia(n) xl, 81, 120, 174, 436
Lacydon 365
Lade (battle) 409–10
Lagaria 88
Lake of Diana 402
Lampsacus lxx, 360, 365, 379–80, 413, 416
Languedoc 376, 382–3, 390, 401
Laodice 79
Lapithos 46, 58, 81
Larissa 45, 132, 138
Larnaca/Larnaka (Laxia tou Riou) 47, 58
Larnaca/Larnaka tis Lapithou 46
Latium 54, 64, 76, 203–4, 216, 250
Lattakie 49
Lattes 376
Laurion 97
Laus lxx
Lavinium 87
lawoi 99
Lazio 247
Le Pègue 383, 396
lead 241, 243, 401–2
Lebanon see Levant, Phoenicia, etc.
Lebedus 126, 137
Lecharon 6
Lefkandi xlix, 149, 202, 211, 225, 520
legend see myth
Leonarisso 47
Leontini xxxii, lxiii, lxx, 172, 253, 259–60, 262, 265, 272, 275–6, 279, 299, 321–2, 324, 340, 409
Leros lxx
Lesbos lxxii, 15, 119, 131–3, 138, 371, 527, 529
Leto 391
Leuca lxx, 53
Leuce Come 23
Leucon I 13
Leucothea 380, 407
Levant xxxiv, xxxvi, xlviii, li, 43, 48, 59–61, 67, 73, 97, 99, 101, 144–5, 148–50, 154, 156–7, 161, 245, 507–8, 510–23, 529, 535–43
Libanius 88
Libya(ns) lxiv, 316, 525–6, 530
Liguria 380, 386
Lilybaeum 312–3
Limassol 47
Limnae lxx
Lindii see Gela
Lindus 120, 134, 137, 280, 283
Linear B 41
Lipara lxx, 311–6, 324, 373, 406, 409
Lipari (island) 54–5, 65, 97, 170, 315
Litani 59
Livy 221, 232, 375, 385, 393, 399–400, 414, 481, 484–5
Lixus 151
Llanete de los Moros 70
Locri(an)/Locris lxiii, lxx, 130, 136, 170, 173–4, 178
Loire (valley/estuary) 361, 384
Los Nietos 470
Los Saladares 486
Los Villares 470
Loutros 47
Luceria 87
Luni sul Mignone 54
Luwian 90
Lycia(n) 45, 58, 522
Lycophron 79, 81–2, 87–9, 118–9, 179

Lydia xxx, 116, 313, 360, 522, 525
Lymira 45
Lyons 392
Lysias 30
Lythrodhonda 47

Maa-Palaeokastro 46–7
Macalla 88
Macara 83
Macedonia 7, 23, 516
Macrones lxvi
Madaba 50, 59
Madytus lxx
Maestro 289
Magna Graecia xxiv–xxvi, xlvii, lxi, lxiii–lxiv, lxvi, 32, 86, 171, 194, 198, 320, 404, 407, 410–1, 413–5
Magnesia 30, 126, 137
Mainake 399, 448, 485
Maktorion 321, 340
Malaca 23
Málaga 439–40, 448
Malakus 118
Malkata 63
Mallus 89
Malta 70, 156
Manacorre 53
Maratea 408
Marathouvouno 46
Marche Veneto 54
Marcianus 3
Mariana 405
Marmara, Sea of lxvi, 77
Marmaria 381
Marmaric coast 63
Maroneia lxv, lxx, 20–2
Maroni 43, 46–7, 58
Marsa Matruh 52, 63, 94
Marseilles see Massalia
Martigues 383, 390, 396, 410
Maryandinoi liii, lxvi
Masat 45, 58, 77
Massalia (Marseilles) xlv, xlviii, liii, lxv, lxvii, lxx, 8, 24, 27–8, 34, 359–416, 436, 439, 442, 445, 447–8, 476, 484–5, 493
Massaliotes, Treasury at Delphi 360, 381
Massif Central 384
Matrensa 54
Mayans, the 378
Mazzola 222
Mecyberna lxx
Medellín (Badajoz prov.) 452
Mediterranean(s) xxiii–xxiv, xxvi–xxvii, xxx, xxxiv–xxxv, l–li, liii–liv, lviii–lix, lxii–lxiii, 84, 94–7, 100–4, 143–63, 239, 249, 361, 364, 368, 372–3, 375–6, 381–2, 385, 396–8, 402, 408–9, 430–1, 433–4, 442, 453, 463, 473, 491–3, 516–7
Medma lxiii, lxx, 23, 178
Medontidae see Codrus
Megara/Megara Nisaea lxiii, lxvi, lxviii–lxx, lxxii, 253–4, 277, 299, 301–2, 305
Megara Hyblaea xxix, xxxii, xlvi, lii, lxiii–lxiv, lxx, lxxii, 189, 203, 253–4, 256, 261, 269, 271–2, 275–9, 296, 299, 301–2, 305, 321, 324
Megarian(s)/Megarid xxviii, lxvi
Megiddo 43, 49–50, 59
Meidum 52
Melas 4, 9
Melcart/Melqart 85, 151
Melie 125–6, 128, 130, 137
Melos 42, 120, 134
Memphis (Kom Rabia) 52, 55, 529–30
Mende lxv, lxx
Mendolito 335, 338
Menecles of Barca/Barka 119, 131
Menelaos/Menelaus 88
Menko 47
merchant venturers see *sub* Phoenician
Mersin 45, 58
Mesad Hashavyahu 523
Mesembria lxx
Mesopotamia l, 509, 513, 516, 536
Messapian Iapyges 83
Messenians lxiii
Messina see Zancle
Messina (straits) 172, 258, 294, 315, 373–4
metals, metallurgy, etc. li, 58, 63, 76, 96–8, 147, 151–4, 189, 212, 215, 222, 224, 226–7, 241–2, 244–5, 247–9, 339, 374–5, 384–5, 396–7, 399, 401–2, 405, 439, 442–3, 451, 467, 491, 512, 520–1
Metapontum xxix, lii, lxiii, lxx, 32, 88, 173, 176–8, 182–5, 191, 408
Metaurus lxiii, lxx, 177, 266
Methone lxv, lxx
Methymna lxviii
Mezaz Hashavyahu l
Milena 54

Miletopolis lxx
Miletus/Milesian xxv, xxx, xxxiv, xliv–xlvi, li, liii, lxiii–lxiv, lxvi–lxxiii, 2, 4–5, 43, 45, 57, 72, 90, 102–3, 117, 123, 125–30, 135, 137–8, 181, 362, 521, 525, 527, 529
Milia 43, 46
Millawata/Millawanda 103, 128
Mimnermus 86, 90, 1121, 99, 121
Minet el-Beida 49, 59, 94, 102
mining see metallurgy
Minoa 83
Minoan(s) 60, 64, 97, 242
  pottery 43, 55, 58
  vases 43
Minos 83–4, 306
Mitzu Purdia 240, 242
Mogador 155
Moio della Civitella 408
Molinella 53, 55
Molinello 54
Molpa see Palinuro
Monoikos (Monaco) 391
Mont-Garou 383
Mont Lassois 374, 396–7
Montagna di Marzo 338
Montagnana 54
Montagnola di Capo Graziano 55
Monte Bubbonia 330
Monte Castellazzo di Poggioreale 305
Monte Rovello 54
Monte Sabucina 330
Monte San Mauro di Caltagirone 328–31, 339
Monte Saraceno 330
Montedoro di Eboli 54
Mopsus 89–90
Mopsoucrene 89
Mopsouhestia 89
Mordogan 129, 137
Morgantina lviii, 330, 332–6, 374
Morocco 155, 376
Morphou 43, 47, 58
Mostai 52
Motya 156, 162, 313
Mount Ephraim 59
Mount Etna 263, 335
Müskebi 45, 72, 102, 135, 137
Mycenae 71, 98
Mycenaean(s) xxiii–xxiv, 41–104, 127–8, 132, 134–5, 183, 201, 239–52, 432, 515
  contact 239
  merchants/commerce 100–1
  metals 97
  palace civilisation 241
  penetration 241
  prospectors 247
Mylae (Chersonesus) xxxii, lxxi, 263, 265–6, 268, 292–3
Mylasa 43, 45, 137
Myletidae 289, 292–3, 321
Myndus 120
Myous 126, 137
Myriandros 9, 12, 14, 512
Myrina 132, 138
Myrmekion lxxi
Mytsilus of Methymna 119
Myrtou 46, 58
myths/foundation myths 78–90, 115–20, 139, 256, 259, 262, 431
Mytilene lxiv, lxvi, lxix, 130, 133, 138, 528

Nagidos lxxi, 518
Nannus/Nanos 365
Naples (bay) 204, 263
Naqada 52
native peoples li–lx, lxii, 14, 21, 212
  Sicily 324–42
Naukratis xli–xlii, lxiv, lxxi, 6, 9, 12, 14–20, 22–4, 28, 34, 314, 360, 375, 467, 510, 521–31
Naulochus 26–7
Naxos, xxxii, lxiii, lxxi, 172, 253–4, 256–8, 262, 265–6, 269, 272, 275, 340, 406
Neapolis (Carthaginian) 9, 12, 14
Neapolis (Kavalla) lxv, lxxi
Neapolis (Spain) 367, 445–6
Near East xxii, xlvi, xlix–l, lxiii, 59, 202, 215
Nebuchadnezzar II 162, 529
Neleus/Neleidae 118, 122–4, 126, 137
Neon Teichos 138
Nestor 88, 123
Nestor's cup lvii
New Carthage 23, 445, 456, 491
Nicandrus 118
Nicholas of Damascus 119
Nicosia 46, 58
Nicosia-Ag. Paraskevi 47
Nikaia (Nice) 390–1, 414–5
Nile (see also Delta) 60, 63, 360, 525–8
Nimrud 512, 519
Nisyrus 120

Nitovikla 47
Nora 240–1
North Africa lxiv, 14, 151, 155–7, 160–2, 250, 316, 372, 375–6, 525–7, 530
nostos/nostoi 78, 86
Notion 26–7, 138
Nubia 52, 55, 63, 529
Nuraghe Antigori 54, 67, 76, 101, 239–42
Nuraghe Arrubiu 54, 70, 240, 242–4
Nuraghe Domu s'Orku 54, 240–1
Nuraghe Flumenelongu 247
Nymphaeum lxxi

Oasis Polis lxxi
Ocean, the 84–5, 90, 372
Odessus lxvi, lxxi
Odysseus/*Odyssey* xxxi, 27, 30, 85–9, 90, 178, 510, 518, 520, 526
Oenotrians 151, 171, 177, 179, 190–1, 195, 197, 370, 375, 407
Oesyme lxv, lxxi, 8–9, 12–4, 24
Oggiano, I. 244
oikist xlvii–xlviii, 121–3, 170, 177, 221, 232–3, 265, 271, 280–1, 287, 292, 298–9, 302, 307, 319–20, 334
Oinoussai 80, 368
Olbia (Black Sea) li, lxvi, lxxi, 8–9, 23, 34–5
Olbia (Mediterranean) 390, 399, 415
Olenos 82
oligarchy 322
Olynthus 7, 34
Omphake 281, 334
Opheltas 73
Opicians 204, 233, 254
Opis 23
Orestes 119, 131, 138
Orientalising (art/period/revolution) xxxv, 151, 216, 222, 227, 467, 512, 516, 518, 521
Oristano (gulf) 241
Orontes (river/plain/delta) xlix–li, 59, 88, 221, 509, 511–3, 522, 535–43
Orosei (gulf, etc.) 54, 239–40
Orroli 54, 240, 242–3
Ortygia 271–2, 274
Otranto 53, 201
oxhide ingots 96–8, 244, 247

Paestum 54, 64, 186–93, 413
Paesus lxxi
Palaekythro 46
Palaetyros 146
Palaiopolis 44–5, 475–6
Palaipaphos/Palaepaphos 46–7, 58, 72–3, 79
Palestine 43, 49–50, 60, 75, 509
Palestro di Tortora 196
Palici 338
Palinuro/Palinurus 195–7, 393, 396–7, 408
Palladium 87
Pamphylia 89–90, 521
Pan-Euboeanism 248
Panaetius of Leontini 322
Panarea 54–5
Panaztepe 45, 57, 102, 132, 138
Pandosia lxxi, 191
Panormus (Palermo) 162
Pantalica 54, 71, 76, 334
Panticapaeum xli, lxvi, lxxi, 11, 13, 23
Paphian Aphrodite 79
Paphlagonia(ns) lxi, 11
Paphos 79–80
Parabita 53
Parisades 13
Parium lxxi
Paros/Parians xxx, lxv, lxxi–lxxii
Parthenope lxxi
Patraeus lxvi, lxxi
Pausanias xlviii, 3, 79, 115, 117–20, 125, 130, 221, 250, 265, 281, 311–3, 315–6, 334, 409
Pazhok 77
Pech Maho 28, 376–7, 401–2, 410, 465–6
Pella 50
Peloponnese lxiii–lxiv, 55, 58, 70, 120, 125, 131, 134–5, 241–2, 280, 341
Pentathlos 162, 307, 311–2, 317
Pera 47
Pergantion (Brégançon) 391
Perinthus lxvi, lxxi
Perseus 81
Perseutas 81
Persia/Persian(s) xxx, xli, xliv, lxvi, lxxi, 7, 10, 18, 79, 124, 179, 181, 361, 368, 380, 409, 413, 434–5, 453, 491, 510, 512, 526–7, 531
Petelia 88
Petrosa di Scalea 196
Petta 365
Peyrou 364, 390
Phagres 8–9, 12, 14, 24
Phalaris of Acragas 298, 308, 310–1, 334

Phalerus 80
Phanagoria xxx, xli, xliv, lxvi, lxxi, 23
Phanodicus 118
Phaselis lxiv, lxxi, 280, 518, 528
Phasis (place/river) xli, liv, lxii, lxvi, lxxi, 5, 23
Pheidippos 82
Pherecydes 89, 118–9, 123, 126–7
Philicypros 80
Philistines 75
Philistus 289–90, 340
Philochorus 13
Philoctetes 87–8
Philostephanus 12, 280
Philostephanus of Cyrene 81–2
Philostrates 118
Phlamoudhi 46
Phlegon of Tralles 221, 232
Phlegrean Islands 54–5
Phocaea(ns) xlv, lxiii, lxiv–lxvii, lxix, 8, 32, 45, 119, 125–6, 129, 130, 137, 179, 197, 359–416, 434–5, 439, 442–3, 447–50, 453, 459, 462, 476, 480, 484–5, 491–2, 528
Phoenicia(ns) xxvi, xxxi, xxxiii, xxxv, xlviii–l, lxv, 12, 14, 88–9, 143–63, 202, 208, 227, 247–9, 367, 372, 376–7, 388, 408–9, 431, 435, 439, 448, 473–4, 486, 491–2, 508–13, 516, 518–9, 524, 526
  city-states 145–6, 150, 155, 157, 159–60
  expansion xxvi, xxxi, xxxiii, xxxv, xlviii–l, lxv, 143, 148, 152, 155, 160, 247, 249, 301, 310, 313, 317
  factories/trading posts/merchants 148–50, 155, 161
Phoenico-Carthaginian 372, 376–7, 384
Phoinikes 148
Phthiotis lx
Phylakopi 42
Piediluco 54, 76
Pillars of Heracles/Hercules lxii, 84, 157
Pilorus lxxi
Pindar 86, 119–20, 130, 280, 307
piracy liii, 172–3, 218, 221, 254, 263, 266, 373, 409, 520
Piraeus 2, 5, 25–7
Pisa/Pisates 88, 408
Pistiros 2, 9, 12, 20–4, 28
Pitane 45, 132–3, 138
Pithekoussai xxxv, l–li, liii, lvii, lxiii, lxxi, 2, 33–4, 151, 171–2, 213, 217–33, 245, 249, 259, 263, 406
Platea lxiv
Plato lii, lxii, lxiv, 6, 30, 118, 120
Plemmyrion 54
Pliny the Elder 84, 88, 118, 151, 195–6, 314, 361, 485
Plutarch lxviii, 80, 118, 120, 192, 261–2, 271, 314
Po (plain/valley) 76, 204
Pointe du Dattier 388
Pointe Lequin 388, 410
Polemidhia 47
polis (definition, etc.) xxxviii–xliii, xlvii, 1–35, 181–4, 332
Politiko (Tamassos) 47
Polizzello 339
Polyaenus 120, 261, 275, 310, 334, 340
Polybius 3, 27, 120, 261–2, 307–8
Polycharmus 529
Polycrates 179, 314
polygonal village 370, 405
Pomos 47
Pompeius Trogus 372
Pontecagnano 203–4, 208–9, 212–3, 230, 245
Pontós 401, 410
Pontus see Black Sea
Populonia 203
Porquerolles 388, 391
port-of-trade xli–xlii, l, 154, 448, 531
Porta Rosa, Hyele 406
Portella 55
Porto Cesareo 53
Porto Conte 244
Porto Perone 53–5, 76
Porto Saturo 95
Portugal 153, 156, 247, 430, 473
Poseidon 122–3, 179, 380, 391
Poseidonia lxiii, lxxi, 84, 173, 178–9, 182, 185, 195, 197, 370, 373, 398, 408, 413
Posideion 89, 513, 519
Poteidaea lxv, lxxi, 18
pottery
  Aeolian 439
  Aeotos 666 xxxv, 203, 230, 232, 268
  Al Mina 513–8, 539–41
  amphorae in Sicily 326–8
  Archaic in Huelva 437

as evidence xxxi–xxxiv, lxi–lxii, 91
Ashdoda 75
Attic 190, 212, 325, 383–4, 388, 396, 400–1, 404–5, 436–7, 469, 472, 515, 523, 527
Barbarian 72
bucchero, Aeolian 374
bucchero nero 364
Canaanite jars 99, 511
Cástulo Cups 469
ceramica grigia 70
chevron skyphoi xxxii, 244
Close Style 75
Corinthian xxxii, xlix, li, lviii, 212, 227, 382, 404, 515, 517, 527
Cycladic xxxv
Cypriot l, 58–60, 76–7, 99, 516–7
diplomatic gifts 371
East Greek 436, 521, 523, 527
Etruscan 364, 383, 388
Etrusco-Corinthian 361, 364
Euboean xxxv, xlix, 211–3, 226, 228, 244–8, 266, 268, 513–5, 517, 521
Geometric xxxiv, xxxviii, 208, 212, 215, 217, 228–9, 232–3, 239–40, 245, 247–8, 270, 281, 437, 513–4
Geometric skyphoi 172, 211, 230, 239, 244, 246, 249
Gnathia 414
Graeco-Oriental 408
Greek xxxi, xxxiii–xxxv, xlix–l, liv, lviii
Handmade Burnished 72, 103
Hellado-Cilician 72
Hittite 77
Iberian-Punic 472
Ionian 281, 364, 376, 388, 396, 404, 407–8, 439–40
Ionian cups xxxiv, 436, 440–1
Ionio-Massaliot 382
kraters see main heading
Laconian Cup 176
Late Cypriot 72–3, 242
Late Wild Goat xxxiii
Levanto-Helladic 99
Levanto-Mycenaean 59
Little Master cup 452
Massaliot 382, 384, 388, 392, 396, 400
Mesohelladic 42
Minoan 43, 55, 58
Mycenaean 100, 129, 135, 239–43, 541
Mycenaean alabastron 242–3
Mycenaean coarse 241
Mycenaean LH 42–60, 62–65, 67, 70, 75–8, 127, 132, 134, 239, 241, 432
Nestor's cup lvii, 226, 228
Philistine 75
Phocaean 364, 371, 374, 383, 404, 439
Phoenician l
Phoenico-Carthaginian 372, 376–7, 384
Pictorial style 99
Pithekoussan xxxv
Polyphemus Group 374
Precolonial skyphoi 239
Proto-White Painted 46, 73, 103
Protocorinthian xxxii, xxxviii, 174–5, 232, 364
Protogeometric 115, 128–30, 133, 135, 138, 514
Pseudo-Ionian 396
Rhodian 404
rosette bowls xxxiv
Samite xlix, 439, 440
Shipwreck krater 226, 228
Submycenaean 128–30, 132, 136
Syrian l
Thapsos cups/ware xxxii, 230, 268, 270, 272
White Painted Wheelmade III 73, 91
Pount country 385
Pozzomaggiore 54, 76, 240
Praia 54
Pranu 'e Muru 243
Praxander 81
Priapus lxxi
Priene 26, 30, 118, 125–6, 137
Proconnesus lxxi
Propontis see Marmara, Sea of
Protis 365, 389
Provence 376, 382, 385, 393, 407
Prusias lxxi
Psammetichos/Psamtek I 509, 523–7, 529
Psammetichos II 527, 529–30
Pseudo-Aristotle 87–8, 401, 474
Pseudo-Herodotus 131
Pseudo-Phalaris 308
Pseudo-Skylax 3–4, 7–13, 24, 27, 29–34, 259, 512
Pseudo-Skymnos xxxi, xxxiii, lxvii, lxix, lxxii, 12, 24, 232, 265–6, 271,

275, 289, 293, 314, 361, 442, 448, 484–5
Ptolemy lxx
Punta Capitello 55
Punta Chiarito 225
Punta d'Alaca 55
Punta le Terrare 53, 55
Punta Mezzogiorno 55, 57
Pygela 125, 129–30, 137
Pyla 47
Pylus/Pylians 88, 117, 121, 123–4
Pyrene 27
Pyrenees 367, 401
Pyrrha 138
Pythagoras 322
Pythagoreion 129, 137
Pytheas 388
Pythia 370
Pyxus lxxi, 195–6

Qadesh 49, 59
Qatna 49, 59
Qau 52
Qraye 49
Quattro Fontanili cemetery 244, 246
Quban 52
Qubur el-Walaida 50
Que 510

Ramses III 75
Ras el-Bassit 43, 49, 514–5, 519, 538
Ras Ibn Hani 49, 75, 538
Ras Shamra 49, 101, 538
Rhakotis 526
Rhegion lxiii, lxxi, 172, 179, 254, 263, 266, 370, 374, 398, 406
Rhodanousia 392
Rhode lxvi, lxxi, 362, 400, 429, 431, 445, 481–5
Rhodes/Rhodian lxiv, lxix, lxxi, 5, 25, 42, 57, 70, 83, 120, 134, 137, 162, 249, 254, 279–80, 283, 307–8, 310–2, 361, 373, 484, 492, 509, 510, 516, 518, 521–2, 524, 526–8
Rhodope mountains 77
Rhoe 391
Rhône (river/delta) 365, 380, 391–4, 397, 399
Rhône-Saône 399
Rhotanus 402
Rifeh 52
Rio Tinto 152–4
Riqqeh 52
Rizokarpaso 47
Rome/Roman 85–7, 155, 359, 361, 374, 379–81, 389, 393, 398, 411, 413–5, 431, 493
Royos 455

Sabucina 339
Sabuni/Sabuniye l, 49, 536–7, 540–2
Saguntum/Saigantha 401, 462, 485
Sahab 50
Saint-Blaise 376, 394, 396, 405
Saint-Jean du Désert 382
Saint-Mauront 379
Sakoy 77
Salamis 5, 46, 70–2
Salina 54–5
Samaria 59
Same 118
Samos/Samian xlix, lxiv, lxvi, lxviii, lxix–lxxi, 118, 125–9, 137, 149, 179, 373, 434, 439–40, 462, 515, 518, 521, 524, 526–7
Samothrace lxxii, 4, 13–4
San Agustin 440
San Cosimo (Sardinia) 240, 242
San Cosimo d'Oria 53
San Domenica di Ricardi 54
San Giovenale 54
San Martín de Ampurias 367, 443, 491
San Vito 54
Sane lxxii
Sant'Angelo Muxaro 308
Sant'Antioco 156, 240, 247
Sant'Imbenia 203, 213, 239–40, 244–9
Santa Pola 485–9
Saône (river) 384, 399
Saône-Seine route 384
Saqqara 52, 55, 530
Sarayköy 45
Sardian/Sardonian Sea see Alalia
Sardinia xlix, 54, 67, 70, 76, 97, 101, 150–1, 156, 203, 208, 239–52, 362
Sardis 45, 58
Sarepta 43, 49, 60, 102
Sargon II 518–9
Sarrok 239–40
Sarte lxxii
Saturo 95
Satyrion 54, 76
scarabs 208, 222, 524, 527
Scepsis lxxii
Scione lxv, lxxii

Scoglio del Tonno 54, 63, 65, 76, 95, 101–2, 213
sculpture 188, 210, 381, 454–62, 477–8, 488
Scythia(n) liii, lxvi, 4, 29, 376
'Sea Peoples' 73, 511
catastrophe 144, 146
Segesta(ns) 23, 305, 312–3, 317–8, 330, 339
Segobriges 365, 372, 375
Segura (river) 470, 486, 489
Seine 396–7
Seleucos I Nicator 88
Selinus xxiv, xxix, xxxii, lxiv, lxix, lxxii, 8, 32, 182, 254, 293–5, 298–306, 312–3, 323, 339
Selymbria lxxii
Semites 384
Seneca 393
Senegal 388
Serdaioi 195, 197
Sermyle lxxii
Serra Ilixi 98
Serra Orlando 330, 332–6
Serro dei Cianfi 55
Servius 88, 393, 408
Sesamus 11, 12
Sesebi 52, 63
Sestus lxxii
settlers/settlement see colonisation
Sican(ia) 83, 298, 330–332, 339, 341
Sicels xxix, lxiii, 174, 253–4, 266, 289–90, 332, 334, 338–42
Sichem 50
Sicily xxv–xxvi, xxxi–xxxiii, xlvi, lx–lxi, lxiii–lxiv, 7–8, 32, 54, 64, 76, 83–5, 97, 101, 156, 157, 162, 170, 172, 208, 247, 250, 253–357, 361, 374, 382, 386, 404, 406, 409, 431
Sicyon 81–2
Side lxxii
Sidon 49, 146, 158, 510
Sidonius Apollinaris 415
Sierra Morena 97, 152
Sigeum lxxii
Silaris 84
Simos 365
Sinai 52
Sinda 46–7, 72
Singus lxxii
Sinope xxxiii, lxvi, lxviii–lxix, lxxii
Siris-Poleion lxiii, lxxii, 87, 176–7, 188, 191–2, 196
Sisapo 467
Skandeia 26–7
Smyrna xliv, 132–3, 138–9
Smyrna (gulf) 360
Soleb 52
Solinus 88, 177
Soloeis (Solunt) 162, 295
Soloi/Sovloi 47, 80, 518
Solomon (king/temple) 149, 152, 511
Solon 80, 124
Sophocles 84, 87
Sosylus of Lacedaemon 388
Sounion 24
Spain xxxiii, xxxv, xlix–l, lxv, 7, 14, 27, 32, 34, 70, 85, 97, 152–3, 156–7, 163, 241, 244, 247, 385, 386, 408, 429–505, 526
Sparta lxiii, lxxii, 284
Spina lxxii
Stagirus lxxii
Stephanus of Byzantium 3, 9–12, 20, 80–1, 118–20, 195–6, 361, 413, 447, 449, 484
Stesichorus 85
Stoichades nesoi 390
Strabo xxxi, xlviii, liii, lv, lxi, lxvii–lxix, lxxi, 2–3, 9, 23, 25, 79–81, 87–8, 115, 117–9, 122, 131–2, 134, 170–1, 174, 177–9, 191–2, 194, 196, 222, 225, 232, 258, 261, 265, 268–9, 271, 275–6, 293, 310, 335, 360, 361, 367–8, 370, 374, 378–81, 389, 393, 400–1, 406–8, 431, 443, 445, 447–8, 456, 484–5, 493, 519, 525–6, 528, 536
Stratonicaea 45, 137
Stryme 9, 12–4
Sulcis 156, 213, 240, 242, 247
Surbo 53
Sybaris lii, lxiii, lxx, lxxii, 87, 173, 177–8, 194–5, 197–8, 316, 398, 408
Syme 120
symposion 208, 215–7, 226, 230, 398
synoikismos xl, 11, 206
Syracuse xxx, xxxii, xlvi, liii, lxiii–lxiv, lxvii–lxx, lxxii, 160, 253–4, 259, 261–2, 269, 271–6, 279, 284–92, 299, 301, 308, 312, 321–2, 324, 336, 341, 385–6, 404
Syria(ns) xlix–lxi, 14, 49, 59, 75, 88, 89, 144, 154, 222, 507, 509–12, 516, 518, 520, 522, 536
Syro-Hittite 509–10

Tabaqat Fahil (Pella) 50
Tabo 52
Tamaris 389
Tanais lxxii, 23
Taranto (gulf) 55, 63, 75–6, 101
Tarentum lxiii
Taras xxxii, lxxii, 170, 173–5, 177, 184
Tarquinia lvii, lxvi, 203, 206, 212–3, 216, 219, 368, 372, 375
Tarquinius Priscus lvii
Tarrha 33–4
Tarshish 152
Tarsus 45, 58, 72, 511, 514, 518, 521
Tartessos/Tartessian lxv, 9, 13–14, 152–3, 364, 371–2, 374–5, 399, 433–6, 439, 442, 448, 453, 459, 476, 491
Tas Silg 70
Tauchira lxiv, lxxii
Tauroeis 391
Tavignano (river) 402
Tayinat l
technical innovation 148
Tegea 79
Tekir 135
Telamon 79
Tell Abu Hawam 43, 49, 59–61, 94, 101–2
Tell Ain Sherif 49
Tell Arqa 49
Tell Atchana see Alalakh
Tell Balata (Sichem) 50
Tell Beit Mirsim 50
Tell Bir el-Gharbi 43, 49
Tell Dan 49
Tell Daruk 49
Tell Defenneh 526, 531
Tell Deir Alla 50
Tell ed-Duweir (Lachish) 43, 49–50
Tell el-Ajjul 43, 49–50, 94
Tell el-Amarna 60
Tell el-Ashari 49
Tell el-Daba 52, 60
Tell el-Farah N/S 50, 59, 75
Tell el-Ghassil 49
Tell el-Hesi 50
Tell el-Muqdam 52
Tell el-Yahudiyeh 52
Tell es-Safiye 50
Tell es-Saidiyeh 59
Tell es-Salihyeh 49
Tell es-Samak 49
Tell Hayat 49
Tell Jemmeh 50
Tell Jerishe 50
Tell Kabri l, 523
Tell Kazel 49
Tell Kedesh 50
Tell Keisan 49
Tell Kirri 49
Tell Mardikh 49
Tell Mevorakh 50
Tell Michal 50
Tell Miqne (Ekron) 49
Tell Mor 50
Tell Nebi Mend 49, 59
Tell Qasis 49
Tell Sera 50
Tell Sippor 50
Tell Sukas 49, 60, 94, 102, 515, 519, 522
Tell Taanek 43, 49–50
Tell Tayinat 513–4, 516
Tell Yinaan 49
Tell Yoqneam 49
Tell Zeror 50
Telmessus 45
temenos xxxviii, xliv
Temesa lxxii, 178
Temnos 138
Temple (Jerusalem) 158
Tenedos 120, 138
Teos/Teans xliv, lxiv–lxv, lxvii, lxxi, 119, 125–6, 130, 137, 528
Terillus of Himera 322
Terina lxxii, 178
Termitito 54, 63, 65, 76
Teucer/Teucros/Teucrians 79
Thapsos 54, 64–6, 68, 76, 95, 101–2, 253, 275–6
Thasos xxx, xlviii, lxv, lxix, lxxi–lxxii, 7–9, 11–2, 22, 24, 31
Theagenes 299
Thebes 30, 118, 125
Thebes, western 52, 55, 63, 75, 100
Theline see Arles
Theocles 253, 256, 259, 261–2, 269
Theocritus 81
Theodosia lxxii, 9, 13–4, 24, 34
Theophrastus 30
Theopompus 4–6, 10–1
Thera lxiv, lxvii, lxix, 42, 120, 134
Therapnae 81
Therme/Thermi 45
Theron 83
Theron of Acragas 298, 306, 310, 322

Theron of Selinus 322
Theseus 83
Thesprotia 86
Thessaly/Thessalian 78, 87, 125, 130, 136
tholos tombs/*tholoi* 57–8, 67–70, 92, 102
Thrace/Thracian(s) xxx, lxv–lxvi, 2, 4, 7–8, 12–3, 20–1, 24, 29, 77, 119, 132, 361
Thrinacia 86
Thucles see Theocles
Thucydides xxix–xxxiv, lx, lxvii–lxxii, 7–12, 24, 26–7, 34, 118, 120, 126, 156, 172–3, 218–9, 221, 253–4, 256, 259, 261, 263, 265, 269, 271–2, 275–6, 279–80, 284, 289, 292–3, 298, 302, 305–7, 312–3, 316, 321–2, 339, 341–2, 381, 388, 409
Thule 388
Tiber (river/valley) 84, 204, 212, 230
Tieion lxxii, 11–2
Timaeus 84, 311
Timagetus 84
Timmari 54
Timotheus 122
tin 380, 384
Tiresias 86
Tom Firin 52
tombs lxi–lxii, 57–8, 63, 67–70, 74, 83, 92, 99–100, 102–3, 129, 134, 202, 204, 209, 216–7, 225–6, 233–4, 276–7, 281, 285, 292, 303, 305, 310, 315, 374, 378, 380, 396, 398, 404, 414, 435–6, 471–2, 508
Tomis lxxii
Toppo Daguzzo 54, 75
Torone lxv, lxxii, 42
Torre Castelluccia 53
Torre del Mordillo 54
Torre Galli 207
Torre Santa Sabina 53
Tortora 408
Toscanos 97, 157, 161, 432, 439, 448
town-planning xlii–xlvii, lxi, lxiii–lxiv, 180–90, 262, 272, 274, 277, 281, 283, 287, 290, 292, 296, 303, 319–20, 377–8, 390–1, 395, 405–6, 413
trade, expansion of, etc. liii–lv, 148, 151, 160, 248, 450–6, 467–74, 515–6, 520
Trani 53
Transjordan 43, 59, 97
Transylvania 77
Trapezus lxxii
Trayamar 158
Treazzano 54
Tremiti Islands 86
Trialeti culture 77
tribute lists 11
Trinacria 86
Triptolemus 88
Troezenian(s) 84
Troad 89
Trotilon/Trotilus 253, 275–6
Troy/Trojan War 43, 45, 57, 72, 77–9, 82–3, 87, 89, 91–2, 103, 115, 119, 126–7, 131–2, 134, 342, 431
Tudhaliya II 43
Tuneh el-Gebel 52
Tunis (bay/straits) 160–1
Tuscany (see also Etruria) 204, 212
Tyndari 294
tyranny/tyrant xxx, 299, 307, 310, 321–3, 340
Tyras lxxiii
Tyre li, 49, 146, 158–60, 162, 510, 514
Tyritace lxxiii
Tyrrhenian (coast/sea/basin) 64, 76, 84, 101, 177–8, 196–7, 201, 203–4, 206–8, 212, 215–7, 224, 227, 234, 294–5, 311, 364, 367, 369–70, 373, 380, 398, 402, 408–9, 434
Tzetzes 82, 89, 119

Ugarit 41, 43, 49, 59–60, 94, 100, 102, 158, 515
Ukraine 78
Ullastret liii, 376, 401, 462, 473, 477, 479
Ulu Burun 45, 58, 97, 100
Unqi 510
Urartu 511
urban civilisation 148
urbanisation see town-planning
Ushu 146
Ustica 54
Utica 151

Vaccaja 405
Valerius Maximus 414
Valsavoia 54
Valverde 263
Vassallaggi 330

Veii 203, 206–7, 211–6, 230, 244–6, 381
Vélez-Málaga 154
Velia see Hyele
Velii 405
Velleius Paterculus 119, 151, 159
Vetren 21
Vieux-Port, Marseilles 365, 377, 395
Villabartolomea 54
villaggio in poligonale 370, 405
Villasmundo 203, 266, 268
Villaricos 474
Vinalopó (river) 470, 486, 489
Virgil 88
Vitruvius 125, 406
Vitsa Zagoriou 201
Vivara 54–6, 94–5, 97
Vix tomb/krater liv, 374, 380, 396–9
Volterra 386
Vulci 206, 208, 216, 230–1

wanax 99
Wen-Amun 146, 158
workshops xliv, li, 477

Xenagoras 82
Xenophon lv, 4, 6–7, 9, 12, 30–1, 512
Xerxes 8, 12

Yeroskipou 47

Zakantha/Zakynthos 463, 485
Zambrone 54
Zancle(ans) xxxii, lxiii, lxx–lxxi, lxxiii, 172–3, 177–8, 218, 221, 254, 263, 265–8, 292–4, 301, 340, 373–4
Zawyet el-Amwat 52
Zenobius 118
Zeus lxiii–lxiv, 195, 308, 380, 406, 528
Zone 4, 9, 13–4